PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI EDITOR

MORALITY AND REALITY

The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi

RELIGIOUS LEADERS ARE FREQUENTLY faced with a dilemma: how to defend universal moral principles in an often inhospitable political and social environment. Or, put more simply, how to make religious morality the basis of everyday reality. This was the life-long challenge of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, whose career is the subject of this book.

Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was a significant figure in the history of Christianity. However, it was his presence and participation in the upheavals of East Central Europe during the first half of the twentieth century that continues to draw attention to him. For more than four decades he held the highest ecclesiastical post in the Greek Catholic Church: Metropolitan-Archbishop of L'viv and Halych with jurisdiction over the historic province of Galicia in western Ukraine.

During this time Sheptyts'kyi came to epitomize the fate of his western Ukrainian countrymen, who for ages had been caught between two worlds: the Catholic West symbolized by Poland, and the Orthodox East symbolized by Russia. Although first and foremost a churchman concerned with Christian morality, Sheptyts'kyi was to become a symbol for the earthly realities of others — an Austrian aristocrat trusted by the Habsburg authorities; a Polish count accused before World War I of anti-Ukrainianism; a Ukrainian national leader suspected by Poles and eventually lionized by Ukrainians; an ecumenist known and respected in western religious circles

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Morality and Reality

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

Paul Robert Magocsi, editor
with the assistance of Andrii Krawchuk

Morality and Reality
The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi

Introduction by Jaroslav Pelikan

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
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Edmonton 1989

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Preface

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was first and foremost a man of God. This fact should always be kept in mind while reading this book or any of the other numerous works written about him. Like many great historical figures, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi became, both during and after his lifetime, many things to many people. He occasionally remarked about himself: "I am like St. Paul, who was a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks, and to all he was all to redeem all."

Of course, like St. Paul, Metropolitan Andrei understood the many facets of his own personality exclusively in spiritual terms. In short, it was religious faith that motivated his every deed—whether as pastor of an Eastern-rite Catholic flock made up primarily but not exclusively of Ukrainians, as ecumenical religious thinker, as cultural and educational philanthropist, or as cautious participant in political life.

These are only some of the many aspects of his career that are elucidated in the essays which follow. An overriding concern with the problem of applying Christian precepts to everyday life forms the underlying theme of his life and of this book since Sheptyts'kyi's career reflected in a very profound sense a constant dilemma: how to defend universal religious principles in an often inhospitable environment. To put it more simply: how to make Christian morality the basis of everyday reality.

In a sense, the best way to begin to gain insight into the mind of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi is to read first the essays that deal specifically with religious matters (Chapters 8-11). It is perhaps my own secular preference or the presumed inclinations of the book's readership that has resulted in a rather conventional organizational format. The first essays (Chapters 1-7) trace, more or less chronologically, Sheptyts'kyi's relationship to the "real" world. They are followed by thematic essays on religious and secular topics (Chapters 8-18) and analyses of studies about him (Chapters 19-21).

It is not that the issues treated in the opening essays are insufficiently important to warrant placement at the beginning of the book. Rather, those issues were probably more important to most of Sheptyts'kyi's contemporaries and latter-day chroniclers than to the Metropolitan himself. Therefore, it is most appropriate that the introduction by Jaroslav Pelikan places Sheptyts'kyi in the context of the evolution of Eastern and Western Christianity, a setting in which the Metropolitan would most likely have hoped to be remembered.

Yet, while Sheptyts'kyi's role in the evolution of Christianity in the twentieth century is significant, it was his presence and participation in the upheavals of East Central Europe during the modern era that has drawn and continues to draw attention to him. After all, for more than four decades he held the highest ecclesiastical post in the Greek Catholic Church: Metropolitan-Archbishop of L'viv and Halych with jurisdiction over the historic province of Galicia in western Ukraine.

Appointed to this ecclesiastical post in the very first year of the twentieth century, a time when Galicia was ruled by Habsburg Austria, the rest of Sheptyts'kyi's career reflected in a kind of microcosm the turmoil of East Central Europe. At the outbreak of World War I, he was arrested by the invading tsarist army and imprisoned in the Russian Empire (1914-1917). He lived through the Polish-Ukrainian conflict and the struggle for Ukrainian independence (1918-1920). He embarked on an odyssey to western Europe and North America to gain assistance for his war-torn homeland (1920-1923). He returned to his Metropolitan See under Polish rule during the interwar years (1923-1939). Finally, he witnessed, in rapid succession, the Soviet (1939-1941) and then German (1941-1944) occupations of Galicia, followed by the return in July 1944 of the Red Army and the installation of Soviet rule in his homeland just a few months before his death.

Throughout these turbulent years, Sheptyts'kyi came to epitomize the fate of his countrymen. He came, after all, from a western Ukrainian cultural context that for ages had been caught between two worlds: the Catholic West symbolized by Poland and the Orthodox East symbolized by Russia. Although first and foremost a churchman concerned with Christian morality, Sheptyts'kyi became a symbol for the earthly realities of others—Austrian aristocrat trusted by the Habsburg authorities; Polish count accused before World War I by his countrymen of anti-Ukrainianism; Ukrainian national leader suspected by Poles and eventually lionized by Ukrainians; ecumenist known and respected in western religious circles but treated with reservation by the Vatican; humanist who spoke out against the barbarity of Nazi German rule and who saved Jews; traitor in the eyes of the Soviets because he "collaborated" with the fascists; saint among Ukrainian Catholics.

This volume was undertaken, in part, with the above contradictions in mind. As well there is a need to sort them out and to present the career of this important twentieth-century figure to a wider audience. The idea for a serious scholarly study in English on Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi goes back to

1983 when, as holder of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, I organized a conference entitled, "Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: His Life and Work." That conference took place at the University of Toronto on 22-24 November 1984, virtually forty years to the day after his death. The scholarly papers from that conference, most of which have been substantially revised, comprise the basis of this volume. However, the study by Andrzej Zięba (Chapter 19) and the introduction by Jaroslav Pelikan were written specifically for this volume.

It is not surprising, in a book of essays by twenty-one different authors writing about the career of one individual, that there is some overlap, repetition, and differences of interpretation. We have tried, during the editorial process, to correct the problem of overlap, although it was felt that each essay should be able to function as an independent entity, even if this would be at the expense of some repetition. Differences of interpretation among the authors on certain issues and events have been retained, since in themselves such varying viewpoints contribute to our understanding of the subject as well as indicate those areas which may need further research.

Despite the efforts to cover all aspects of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's multifaceted career, there are still some studies that might have been included, such as one on his relations with the Vatican (touched on only sporadically in several chapters) or one on his relations with the Orthodox world. A comprehensive bibliography of works by and about Sheptyts'kyi would also be of use to future scholarship. The three concluding essays dealing with studies of Sheptyts'kyi (Chapters 19-21) are historiographical in nature and do not pretend to replace the still outstanding need for a comprehensive bibliographical listing. While these and other lacunae must be taken into account, the essays that appear here do nonetheless provide a broad coverage of Sheptyts'kyi's career. It is to be hoped that they will encourage further study which will address some of the unanswered questions and suggestions for future research (as in Chapter 21) raised in this book.

It may be useful to note some of the guidelines for technical matters which are employed in this volume, particularly the often complex and confusing question of place names and personal names. For names derived from sources in the Cyrillic alphabet, we have used the Library of Congress system to transliterate Russian and Ukrainian, a common practice for works in history and the social sciences that are published in North America. As that system is used here, we have retained the apostrophe to indicate soft signs and the quotation mark to indicate the internal hard sign in Russian and the apostrophe in Ukrainian words, but we have not indicated final hard signs in Russian nor added the diacritical marks (loops connecting consonants). Transliterations of older Ukrainian texts using the etymological alphabet reflect the original, and in order to achieve this the following additions are necessary: ы = ŷ and ь = î.

For place names, the principle of the main language used currently within the boundaries of present-day countries is employed. Thus, place names within the Ukrainian S.S.R. are in Ukrainian; within Poland in Polish; within Czechoslovakia in Czech or Slovak. As a result, certain Ukrainian historical and cultural centers are rendered in the Polish form—Przemyśl not Ukrainian Peremyshl' and Chełm not Ukrainian Kholm—because they are today within Poland. A few places that have generally accepted English names use those forms (Cracow, not Kraków; Kiev not Kyïv; Galicia, not Halychyna).

The question of personal names is even more complex. Existing literature often contains great differences in rendering the name of an individual, which varies according to the language of the publication and/or the transliteration system used. Perhaps the greatest variety is found in the name of the subject of this book. Among the variants encountered (in alphabetical order) are: Cheptitzky, Cheptyckyj, Scheptitzki, Scheptyckyj, Šcheptytzkyj, Šeptyćkyj, Sheptyckyj, Sheptytsky, Sheptyts'kyi, Sheptytskyj, Szepticky, Szeptickyj, Szeptycki, Szeptyckyj, Szeptytzkyj. If the field is narrowed to the Ukrainian form of his name, then the choice of variants can be reduced to the two which reflect the most commonly accepted transliteration systems used in North America: the Library of Congress (Sheptyts'kyi)—as used in this volume—or the International (Šeptyc'kyj).

In general, throughout this volume the name of an individual is rendered in the text according to his or her nationality. For the most part, this means Polish, Russian, or Ukrainian. However, the citations in the sources retain the form used in the original language of publication. Ukrainian activists from Canada and the United States mentioned in Chapters 16-18, are cited by the forms of last names known to have been used by those individuals in their own correspondence and other English-language sources. These forms, more often than not, diverge from the standard Library of Congress or International transliteration systems.

Finally, a word about the name of the church of which Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was metropolitan. In one sense, the terms Uniate, Ruthenian Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Ukrainian Catholic could be said to refer to the same church at various periods of its history from its establishment in 1596 to the present. In fact, the first three terms are more inclusive and refer to all former Orthodox adherents and their descendants who accepted the various unions with Rome, beginning with Brest in 1596.

Although the largest number of these adherents were and still are ethnically Ukrainian, there were and still are also Uniate/Ruthenian/Greek Catholics who were originally or have become ethnically Belorussian, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, and Slovak. There are as well Catholic Rusyns in the United States from the Carpathian region who identify themselves as Byzantine Ruthenians. The designation Ukrainian Catholic is a relatively recent term adopted outside the homeland during the 1960s. Although it is sometimes used by some of its adherents as the equivalent for all Uniate/

Ruthenian/Greek Catholics from East Central Europe, in fact, it applies only to those Catholics recognized by Rome to be within Ukrainian jurisdictions located outside the European homeland.

During Sheptyts'kyi's lifetime his church was always referred to as Greek Catholic, and the official remnants of that church in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary today still use only the term Greek Catholic. The underground church in the western parts of the Ukrainian S.S.R., which includes most territories formerly under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitanate of L'viv-Halych, still uses the term Greek Catholic although there seems to be a recent appearance of the term Ukrainian Catholic. At the risk of distortion that might result from the application of rigid terminological conformity, we have for the most part allowed the authors of the studies that follow to retain one of the terms mentioned above when describing the church with which Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was affiliated.

The list is long of those who helped make this volume possible. The sponsors and supporters of the 1984 conference are indicated in the program reproduced in Appendix II. Subsequent to that event, appreciation must be extended to the Reverend Dmitri Pankiw and to Michael Cybulsky, whose intervention with the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic parish and the St. Nicholas Parish (Toronto) Credit Union, Ltd. led to the generous subsidy that made it possible to prepare this volume for publication.

My thanks also go to the authors, who bravely put up with the often cantankerous and pedantic demands of the editor, and to Andrii Krawchuk, whose informed criticism and factual suggestions enriched the scholarly value of the work. Andrzej Zięba of Cracow provided useful criticism of the manuscript, the invaluable geneological charts in Appendix I, and he served as an important link to Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki of Warsaw, who provided many of the rare photographs published here for the first time. Ruth Cross has once again produced a meticulous index that will stand us all in good stead. The final form of this volume would not have been possible without the cooperation of Director Bohdan Krawchenko, Managing Editor David Marples, and the staff of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. Finally, much appreciation goes to Kay O'Brien of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, whose indefatigable typing skills transformed often heavily marked-up manuscripts into readable scholarly essays.

Paul Robert Magocsi
Toronto, 1988

Contents

List of Illustrations xiii
List of Contributors xv
Maps xvii
Chronology xix
Introduction
The Church between East and West: The Context of Sheptyts'kyi's Thought
Jaroslav Pelikan 1

Sheptyts'kyi and Politics

Chapter
1. Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian Government
Wolfdieter Bihl 15
2. Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914
John-Paul Himka 29
3. Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914
Bohdan Budurowycz 47
4. Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society
Ryszard Torzecki 75

Sheptyts'kyi during World War II

5. Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under Soviet Occupation, 1939-1941
Bohdan R. Bociurkiw 101
6. Sheptyts'kyi and the German Regime
Hansjakob Stehle 125
7. Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews
Shimon Redlich 145

Sheptyts'kyi and Religion

8. Sheptyts'kyi's Theological Thought
Petro B. T. Bilaniuk 165
9. Sheptyts'kyi and Ecumenism
Lubomyr Husar 185
10. Sheptyts'kyi and Liturgical Reform
Victor J. Pospishil 201
11. Sheptyts'kyi and Three Converts from the West
Brian R. Keleher 227

Sheptyts'kyi and Society

12. Sheptyts'kyi and the Ethics of Christian Social Action
Andrii Krawchuk 247
13. Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy
Ann Slusarczuk Sirka 269
14. Sheptyts'kyi as Patron of the Arts
Myroslava M. Mudrak 289

Sheptyts'kyi and Eastern-Rite Catholics Abroad

15. Sheptyts'kyi in the Russian Empire
Ivan Muzyczka 313
16. Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in Canada
Bohdan Kazymyra 329
17. Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in the United States
Bohdan P. Procko 349
18. Sheptyts'kyi and the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the United States
Athanasius B. Pekar 363

Sheptyts'kyi Studies

19. Sheptyts'kyi in Polish Public Opinion
Andrzej Zięba 377
20. The Symbol of Sheptyts'kyi in Soviet Ideology
Roman Waschuk 407
21. Western Historiography and Future Research
Michael Hrynchyshyn 421

Appendix I: Szeptycki/Sheptyts'kyi Genealogy 437
Appendix II: Toronto Conference on Andrei Sheptyts'kyi 441
Index 459

List of Illustrations

1. The brothers Jerzy, Roman, and Aleksander Szeptycki
2. The Szeptycki family
3. Reverend Władysław Zaleski, Roman Sheptyts'kyi, and Jerzy Szembek
4. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as a Basilian novitiate
5. Basilian Monastery in Dobromyl'
6. The Szeptyckis in Zakopane
7. Greek Catholic Church in Prylbychi
8. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as bishop of the Eparchy of Stanyslaviv
9. St. George's Cathedral Church in L'viv
10. Metropolitan's residence on St. George's Hill
11. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his mother
12. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, 1904
13. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, 1906
14. The Szeptycki clan before the family home in Prylbychi
15. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1914
16. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1921
17. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1927
18. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1928
19. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1929
20. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi among the faithful in Stryi, 1931
21. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1934
22. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1936
23. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi at mass, 1937
24. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in prayer, 1937
25. Last photograph of the Sheptyts'kyi/Szeptycki brothers together, 1939
26. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1943
27. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi after his death, 1944
28. Coat of arms of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi
29. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg

30. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and fellow Catholic hierarchs in L'viv
31. Last page of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's 1942 letter to Pope Pius XII
32. Section on political murder from the uncensored version of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's 1942 pastoral letter
33. Orphans under the care of Studite monks during World War II
34. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi at a pro-Union conference in Belgium
35. Greek Catholic hierarchs at an audience with Pope Pius XI
36. Archimandrite Kazimierz/Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi
37. Reverend Cyril Korolevsky
38. Archbishop Alexis van der Mensbrugghe
39. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Archimandrite Klymentii among Plast Ukrainian scouts
40. The Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi Ukrainian Hospital in L'viv
41. The Ukrainian National Museum in L'viv
42. "Moses," portrait of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi by Oleksa Novakivs'kyi
43. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the painter Mykhailo Moroz
44. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in Moscow
45. Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi with Prince and Princess Elizaveta Volkonskii
46. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi with the Redemptorist community in Yorkton, Saskatchewan
47. Bishop Nykyta Budka and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi
48. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in a procession in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
49. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi at a retreat for Greek Catholic priests in Bernardsville, New Jersey
50. Title page from the Polish satirical journal *Śmigus*
51. Caricature from a recent Soviet publication
52. Robarts Library Exhibit to commemorate Andrei Sheptyts'kyi
53. Ecumenical prayer service (*moleben*) in memory of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, University of Toronto

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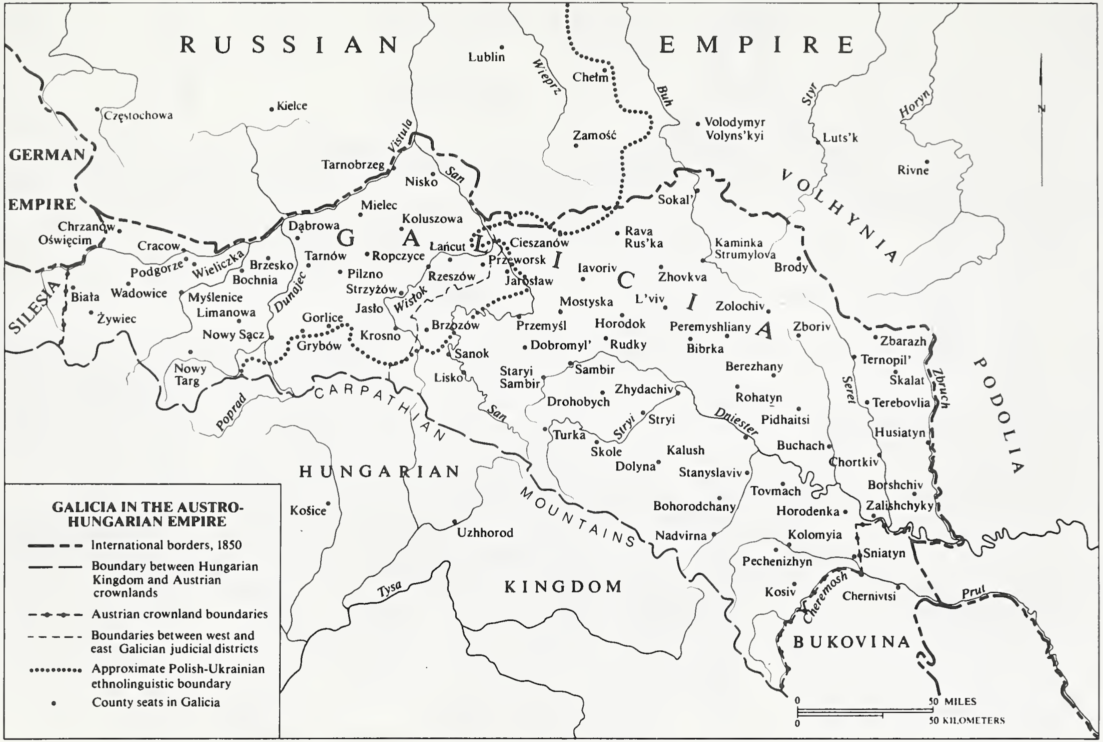
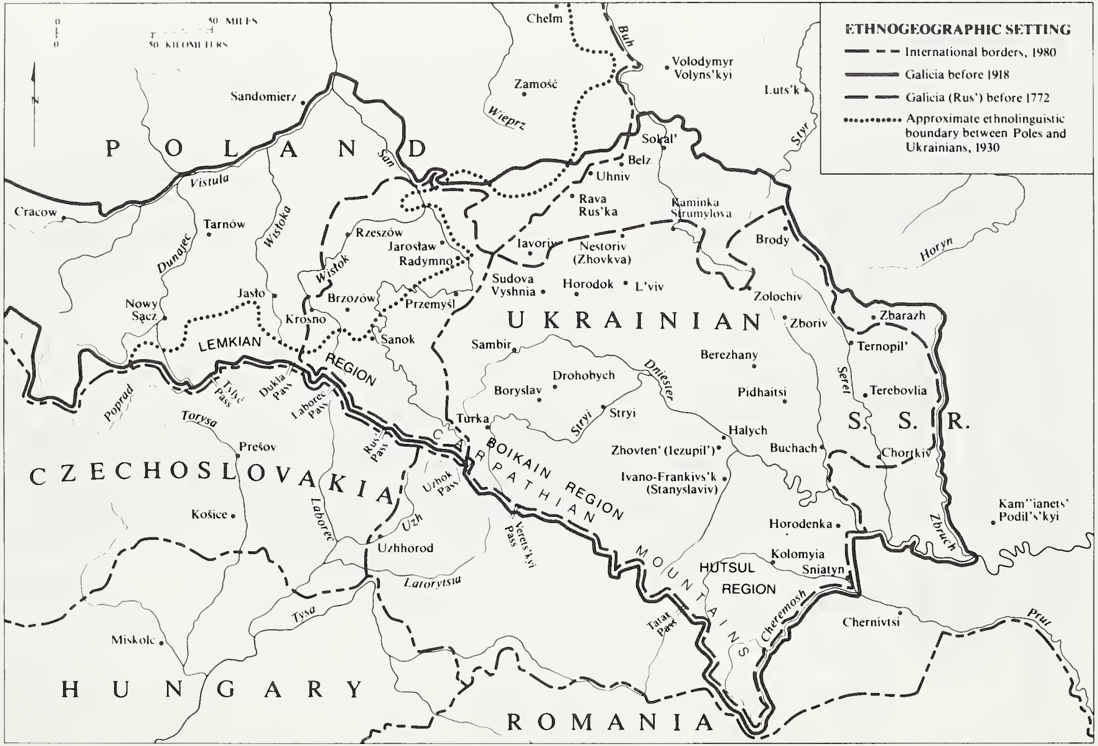


GALICIA IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

International borders, 1850
Boundary between Hungarian Kingdom and Austrian crownlands
Austrian crownland boundaries
Boundaries between west and east Galician judicial districts
Approximate Polish-Ukrainian ethnolinguistic boundary
County seats in Galicia
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
GERMAN EMPIRE
SILESIA
VOLHYNIA
PODOLIA
BUKOVINA
HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
GALICIA
N
0 50 MILES
0 50 KILOMETERS
Częstochowa
Kielce
Lublin
Chełm
Zamość
Volodymyr Volyns'kyi
Luts'k
Rivne
Tarnobrzeg
Nisko
Mielec
Koluszowa
Dąbrowa
Chrzanów
Oświęcim
Cracow
Podgorze
Wieliczka
Brzesko
Bochnia
Tarnów
Ropczyce
Łańcut
Cieszanów
Przeworsk
Jarosław
Rzeszów
Pilzno
Strzyżów
Jasło
Biała
Wadowice
Żywiec
Myślenice
Limanowa
Nowy Sącz
Gorlice
Grybów
Krosno
Brzozów
Sanok
Lisko
Nowy Targ
Przemyśl
Dobromyl'
Mostyska
Iavoriv
Rava Rus'ka
Sokal'
Zhovkva
L'viv
Horodok
Rudky
Sambir
Staryi Sambir
Drohobych
Turka
Zhydachiv
Stryi
Skole
Dolyna
Kalush
Stanyslaviv
Bohorodchany
Nadvirna
Kaminka Strumylova
Brody
Zolochiv
Peremyshliany
Bibrka
Zboriv
Berezhany
Rohatyn
Pidhaitsi
Buchach
Chortkiv
Tovmach
Horodenka
Kolomyia
Pechenizhyn
Kosiv
Sniatyn
Chernivtsi
Zbarazh
Ternopil'
Skalat
Terebovlia
Husiatyn
Borshchiv
Zalishchyky
Košice
Uzhhorod
Vistula
San
Wieprz
Buh
Styr
Horyn
Dunajec
Wisłok
Poprad
Stryi
Dniester
Seret
Zbruch
Prut
Cheremosh
Tysa


ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC SETTING
International borders, 1980
Galicia before 1918
Galicia (Rus') before 1772
Approximate ethnolinguistic boundary between Poles and Ukrainians, 1930
0 50 MILES
0 50 KILOMETERS
N
POLAND
UKRAINIAN S. S. R.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
LEMKIAN REGION
BOIKAIN REGION
HUTSUL REGION
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
Cracow
Tarnów
Sandomierz
Nowy Sącz
Jasło
Krosno
Brzozów
Rzeszów
Jarosław
Radymno
Przemyśl
Sanok
Chelm
Zamość
Volodymyr Volyns'kyi
Luts'k
Sokal'
Belz
Uhniv
Rava Rus'ka
Kaminka Strumylova
Iavoriv
Nestoriv (Zhovkva)
Sudova Vyshnia
Horodok
L'viv
Brody
Zolochiv
Zboriv
Zbarazh
Ternopil'
Terebovlia
Chortkiv
Berezhany
Pidhaitsi
Sambir
Drohobych
Boryslav
Stryi
Turka
Halych
Buchach
Zhovten' (Iezupil')
Ivano-Frankivs'k (Stanyslaviv)
Horodenka
Kolomyia
Sniatyn
Chernivtsi
Kam''ianets' Podil's'kyi
Prešov
Košice
Uzhhorod
Miskolc
Vistula
Dunajec
Wisłoka
Wisłok
San
Wieprz
Buh
Styr
Horyn
Dniester
Stryi
Seret
Zbruch
Prut
Cheremosh
Poprad
Torysa
Laborec
Uzh
Latorytsia
Tysa
Tylyč Pass
Dukla Pass
Laborec Pass
Rus' Pass
Uzhok Pass
Verets'kyi Pass
Tatar Pass

Chronology

1865	Roman Aleksander born (29 July), third son to Jan Kanty and Zofia Fredro Szeptycki in the family home at Prylbychi (Polish: Przyłbice), just south of Lavoriv, Austrian Galicia (today in the Ukrainian S.S.R. about thirty kilometers from the border with Poland).
1879–1883	Roman studies at the St. Anna *gymnasium*, Cracow,and graduates (11 June 1883). Visits Univ in June and is particularly impressed by the Eastern Christian religious and cultural relics; visits Venice (September 1883).
1883–1884	Roman volunteers for military service in the Austrian Uhlan Battalion (October 1883); discharged after contracting scarlet fever (May 1884).
1883–1887	Roman studies law (begun while in military service) at universities in Cracow and Wrocław (German: Breslau). Travels to Rome (1886); to Kiev, Moscow, and Czestochowa (1887); to Rome again (1888).
1888	Roman completes examinations, awarded doctoral degree in law (19 May); enters the Basilian monastery at Dobromyl'(29 May); professes his vocation and adopts the name Andrei (13 September).
1889–1892	Andrei completes faculty of philosophy requirement for theological studies at the University of Cracow, residing in the Jesuit house (October 1889-June 1891). Visits Orthodox Old Believer community in Austrian Bukovina (June 1891). Recovers from typhus at the mountain resort of Zakopane (August 1891-May 1892).
1892	Andrei takes his monastic vows (11 August); ordained to priesthood (3 September).

1892–1894	Andrei completes theological studies at the Jesuit Seminary in Cracow; awarded doctoral degree in theology.
1893–1896	While monk in Dobromyl', Andrei becomes master of novices and professor of classical languages.
1896	Andrei appointed hegumen (superior) of the St. Onufrii Basilian monastery in L'viv (20 July). Travels to northern Germany for health reasons (August-October).
1897	Co-founder of the journal, *Misionar*.
1898	Andrei appointed hegumen and professor of theology at Krystynopil'.
1899	Andrei nominated (1 February) and consecrated (17 September) in L'viv as Greek Catholic bishop of Stanyslaviv. Establishes eparchial seminary and library.
1900	Bishop Andrei nominated (31 October) and installed (17 January 1901) at St. George's Cathedral in L'viv as Greek Catholic archbishop of L'viv, metropolitan of Halych, and bishop of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi.
1901	The Metropolitan appointed vice-marshal of the Galician diet (October).
1902	The Metropolitan leads a pilgrimage of Greek Catholics to Rome on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the papacy of Leo XIII (October).
1902–1903	The Metropolitan suffers from a serious illness that almost takes his life (December 1902-March 1903).
1903	The Metropolitan is appointed member of the House of Lords in the Austrian parliament and to the Imperial Ministerial Council in Vienna (2 January). Provides funds to establish in L'viv the Narodna Lichnytsia (People's Clinic); establishes Studite monastic order.
1905	The Metropolitan establishes the Ukrainian National Museum in L'viv. Subsequently, he provides funds for a building, opened in 1913. The Metropolitan visits the Holy Land (August) with a group of pilgrims from Moravia. He convenes and presides over an eparchial sobor (28–29 December).
1906	The Metropolitan leads an archeparchial pilgrimage to the Holy Land (5-28 September). The Metropolitan prepares a book of rules for the Studite Order, later revised with his brother Klymentii and published as the *Typicon*.
1907	The Metropolitan meets in Rome with Pope Pius X, who reconfirms the Metropolitan's jurisdiction over the Eparchy of Kamianets' (then in the Russian Empire) and, by extension, his jurisdiction over all other former Greek Catholic eparchies in the Russian Empire (February). The Metropolitan attends

	and is elected president of the ecumenical Velehrad Congress in Moravia (25-29 July).
1908	Count Andrzej Potocki, viceroy of Galicia, assassinated by Ukrainian student activist (12 April). The Metropolitan condemns the act in a pastoral letter. In the autumn, he travels incognito to the Russian Empire (Belorussia, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev), meeting with persons inclined toward church union with Rome.
1909	The Metropolitan presides over the Second Velehrad Congress (July).
1910	The Metropolitan visits North America. Meets with Greek Catholic communities in the United States (August-October); attends twenty-first International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal (September); tours Ukrainian communities in Canada (October-November); returns to United States (November-December).
1914	World War I begins (July-August); tsarist Russian army invades Austrian Galicia; L'viv taken (3 September); the Metropolitan arrested (19 September).
1914–1917	The Metropolitan moved from L'viv to Kiev to Nizhnii Novgorod (September 1914); imprisoned in Kursk (October 1914-September 1916) and Suzdal' (September-December 1916); moved to Iaroslavl' (December 1916-March 1917).
1917	Revolution in the Russian Empire and the overthrow of the tsar (February/March). The Metropolitan released (8 March); proceeds to St. Petersburg to work among Russia's Catholics (March-July); briefly visits Kiev and Moscow (May), then returns to St. Petersburg where he convokes a synod and consecrates Bishop Leonid Fedorov (29–31 May). He leaves the Russian Empire (7 July) and returns home via Stockholm, Berlin, Constance, Freiburg, Lausanne, Innsbruck, and Vienna (26 August). Arrives in L'viv (10 September).
1918	The Metropolitan addresses the Austrian House of Lords (28 February) to promote the cession of the Chełm region to the Ukrainian National Republic, according to the provisions of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. Habsburg Emperor Karl abdicates (31 October); dissolution of Austria-Hungary. The Metropolitan welcomes declaration of Galician-Ukrainian independence (1 November) and establishment of the West Ukrainian People's Republic. Polish-Ukrainian war (November 1918-July 1919) ends with Polish control of Galicia.
1920–1923	The Metropolitan goes abroad on behalf of the political and economic status of East Galicia: in Vienna (December 1920);

	Rome (December 1920-March 1921); Belgium, the Netherlands, France, and Britain (April-May 1921); Canada (August-November 1921); United States (November 1921-March 1922); Brazil and Argentina (March-July 1922); United States (August-November 1922); London (December 1922); Rome (December 1922-April 1923); Belgium (April-July 1923).
1923	On the eve of the Entente's Council of Ambassadors meeting to decide the fate of East Galicia (14-15 March), the Metropolitan lobbies the French government. Nonetheless, Polish rule over all of Galicia is internationally recognized. The Metropolitan is escorted by Polish authorities to Poznań upon his entry into Poland (24 August); returns to L'viv via Warsaw (5 October). The Metropolitan's younger brother, Stanisław Szeptycki (Polish general and commander of the Lithuanian-Belorussian front during the Russo-Polish war, 1919-1920), is named Poland's Minister of Defense (June–December 1923). The Metropolitan establishes the Theological Scholarly Society (Bohoslovs'ke Naukove Tovarystvo) in L'viv and the theological journal, *Bohosloviia.*
1925	Polish-Vatican Concordat signed (10 February). The Metropolitan participates in the Union Week in Brussels (21–25 September).
1927	The Metropolitan presides over the Fifth Ecumenical Congress at Velehrad in Moravia, Czechoslovakia (20-24 July). In L'viv the Metropolitan convokes the first meeting of all Greek Catholic bishops from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and North America (29-30 November).
1928	The Metropolitan establishes the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in L'viv. The Metropolitan visits fellow Greek Catholics (August) in neighboring Czechoslovakia (Subcarpathian Rus' and the Prešov Region).
1929	Establishment of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), dedicated to the overthrow of Polish and eventually Soviet rule over Ukrainian lands (28 January-3 February). The Metropolitan convenes in L'viv the first conference of all Eastern-rite Slavic bishops (29–30 November); publishes a new *Liturgikon* (December).
1930	The Metropolitan's health deteriorates; he is henceforth confined to a wheelchair. Poland's first Eucharistic Congress held in Poznań (June); the Metropolitan participates, in part, to improve Polish-Ukrainian relations. Polish army and gendarmerie carry out the so-called pacification campaign against Ukrainian villages in East Galicia (16 September-30

	November). The Metropolitan travels to Warsaw in an attempt to meet with Marshal Piłsudski to alleviate political tension (October); issues pastoral letter condemning both pacification and terrorist acts.
1933	The Metropolitan plays an active role in the festival, "Ukrainian Youth for Christ" (6-7 May).
1934	Assassination of Poland's Minister of the Interior, Bronisław Pieracki, and a Ukrainian educator, Ivan Babii, by the OUN. Second act denounced by the Metropolitan.
1936	The Metropolitan issues a pastoral letter against Communism and against Ukrainian participation in Communist-related activity (August). The Metropolitan organizes the first pro-Union Congress in L'viv (December).
1938	A personal attack against the Metropolitan in the Polish Sejm provokes widespread support among Ukrainians throughout Poland (February). On the fortieth anniversary of his consecration as bishop, the Metropolitan is appointed assistant to the Papal throne by Pope Pius XI (June). The Metropolitan issues a pastoral letter regarding the destruction of Orthodox churches in the Chełm region (2 August). The Narodna Lichnytsia, with further financing from the Metropolitan and Ukrainians in North America, is transformed into the Sheptyts'kyi Ukrainian Hospital.
1939	Outbreak of World War II. Nazi Germany invades Poland from the west (1 September); the Soviet Union invades Poland from the east (17 September); East Galicia under Soviet rule. The Metropolitan establishes four new Greek Catholic exarchates for the Soviet Union (9 October): Volhynia-Polissia-Podlachia-Chełm; Belorussia; Russia and Siberia; Greater Ukraine. East Galicia and western Volhynia, up to the San and Buh rivers, formally incorporated into the Ukrainian S.S.R. (November).
1940	The Metropolitan presides over first archeparchial synod (2 May–20 December) and the First Synod of Eastern Exarchs (18–19 September).
1941	The Metropolitan presides over second archeparchial synod (May–June). Germany invades the Soviet Union (22 June); L'viv occupied by the German army (30 June). Declaration in L'viv of Ukrainian statehood by the Bandera faction of the OUN (30 June); leaders soon arrested by the Germans. The Metropolitan becomes honorary head of the newly-created Council of Seniors (6 July); transformed by the end of the month into the Ukrainian National Council of which he becomes honorary chairman. East Galicia is joined as the fifth

	province of the German-ruled colony—the Generalgouvernement (1 August).
1942	The Metropolitan writes letter to head of the German SS, Heinrich Himmler, deploring mass murder of Jews (February); presides over third archeparchial synod and the Second Synod of Eastern Exarchs (9–15 June); issues pastoral letter, ''Thou Shalt Not Kill'' (November).
1943	SS Division Galizien formed (April). Metropolitan presides over last archeparchial synod during the war (ends in November).
1944	Red Army enters Galicia (Ternopil' region, March). The Metropolitan, as first vice-chairman, signs a declaration of the United All-Ukrainian National Council that reiterates the continuation of the Ukrainian struggle for national independence (April). L'viv under Soviet control (27 July). Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi dies (1 November); burial in crypt of St. George's Cathedral (5 November).

Morality and Reality

Introduction

The Church between East and West: The Context of Sheptyts'kyi's Thought

Jaroslav Pelikan

The purpose of this brief introduction is to suggest how the history of efforts at East-West unification provided the context of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's thought.[1] For despite the impression that might be gained from watching North American television, the division of East and West did not begin seventy years ago with the October Revolution, but sixteen hundred years ago, when, in Gibbon's words: "Diocletian had divided his power and provinces with his associate Maximian."[2] As a consequence of Diocletian's action, as Gibbon suggested earlier in his account, "the political union of the Roman world was gradually dissolved, and a principle of division was introduced, which, in the course of a few years, occasioned the perpetual separation of the eastern and western empires."[3]

If, on a physical map of Europe without political boundaries, one were to draw a line running north to south (presumably in imperial purple) delineating the division of the Roman Empire under Diocletian; and if one were then to draw a second north-south line (this time in Byzantine gold) to indicate the schism between Roman Catholicism and *Pravoslavie* during the Middle Ages and since; then, if one drew a third line (in red, of course) to make the border between East and West after Yalta,[4] the three lines would not of course be identical, but they would in striking measure be more similar than dissimilar. This does suggest that East-West division has managed to perpetuate itself in pre-Christian Europe, in Christian Europe, and in post-Christian Europe.

Of those three divisions, the separation between Roman Catholicism and *Pravoslavie* during the Middle Ages and since has lasted by far the longest, as the studies of Sheptyts'kyi in this volume graphically demonstrate and as we are being reminded yet again by the controversies over the millennium of the baptism of Rus'. That division has also received much more systematic and sustained intellectual (as distinct from political, economic, or military) attention than the other two combined. I shall not recount here the history of the division, nor rehearse what I have elsewhere called "the theological origins of the schism."[5] Rather, presupposing at least some acquaintance with this history, I shall suggest a historical typology of three designs for the intellectual reunification of East and West that have come out of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical schism, in the hope that these will help to put the ecclesiology and pro-Union efforts of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi into historical context.

Conquest

The most obvious and direct means of reunification has always been through conquest. At the same time, the relations between East and West are a prime illustration of the principle that while the military or political conquest is going in one direction, the intellectual conquest, and therefore the reunification through conquest, may be going in the opposite direction. As Horace observed in one of his *Epistles* and exhibited in his poetry, "Greece, once overcome [by Rome], overcame her wild conqueror, and brought the arts into rustic Latium."[6]

During the first three centuries or so of the history of Christian doctrine, a similar conquest of the West by the East took place in theology. Rome continued to be the political capital of the Mediterranean world until 330 A.D. and it was rapidly becoming the ecclesiastical capital as well. The primacy of the See of Peter was acknowledged by almost every Christian teacher everywhere. Nevertheless, most of the monumental intellectual achievements of Christian theology during that period, and well beyond it, were written in Greek. Moreover, of those works that were written in Latin, many of the most significant did not come from Rome but from Roman North Africa. The prominence of North Africa continued with the arrival on the scene of Augustine of Hippo, who, theological genius though he undoubtedly was, still had to recognize that on the cardinal doctrines of the faith—the Trinity and the Incarnation—the Greeks had been the chief pioneers. It was their creed that he recited with the formula, "This is my faith, since it is the Catholic faith."[7] Each of the seven ecumenical councils of the "undivided" church was held in the East. Therefore, it is essential not to confuse the various kinds of conquest.

Sometimes, however, military conquest and intellectual domination have coincided, as they have in the history of the church and of theology. An example is the sack of Constantinople by the Venetians in the Fourth Crusade of 1204. "There never was a greater crime against humanity than the Fourth

Crusade,'' Sir Steven Runciman asserted near the conclusion of his *History of the Crusades*,[8] and his graphic description of the pillage of a Christian capital by Christian barbarians bears out the assertion.

Without getting into what might be called ''comparative demonics'' or measuring the relative atrocity index of the Fourth Crusade and the Holocaust, we may take Sir Steven's point, especially in considering intellectual reunification by conquest. Undeniably, the Latinization of Constantinople and of Jerusalem by the Crusades brought some intellectual benefits. For example, it made a useful contribution to our understanding of the constitutional law of Western feudalism, which was systematized and codified more thoroughly when it was exported to the Near East than it had ever been in the home countries of western Europe. Applied to the liturgical and theological forms of Eastern Christendom, however, the reunification of East and West through Latinization was largely a disaster. The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople was compelled to flee to Nicaea, and his place for the next half-century was taken by a Latin Patriarch.[9] Byzantine churches were closed, monks were imprisoned, and characteristically Western formulas of doctrine were imposed on the Greeks. As one scholar has recently described the relations between the two churches between 1204 and 1261, ''the discussions all but foundered at the start on matters of protocol. As it was, they drifted into a sea of theology in which there was no hope of agreement.''[10] With regard to doctrine, the net result of the Latin conquest was an even deeper division of East and West.

To this day, as many visitors to Mount Athos can attest, the memory of the atrocity of 1204 has remained alive in Eastern Orthodox Christendom. Indeed, I join myself to those who take 1204 as the decisive date for the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches. Most manuals of church history, at least in generations past, have accepted the traditional date as 1054, when, in Gibbon's phrase, Patriarch ''Michael Cerularius was excommunicated in the heart of Constantinople by the pope's legates,'' who ''deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema.'' ''From this thunderbolt,'' Gibbon continued, ''we may date the consummation of the schism.''[11] In fact, the break was not as abrupt as the ''thunderbolt'' metaphor suggests, for there continued to be sporadic fraternal contacts throughout the twelfth century. At one time, it was thought appropriate to date the divorce of the two churches from ''the Photian schism'' of the ninth century, which, because of its connections with the jurisdictional and liturgical dispute over the Great Moravian state and the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, must be said to have a certain appeal, especially to Slavs and Slavicists. Closer scrutiny of ''the Photian schism,'' however, particularly by Francis Dvornik, has shown it to be, in his phrase, at least as much ''legend'' as ''history.''[12] Finally, there are those, primarily it would seem among canon lawyers, for whom the breakdown of the Union of Florence in the fifteenth century is technically the point when East and West finally came apart. Nonetheless, both symbolically and intrinsically—and certainly if conquest through Latinization is the issue—1204 deserves the dubious honor.

Nor are spokesmen for Eastern Orthodoxy the only ones who have lamented and criticized the policy of Latinization. On 30 November 1894, Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical *Orientalium dignitas ecclesiarum*, which Adrian Fortescue has called "perhaps the most important of all documents of this kind."[13] The primary purpose of the encyclical was to lay to rest the well-grounded fears of most Eastern theologians and churchmen that Rome was intent on destroying their traditions and imposing the patterns of scholastic theology and Latin liturgy upon them instead. Leo XIII was, after all, the pope whose *Aeterni Patris* of 1879 had become the charter of Neo-Thomism in the West. This made *Orientalium dignitas* all the more effective as a critique of intellectual reunification through conquest.

Leo XIII rejected Latinization on the grounds that many of the traditions embodied in the Eastern liturgies which it would displace were in fact older and more solemn than the Latin Mass. In fact, some of the noblest elements in the intellectual and liturgical life of the Western Church had come to it from the East, as the very vocabulary of the West demonstrated through the use of such terms as Liturgy and Eucharist. In addition, Leo XIII repudiated, as alien to the authentic Catholic tradition, any effort at homogeneity. Despite the theological oxymoron "Roman Catholic," the Catholic Church was truly "catholic" only if it was not exclusively Latin and did not adhere merely to one liturgical tradition. To be catholic, it had to be, in the phrase of the Psalm (at any rate of the Psalm in Latin), "surrounded with variety [*circumdata varietate*]."[14]

On the basis of these intellectual presuppositions, Pope Leo XIII set out concrete educational and canonical provisions for the preservation of Eastern rites in those churches, such as the Ukrainian, that undertook reunification with Rome. He threatened with suspension any Western proselytizer who strove to Latinize an adherent of one of these churches. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi of L'viv-Halych was dedicated to the ideal of a fraternal reunification of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church into a single, at least quasi-autocephalous, Eastern church in union with the Apostolic See. Hence for him the *Orientalium dignitas* became the Magna Charta of a program for the intellectual reunification of East and West that would not merely not require, but would prohibit, "hybridism" and the sacrifice of Eastern identity for the sake of unity.[15] Although his successor in the see of L'viv-Halych, Iosyf Cardinal Slipyi, continued Sheptyts'kyi's policy of making appeals to the Orthodox for reunion, he quoted *Orientalium dignitas* even more vigorously in his defenses against the Latins. Concerned as he was, especially with the status of Ukrainian Catholics in the diaspora of North America, Slipyi battled for the integrity of Eastern liturgy and Eastern canon law. At the Second Vatican Council he found the opportunity to make his case for a reunification that did not resort to conquest.

Compromise

A second path to the intellectual reunification of East and West, one often taken in reaction against the first, has been compromise. It may seem to be the special characteristic of an age like our own to suppose that since divergences of religious doctrine cannot conceivably be important anyway, some compromise formula or other can usually be invented that will resolve them. Yet this notion has appeared throughout history. The most famous (or infamous) example of all from the history of Christian doctrine, is the fateful substitution of *homoiousios* for the *homoousios* in the Nicene Creed by various theologians and politicians during the fourth century. This was based on the assumption that it would not make one iota of difference. Only in our own time, when the divergences of doctrine between the Shi'ite and the Sunni traditions of Islam have manifested themselves politically, have we begun to consider them as though they could not matter in and of themselves, quite apart from their political consequences, as alternative and reverent interpretations of the ultimate mystery of being. As the tendency toward political reductionism suggests, then, it has not been accidental that proposals of doctrinal compromise as a means of achieving the ecclesiastical reunification of East and West have frequently been inspired by *raison d'état* and have come at a time when one or the other or both of the sides stood under various kinds of political or even military pressure.

For more than a thousand years, the most troublesome dispute over dogma between the Latin West and the Greek East has been the *Filioque*.[16] Does the Holy Spirit in the Holy Trinity proceed eternally from the Father only, as the Nicene Creed originally seemed to imply and as the East went on teaching, or does the Holy Spirit proceed eternally "from the Father and the Son [*ex Patre Filioque*]," as the West eventually confessed in its unique version of the Nicene Creed? Involved in this seemingly abstruse, perhaps even unanswerable, question were, at the deepest metaphysical level, two different ways of affirming the oneness of the Godhead as the essential presupposition for the trineness of the Godhead.

For the classic formulation of the Western position in the trinitarianism of Augustine, God as the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was still one, because both the Father and the Son participated in the procession of the Holy Spirit. For the East, on the other hand, with its trinitarianism worked out by the "three Cappadocians" of the fourth century (Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa), God as the Trinity was still one, because both the Son and the Holy Spirit came from the Father only, who remained the sole "origin [*arché*]" within the Godhead.

Like many theological questions, the *Filioque* in part resolved itself into the issue of authority: Did any one of the five historic patriarchates of the Church—Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch—have the right on its own to legislate new doctrine for the church as a whole? That was what, to Eastern eyes, Rome had done by adding this phrase to the creed (though only, it must be recalled, after considerable hesitation). There were literally hundreds of treatises from both sides which catapulted over the line of battle between East and West. As the twelfth chapter of the *Life* of Saint Methodius shows, he was obliged to clarify his position on this question.[17] As well, some of the earliest monuments of East Slavic literature coming out of the conversion of Rus', such as the treatises collected by Andrei N. Popov,[18] include discussions of the *filioque*.

At the Council of Florence in 1439, however, the representatives of the East, including the Byzantine Emperor John VII Palaeologus and Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, accepted and signed a compromise formula. As the bull of reunification (*Laetentur caeli* of 6 July 1439, still commemorated on a plaque in the Duomo of Florence), explained in both its Greek and Latin versions, the compromise proceeded on the basis of the study of "many authorities from the holy doctors both Eastern and Western, some of whom say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son but others of whom say [that the Holy Spirit proceeds] from the Father through the Son." The formula concluded that, "in diverse ways of speaking [*en diaphorois tais lexesin, sub diversis vocabulis*]," the phrase "from the Father and the Son [*ex Patre Filioque*]" meant the same as "from the Father through the Son [*ex Patre per Filium*]." The Greeks, it explained, had been reassured that the Latins agreed with them about a single "origin [*arché, principium*]" in the Godhead; the Latins, for their part, now acknowledged that when the Greeks spoke (as had the Creed of Nicaea) about a procession "from the Father," they "did not do so with the intention of excluding the Son."[19]

As it stood, the compromise formula of the Council of Florence represented a considerable degree of intellectual and theological sophistication and was not devoid of promise of an authentic meeting of minds, but it did not in fact address the fundamental and underlying issues for which the *Filioque* had come to stand in the theology of both sides. It left the basic philosophical and theological presuppositions untouched and "papered over" the intellectual differences.

Therefore, when the political and ecclesiastical situations on both sides shifted, the intellectual reunification collapsed. It must be acknowledged from the history of the church that some formulas of intellectual reunification, which might be labeled as compromises and which have come into being under particular political circumstances, have then gone on to outlive those circumstances. The Creed of the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Confession presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 are both examples of that, but to have outlived their particular circumstances, they had to have acquired an intellectual integrity of their own that did not depend on the *Realpolitik* in whose context they originally arose.

Neither in the East nor in the West did the existential situation at the middle of the fifteenth century allow such processes of maturation to develop for the compromise formula of the Union of Florence. Less than fifteen years after *Laetentur caeli* (1439), Constantinople fell to the Turks. The Papacy, already beleaguered at the Council of Basel which was moved to Ferrara and then to Florence, was heading toward the crisis of the Protestant Reformation, which largely overshadowed the desire for the reunification of East and West, whether intellectual or ecclesiastical, for several centuries. The Church of Russia repudiated the Union of Florence, and so did that of Constantinople. Ever since then it has stood as a cautionary tale, as its use in subsequent negotiations toward the intellectual reunification of East and West in Europe demonstrates. For example, a standard account in English about the ambiguities of the Union of Brest-Litovsk in 1595/1596, which came just a century and a half later and which was of such decisive importance for Sheptyts'kyi, bears the title *From Florence to Brest*.[20]

Concord

Beyond both conquest and compromise, there has been concord, a third path to the intellectual reunification of East and West. For the most brilliant formulation of this method I turn to the thought of Vladimir Sergeievich Solov'ëv. His exposition of the Eastern Christian understanding of the gospel in *Chtenniia o Bogochelovechestve* (Lectures on Godmanhood, 1878) has been for me an indispensable historical key to understanding not only what Georges V. Florovsky called the *puti* (ways) of Russian theology but the intellectual world view of the Greek church fathers in their distinction from the Latin tradition. Yet the work of Solov'ëv in which his position on the intellectual reunification of East and West has been stated most fully was not in fact published in Russian, but in French: *La Russie et l'église universelle* (1898). In this context, I do not propose to enter into the mooted questions, themselves of interest to students of Sheptyts'kyi, about Solov'ëv's own personal resolution of the tension between East and West and the form of his private reconciliation with Rome, but rather to look at the problem he poses in *La Russie et l'église universelle* as it describes this third way of reunification.

Like the Slavophiles, to whom he stands in an ambivalent relation on many aesthetic and theological questions, Solov'ëv strove to distance himself from much of Western thought, secular as well as religious, as his youthful thesis "against the positivists" made clear. Toward Western Christian thought he took a polemical stance for its rationalism. He attacked Protestant theologians, especially German Lutherans, for their excessive individualism, and Roman Catholic prelates and scholastics for their simplistic identification of the church as Body of Christ with the church as papal institution. He professed to see Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, for all their mutual recriminations, as having in common the fatal flaw of Western theology. Even in its most radical expressions, Russian sectarianism had retained a sense of community that Solov'ëv found lacking in the Pietist forms of Protestant theology and devotion. He likewise saw in the Roman Catholic Inquisition the embodiment of an ecclesiastical tyranny that would not suffer even the figure of Christ to interfere with its thought control.

In his work on "theocracy," Solov'ëv examined closely the biblical metaphor of "the kingdom of God." He sought to come to terms with its eschatological-apocalyptic connotations, while at the same time probing for an identification of the concrete structures, political as well as ecclesiastical, in which it might be able to find embodiment (using the word "embodiment" here in the sense of "incarnation"). Thus, if I may put his answer to the question of the intellectual reunification of East and West into the categories I have been employing here, I would interpret Solov'ëv as one of the most eloquent among the Eastern critics of the endemic Western proclivity for using the devices of conquest to resolve intellectual and spiritual differences.

He was, at the same time, set against the device of theological compromise, because it was an evasion of the fundamental source of such differences. He was correspondingly critical of the theological imprecision that he took to be all too characteristic of much of Eastern thought, especially in its modern and Russian phases. That criticism did not extend to the Greek church fathers and the ecumenical councils of the church, where Solov'ëv frequently found corroboration for his discoveries, or, as he would prefer to call them, rediscoveries. Sometimes, therefore, Solov'ëv appears to have joined himself to the Westernizing repudiation of those features in *Pravoslavie* that tended toward obscurantism and superstition, especially when they manifested themselves in works that made intellectual and scholarly claims. He likewise faulted the East for having manifested too little of the very tendencies that had been manifested to excess in the West—the emphasis on church structure and order. When the late Alexander Schmemann spoke about the "ecclesiological silence" of Eastern Orthodox theology in the modern period, referring to a Byzantinism "which shaped the 'historical consciousness' of Orthodoxy, and which still constitutes the essential context for the Orthodox experience of the Church, of the World, and of their relationship with one another," he was, albeit with significantly different conclusions in mind, sharing the diagnosis of Eastern thought that Solov'ëv had set forth.[21]

What Solov'ëv proposed as an alternative was, to use a term made familiar by Pavel Florenskii, a "universalizing concord [*vseedinstvo*]" that would be based on an acceptance of the dialectical character of Christian doctrine and therefore on the interdependence of the Eastern and Western versions of it. In this, Solov'ëv consciously patterned himself after what he took to have been the methodology of intellectual reunification in the dogmatic decrees of the seven ecumenical councils from Nicaea I in 325, which affirmed the Trinity, to Nicaea II in 787, which reaffirmed the icons.

At none of those councils, by Solov'ëv's reading at any rate, had one of the contending parties simply conquered the other; nor, on the other hand, was the emerging doctrinal formulation simply a compromise between two or more positions. On the contrary, both the party which had stressed the oneness of God at the expense of the distinction among the *hypostaseis* of the Trinity, and the party which had emphasized the distinction but in a way that threatened the oneness, were making a valid point. Yet it was a point that needed to be set into polarity with the other. Therefore, the Nicene Creed opened with: "We believe in *one* God," but went on to make the Son and the Holy Spirit objects of faith in their own right. At work in this process there was a principle of truth as complementarity and a corollary definition of reunification as concord. So it had been above all, according to Solov'ëv, in the debates over the person of Christ, where his authentic humanity or his total deity or the genuine integrity of the relation between the two appeared to be in jeopardy, but where the formulas of the Council of Ephesus in 431, and above all of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, had gone beyond the supposed alternatives, and had gone on to concord rather than to compromise. *Bogochelovechestvo* was a doctrinal truth about the two natures in Christ and, therefore, also a metaphysical truth about human nature and about the very nature of being.

It appears to be consistent with Solov'ëv's interpretation of both East and West to see in this understanding of concord the key to his view of the intellectual reunification of the two. Each of the two, in his judgment, needed what the other possessed in isolation, but the exchange and the concord had to be reciprocal. Throughout the modern period, there has been a continuing Western influence on Eastern Orthodox theology in its methods and even in its theological categories. In examining, for example, the curriculum of Russian Orthodox "spiritual academies" in the nineteenth century, one must be struck by their adoption of courses and of texts that came from the Latin tradition.[22] The same is true of works in dogmatics and catechetics. Not only the Ukrainian-born Feofan Prokopovich, who had for some time adhered to the Latin obedience, but such enormously influential Russian theologians as Filaret (Drozdov) and Makarii of Moscow organized their presentations of Orthodox doctrines on the basis of distinctions borrowed from Latin scholasticism.

Despite his own heavy borrowing from Western intellectual sources, especially from German Idealism, Solov'ëv did not see such Thomism as the primary contribution of West to East. Rather, this was to come, as he argued in *La Russie et l'église universelle*, from the Western sense of the need for a church order that transcended local and particular traditions. Through his conversations with Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the Croatian "father of the fatherland,"[23] Solov'ëv came to believe that the principle of authority needed an institutional representation, which the historic concept of "pentarchy"—the authority of the five "apostolic" patriarchates—could no longer provide. In fact the "pentarchy" had not been able to provide such authority since the seventh-century conquest of three patriarchates (Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch) and the fifteenth-century conquest of the fourth (Constantinople). Rome was the only one of the five able to function as authority and leader.

Rome could not fulfill such a function by superciliously ignoring the Eastern heritage. For although the Latin West in the first five centuries owed much of its intellectual and theological patrimony to the thought of the Eastern church fathers, its relation to Eastern Orthodox thought had now, for a millennium, been one of ignorance, as the bibliographies and library catalogues of Western theology, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, made evident. As a consequence, it had become an occupational disease of Western theologians to turn complementarity into disjunction, and it was the rationalism of such disjunctions that had shaped Western doctrinal controversy.

Thus, in the fifth century the question was: Is Augustine right in stressing the sovereignty of divine grace over human free will or is Pelagius right in urging that salvation depends on free human decision? In the sixteenth century the question was: Is the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist a "real presence" or a "mystical presence"? The historic Eastern answer to both of these Western questions was "yes." It was not a matter of either/or but of both/and. Moreover, it was not only one or another Western answer that was wrong. The question was wrong, and it would remain wrong until the *Fragestellung* was shaped not by scholasticism but by the liturgy, where both poles of such controversies had come to voice.

Concord between East and West, and therefore intellectual reunification, had to come through the use of a method that would sound the differences to their depths in a common tradition, in which apparently antithetical teachings had existed side by side, not because previous generations of believers and theologians had lacked our acuity in recognizing the antithesis but because, while recognizing it, they had possessed, or been possessed by, what the New Testament called "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." (Eph 4:3)

Such considerations make the study of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's thought as relevant theologically as it is fascinating historically. It can be argued that he, more than any other twentieth-century thinker, strove to carry out the program of Solov'ëv's *La Russie et l'église universelle*, at least as it pertained to Ukrainian Christianity. It does bear mentioning that in the ecumenical atmosphere represented, and fostered, by the Second Vatican Council, the prospects for a deepening of such "concord" and, therefore, for such a position "between East and West," if not for institutional and organic union, are probably better today than they have been for many centuries. All of which, in turn, suggests that even very bitter intellectual blood feuds that have lasted for more than a millennium can be resolved. It was to that vision that Andrei Sheptyts'kyi devoted his life.

Notes

1. Some of the material in this inroduction was presented in an earlier form as a lecture for the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Boston, Massachusetts, 6 November 1987.
2. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* vol. I, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1896), p. 441.
3. Ibid., p. 384.
4. This is more precise than what Winston Churchill did when he spoke in his Iron Curtain address of 5 March 1946 about a line "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic."
5. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine,* vol. II (Chicago, 1974), pp. 146–98, with bibliography, pp. 308–10.
6. *Epistles,* Book II, Epistle i, line 156, Casper J. Kraemer, ed., *The Complete Works of Horace* (New York, 1963), p. 373.
7. Augustine, *On the Trinity,* I.ix.7, in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Church,* First Series, vol. III (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), p. 20.
8. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* vol. III (Cambridge, 1954), p. 130.
9. R. L. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1203–1261, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* VII (Washington, D.C., 1954), pp. 225–304.
10. D. M. Nicol, "The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires, 1204–1261," in *The Cambridge Medieval History,* 2nd ed., vol. IV, (Cambridge, 1966), p. 303.
11. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* vol. VI (1898), p. 370.
12. Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend,* reprint ed. (Cambridge, 1970).
13. Adrian Fortescue, "Eastern Churches," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. V (New York, 1909), p. 239, with a concise summary of its chief provisions.
14. Ps. 45:10 (44:10 according to the Vulgate numbering of the Psalms).
15. Cyrille Korolevskij. *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj 1865–1944,* Opera Theologica Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI–XVII (Rome, 1964), pp. 323–48; see also p. 239.
16. See Pelikan, *Christian Tradition,* vol. II, pp. 183–98.
17. See Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), pp. 163–5.
18. Andrei N. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevnerusskikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv Latinian, XI–XV v.* (Moscow, 1875).
19. The portion of the text, both Greek and Latin, dealing with the *Filioque* appears in Joseph Alberigo et al., eds., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta,* 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), pp. 524–7.
20. Oskar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest: Sacrae Poloniae Millennium* (Rome, 1958).
21. Alexander Schmemann, "The Problem of the Church's Presence in the World in Orthodox Consciousness," in Savas Chr. Agouridés, ed., *Deuxième congrès de théologie orthodoxe* (Athens, 1978), pp. 236–7.

22. Makarii, *Istoriia Kievskoi akademii* (St. Petersburg, 1843).
23. "This dazzling creature," as Rebecca West called him. Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia* (New York, 1982), p. 104.

Sheptyts'kyi and Politics

Chapter 1

Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian Government

Wolfdieter Bihl

Before turning to relations between Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian government, it may be useful to outline briefly the situation of Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.[1] People belonging to the Ukrainian nationality lived in the Austrian crown lands (*Kronländer*) of Galicia and Bukovina and also in the northeast counties of the Hungarian kingdom. Until 1918, officially they were called Ruthenians (in German *Ruthenen*, in Magyar *ruténok*) although during World War I there were many attempts to introduce Ukrainian (in German *Ukrainer*) as the new national name. While the name change never occurred in official documents,[2] by the second decade of the twentieth century they were being called Ukrainians in the semi-official language of Austrian government circles.[3]

In 1910, 7.9 percent of the population in Austria-Hungary claimed Ruthenian as its native tongue or language of communication (representing 3,519,000 inhabitants in the Austrian crown lands and 437,000 inhabitants in Hungary). However, neither in the Austrian crown lands of Galicia and Bukovina nor in the Hungarian counties did Ukrainians ever form an absolute majority.[4] This demographic-administrative situation explains why ever since 1848 Ukrainian spokesmen made great efforts to have Galicia divided into two provinces, in order that in East Galicia they would form a clear majority (62 percent by 1910). However, those aspirations were never realized during Austrian rule.

In 1900, 93.2 percent of Austria's Ukrainians earned their living in agriculture and forestry. Of those, an agrarian proletariat (agrarian workers) and semi-proletariat (workers with small private holdings) represented a significant portion of the whole agrarian population. On the other hand, by 1912, 37.8 percent of the land was in the hands of the Polish landed proprietors, and in 1900, 200,000 farmers in East Galicia owned less than one hectare of land. In Hungary, 87.1 percent of Ukrainians earned their living in agriculture and forestry, and there as well the land allotted to individual farmers was very small.

Particularly important for the maintenance of national identity was the position of the churches. In 1910, Ukrainians in Galicia were for the most part Greek Catholic and in Bukovina almost completely Orthodox. Administratively, the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of L'viv-Halych consisted of the archeparchy of L'viv and one, later two, subeparchies.[5]

In order to train Greek Catholic priests, the Austrian government funded the Barbareum, which was set up in Vienna in 1774. A public general seminary in L'viv followed in 1783. According to a decree of Emperor Leopold II (1790), the Greek Catholic rite was declared equal to the Latin rite. Nonetheless, a struggle among Ukrainians for real equality of rights lasted into the twentieth century. This struggle was made more difficult by several problems: the traditional rivalry among the common members of the Basilian Order; the general distance between the hierarchy and the national movement; and the ability (until 1903) of the Poles to influence the nomination of Greek Catholic bishops.[6]

Hungary's Ukrainians were subordinated to the Greek Catholic eparchies of Mukachevo and Prešov. In 1912, a new eparchy for 150,000 Magyars (mostly magyarized Ukrainians) and 30,000 Romanians and Ukrainians was created in Hajdúdorog, with the Hungarian language assigned for use in liturgical functions. This was indicative of a general trend toward magyarization in the second half of the nineteenth century. It culminated in a decree issued by the bishop of Prešov in 1915, which prohibited the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in Ukrainian elementary schools and tried to replace it with the Latin alphabet (using Magyar phonetics).[7]

Meanwhile, in neighboring Galicia the Polish language was becoming increasingly important. In 1869, Polish was established as the official internal language of the provincial authorities, and in 1907, as the official language of the Galician diet. Similarly, in 1904, Polish became the official language of the University of L'viv. In Bukovina, however, there was greater linguistic equality. The official languages were German, Ukrainian, and Romanian, and the diet's proceedings and the laws of the province were edited in all three languages.

Ukrainians also played an active role in political life. In the Galician diet, they had, by 1913, thirty-two of the 161 seats. In the Bukovinian diet, they were, after 1911, guaranteed seventeen of the sixty-three seats. Moreover, the vice-president of the diet from 1904 to 1918 was a Ukrainian. At the national level, in the Austrian parliament's House of Deputies, Ukrainians by

1911 had thirty-one seats and from 1910 to 1918 they provided the vice-president of the House of Deputies. In contrast, in the Hungarian parliament, from 1867 to 1918 there were only three magyarized Ukrainians.

The status of education among Ukrainians in Austria was particularly impressive. In 1772, when Galicia became part of Austria, there were no elementary schools and only one high school for Ukrainians. By 1911/1912, there were 2,542 public and nine private elementary schools, and twelve high schools and trade schools,[8] but Ukrainians had no secondary schools (*Realschulen*) at all. In Bukovina, by 1913/1914 there were 187 Ukrainian elementary schools, two high schools, and one trade school. During the second half of the nineteenth century the number of Ukrainian schools increased in the Austrian half of the empire, but at the same time in Hungary there was a decrease, so that by 1914 there were only eighteen elementary schools and no high schools with Ukrainian language instruction. Despite the existence of schools, 61 percent of the Ukrainians in Galicia and Bukovina and 77.3 percent in Hungary remained illiterate.

Sheptyts'kyi's career before 1914

Andrei (born Roman Aleksander Maria) Sheptyts'kyi's[9] relationship to the world of Austrian officialdom could be said to have begun with his higher education. He attended *gymnasia* in L'viv and Cracow (1875-1883) and then completed an abbreviated tour of duty (1883-1884) in the Austrian imperial army. While in the military he began his university studies. He attended schools in Cracow, Breslau, Munich, and Vienna between 1883 and 1891. His university years were accompanied by rather extensive foreign travel, both to the West (Venice in 1883 and Rome in 1886 and 1888) and East (Kiev and Moscow in 1887).

In 1888, the young Sheptyts'kyi embarked on a religious career as a novice (with the name Andrei) in the Greek Catholic Basilian monastery at Dobromyl'. After ordination on 3 September 1892, his advance was rapid. Successively he filled the posts of novitiate master (1893) and assistant hegumen (1895) at Dobromyl'; hegumen (1896) at the Basilian monastery of St. Onufrii at L'viv; and professor of morals and dogmatics in Krystynopil' (today Chervonohrad).

Then on 1 February 1899, hegumen Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was designated Greek Catholic bishop of Stanyslaviv, a post to which he was consecrated on 17 September. In his new post, the young bishop (only thirty-four at the time) paid particular attention to the education of his priests. He purchased land for the construction of an eparchial seminary and then obtained an additional sum of 280,000 crowns from the Austrian government to construct a building (erected by his successor). He also donated a library to the eparchy, and to assure it would acquire books in future years, he established a library foundation.

Sheptyts'kyi's work in the Stanyslaviv eparchy was cut short, because on 29 October 1900, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) appointed him metropolitan of Halych. Two days later, Emperor Franz Josef (1848-1916) sanctioned Sheptyts'kyi's appointment, a reflection of the positive appraisal of the Austrian government which had recently commented that for Ukrainians he was "a man of providence."[10] On 17 January 1901, Sheptyts'kyi was officially installed as archbishop of L'viv, metropolitan of Halych, and bishop of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi. Hence he was the protohierarch of the Greek Catholic Church.

As archbishop of L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi proved to be a remarkable philanthropist.[11] In particular, he devoted much attention to all phases of the school system for Ukrainians throughout Galicia, from the elementary through the university level. However, because of the integral and often problematic relationship between politics and education in a multinational state like Austria-Hungary, Sheptyts'kyi's concern with Ukrainian schools brought him into conflict with government policy at times. The question of a Ukrainian university was a case in point.

In November 1901, following a parliamentary resolution calling for the creation of a separate university, Ukrainian students in L'viv conducted demonstrations in support of that goal. As a result, the university senate expelled two students and suspended three others for taking part in what was billed as an illegal meeting. This, in turn, led to a show of solidarity in which 420 Ukrainian students sent a memorandum to the university demanding they all be punished. At the same time, Ukrainian deputies sent an interpellation to the government on their behalf. The government responded by condemning the action of the students, and it refused to promise a separate Ukrainian university until qualified faculty were first trained. On 4 December, the students responded with a declaration stating that 400 of their number would secede from the university until a satisfactory solution was found to the problem of a separate Ukrainian institution. Of the 400 signatories, about half were theology students who had acted with the full support of Sheptyts'kyi. Moreover, when these theology students enrolled for the following two semesters, primarily at the University of Vienna, Sheptyts'kyi provided them with extra funds to cover the additional costs of studying outside Galicia.

It was because of his ardent support for education that Sheptyts'kyi entered the field of Austrian politics. For instance, even though he was an *ex officio* member of the Galician diet, he only once appeared on the floor of that legislative body. The one exception was when he participated in a meeting of the provincial educational committee, speaking on behalf of the establishment of a Ukrainian *gymnasium* in Stanyslaviv. Similarly, one of his rare appearances on the floor of the Austrian parliament's House of Lords in Vienna, of which he was also an *ex officio* member, came on 28 June 1910 when he delivered a speech calling for the creation of a Ukrainian university.[12]

The last year of peace for Austria-Hungary brought Sheptyts'kyi once again into the Austrian political arena. This time he combined his long-term interest in a Ukrainian university with the question of electoral reform. When Kost' Levyts'kyi, a leading Galician-Ukrainian politician, asked the Metropolitan to act as an intermediary between the Polish and Ukrainian deputies in the Galician diet, Sheptyts'kyi responded with a compromise proposal for electoral reform which also included a call for the establishment of a separate Ukrainian university. The final compromise reached on 28 June 1914 called for immediate creation of such a university.

Sheptyts'kyi's selective forays into Austrian political life did not always please the Galician-Ukrainian public. On the one hand, Ukrainians were satisfied in 1906 when he headed a Ukrainian delegation to the emperor which called for electoral reform in the Austrian parliament. On the other hand, when he delivered a forceful sermon condemning the assassination of the Galician viceroy Count Andrzej Potocki by a Ukrainian student, the Metropolitan was accused by the leading Galician Ukrainian political coalition, UNDO, and its organ, *Dilo*, of wrongfully separating the church from the national cause.[13] Similarly, in 1912 he was attacked by Galician Russophile politicians because he forbade several Greek Catholic priests to accept Galician seats in the diet on behalf of what had become the openly anti-Austrian Russian National Party.[14]

Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian authorities, 1914-1918

During the spring of 1914, the Austrian government attempted for a second time to have Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi made a cardinal in the Catholic Church, although once again their efforts were unsuccessful.[15] The correspondence on this matter between the Austro-Hungarian ambassador at the Vatican, Prince Johann Schönburg-Hartenstein, and the minister for culture and education and foreign minister in Vienna, lasted until 16 July 1914.[16] It was in this context that the cardinal-secretary of state mentioned to Schönburg: "We already have enough difficulty keeping him in his priestly robes (*Soutane*) whenever he is convinced of something that is unacceptable for us! What, then, would happen if he were made a cardinal!" Indeed, Sheptyts'kyi had the reputation of being an idealist who would hang on to his "particular illusions." Therefore, continued the report, it would be more useful "if he were energetically concerned 'with his own house', instead of dreaming as an idealist of 'the conversion of Russia'."[17]

Some Austrian officials were, in fact, reluctant to become further involved in Ukrainian affairs. The foreign minister's chief of cabinet, Count Alexander Hoyos, wrote to Consul Emanuel Urbas, who was responsible for Ukrainian affairs in the foreign ministry, that if Russia were defeated, Vienna should ask

> for the establishment of a Ukrainian state, which we would support as much as possible, although it would have to be independent and . . . not

> ruled by us. We would not be able to cope with an increase of thirty million Ukrainians. On the other hand, we would, as before, have to make all efforts to maintain East Galicia as the focal point of all Ukrainian cultural endeavors and to establish a Ukrainian university in Lemberg [L'viv].[18]

For his part, Sheptyts'kyi sent a memorandum to Urbas on 15 August 1914 during the latter's stay in L'viv.[19] The main theme of this document was to propose that Ukraine be detached as completely as possible from Russia and that it be given the character of a national territory "independent from . . . and alien to the tsarist Empire." This goal was to be accomplished through a series of decisive measures to be taken by the Austro-Hungarian forces after their hoped-for victory over the tsarist Russian army. Throughout the memorandum, Sheptyts'kyi stressed the necessity of reviving the historical traditions of Ukraine, suggesting, among other things, the restoration of the office of hetman. The hetman was to be given the authority to issue "universals" to the army and the people, while the Russian legal system was to be replaced by the Austrian civil code. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was to be exempt from the authority of the Synod in St. Petersburg and prayers for the tsar were to be replaced by those for the Austrian emperor. Bishops who might be opposed to this new order were to be removed from their sees and supplanted by Ukrainian and Austrian sympathizers. Sheptyts'kyi himself proposed to take over the leadership of the church as Metropolitan of Halych and "the whole Ukraine." He assured the Austrian government that he had already taken some preliminary steps to have these measures approved by the Vatican.

The attempt to solve the Ukrainian problem in its political, military, legal, and spiritual aspects through a fait accompli undoubtedly had the backing of Ukrainian political leaders in Galicia. While it is impossible to establish which of the ideas in the memorandum were Sheptyts'kyi's own, it is clear that they did not depart in any substantial way from the political platform adopted by Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainian parliamentarians in 1912, when they had almost unanimously decided to cast their lot with Austria-Hungary in the event of war with Russia. In any case, Sheptyts'kyi's suggestions were detailed and comprehensive. Since they came from a person who enjoyed the complete confidence of the Austrian government, they carried more weight in Vienna.

As part of his "eastern policy," on 21 August 1914 Sheptyts'kyi addressed a pastoral letter to fellow believers in the border areas of the three Galician Greek Catholic eparchies which ordered them not to listen to those "godless liars who attempt to induce you to betray the [Austrian] emperor, our native land, and the faith."[20] About the same time, Sheptyts'kyi addressed letters (dated 20 and 30 August) to a Ukrainian deputy in the Vienna parliament, in which he protested against the imprisonment of innocent Ukrainians who were suspected of Russophilism.[21]

Austria's military situation on the eastern front was critical, and on 2 September prime minister Karl Stürgkh gave instructions to persuade Sheptyts'kyi to leave L'viv.[22] The Metropolitan did not listen, and on 5 September the occupying tsarist Russian forces arrested him. Although he was released the next morning, the second time he was arrested, on 19 September, he was deported to Kiev. He remained confined in various places in the Russian Empire until March 1917 and the amnesty of the new Russian Provisional government.[23]

Immediately upon his deportation in September 1914, the Austrian government, with the help of the Vatican, tried to gain his release.[24] During the second half of 1916, Vienna even tried, again unsuccessfully, to have Sheptyts'kyi appointed cardinal.[25] The efforts of the Vatican and the Austrian government to free Sheptyts'kyi lasted from April to June 1917.[26] Finally, on 9 July 1917, Sheptyts'kyi arrived in Stockholm.[27] The following day, Vienna's Ukrainians proposed an official welcome to be held in Berlin and headed by the vice-president of the Austrian House of Deputies, Kost' Levyts'kyi.[28] The Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Stockholm, Count Maximilian Hadik, reported to Vienna on 11 July that Sheptyts'kyi told him he had worked for the conversion of as many Orthodox as possible to the Greek Catholic Church during his stay in Ukraine, and for that purpose a vicar was left behind in Kiev.[29] It was with this in mind that Sheptyts'kyi sent a telegram to the Austrian Emperor Karl (1916-1918) stating that it was "for Austria the very important question of the union," which forced him to travel directly to the pope and only after that to come to Vienna.[30]

The Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Ottokar Czernin, on 17 July urged Sheptyts'kyi to come to Vienna before his journey to Rome, but the response (via Ambassador Hadik) was that Sheptyts'kyi wanted to travel via Hamburg to Switzerland.[31] The Metropolitan felt that the Rome journey was necessary for clerical reasons and, in particular, for the question of the church union. If he went first to Vienna, the Rome journey would be perceived as political and consequently the Italian government would probably not permit his entry.[32]

During these months, Sheptyts'kyi's political and religious views were of great interest to Austrian and Hungarian officials. For instance, on 20 July 1917 the representative of the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister to the army supreme command, reported on Sheptyts'kyi's conversation with an assistant of the Budapest newspaper *Világ*. Sheptyts'kyi supposedly said that the ideal borders for a Ukrainian state would also include counties in northeastern Hungary. In reality, Bukovina and East Galicia as far west as the San River (including Przemyśl) were being claimed by Ukrainian nationalists.[33] Two days later, the Viennese newspaper *Reichspost* carried an interview with the Metropolitan, edited by the rector of the L'viv seminary, Reverend Iosyf Botsian, who had accompanied Sheptyts'kyi to the German border. According to the interview, Sheptyts'kyi had achieved an exceptional status for the

Greek Catholic Church in Russia, including constitutional recognition of church union by the Russian Provisional government.[34] Then, on 13 August 1917, in Freiburg, Switzerland, Sheptyts'kyi outlined, in an interview with a correspondent for the *Journal de Genève*, the possibilities for an all-embracing union between the western and eastern churches, a process in which the Ukrainian church could be an instrument of reconciliation.[35]

By mid-August, however, Sheptyts'kyi informed the Austrian Emperor Karl (1916–1918) that he had given up plans for a journey to the pope, because "the position of the Holy Father was particularly restricted, and that he did not want to make it even more difficult."[36] The same day, Austria's ambassador to the Vatican informed the foreign office "that the 'group fighting for right and freedom' [the Entente] will thwart the Rome journey. That is 'the freedom of the Vatican'."[37] Since the journey to Rome was impossible, Sheptyts'kyi drove via Switzerland to Vienna. He arrived on 26 August and celebrated a solemn mass in the Greek Catholic Church of St. Barbara.[38]

Meanwhile, the Austrian government was busy trying to decide how to honor Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.[39] Despite some hesitation expressed by the viceroy of Galicia, Karl Huyn,[40] on 27 August 1917 Sheptyts'kyi was decorated with the *Grosskreuz des Leopold-Ordens mit der Kriegsdekoration* (Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold Military Award). At the same time, the Metropolitan received an autographed letter from Emperor Karl in recognition of his fearless and consistent loyalty to the church, to the emperor, and to the fatherland, even though he had to endure the loss of freedom.[41]

In September 1917, Sheptyts'kyi was greeted with a triumphal entry into L'viv. This included an official welcome by the emperor's personal representative, Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg, as well as speeches by Ukrainian political leaders and delegates of social and cultural organizations. For his part, the Metropolitan assured his flock that with the fall of the tsarist government Ukrainians on both sides of the Russo-Austrian frontier could look forward to a brighter future, and that they had friends and patrons among members of Austria's ruling House of Habsburg.

In January 1918, Sheptyts'kyi proposed convening a meeting of all Ukrainian parliamentary representatives, including the deputies to the Vienna parliament and to the Galician and Bukovinian diets, in order to discuss the current political developments and to plan for the immediate future. However, while some leaders regarded such a conference as timely and potentially useful, Ukrainian parliamentarians in Vienna were apprehensive of being upstaged by the Metropolitan. Therefore, they persuaded him to cancel the meeting. The Metropolitan did, however, speak out on the situation of Ukrainians in the former Russian Empire. In a speech to the Austrian House of Lords delivered on 28 February 1918, he supported the recently-signed Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, whereby the Central Powers transferred the Chełm (Kholm) region to the precarious sovereignty of the Ukrainian National Republic. In his address, Sheptyts'kyi stressed that in addition to having close ethnic ties to Ukraine, the Chełm region also had strong historical connections with both medieval Kievan Rus' and the Galician-Volhynian kingdom.[42]

In June 1918, an opportunity for Sheptyts'kyi to become actively involved in the affairs of Dnieper Ukraine seemed imminent when the national faction at the forthcoming second session of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council in Kiev was reported to favor his candidacy for the office of the patriarch of an autocephalous Ukrainian church. In a letter to Archduke Wilhelm, then the commander of an Austrian army group in Ukraine, Sheptyts'kyi expressed interest in this proposal, emphasizing at the same time that he would only accept election by an absolute majority of the Kiev church council. Moreover, such an act would in itself be tantamount to union with Rome, requiring, therefore, the assent of both the Vatican and the Austrian government. However, the proceedings of the Kiev council were dominated by a pro-Russian majority, which succeeded in shelving the question of autocephaly and reaffirmed instead the spiritual authority of the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow over the Ukrainian church.

The Question of Chełm (Kholm)

The interest of Sheptyts'kyi in the East and the eventual union of churches also underlay his concern with the Chełm region, located immediately to the north of Galicia. Chełm had been the seat of the last Greek Catholic eparchy in the Russian Empire, until 1874 when it was abolished and made an eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. The political changes of 1918 brought recognition at Brest-Litovsk by Austria-Hungary and the Central Powers that this region would belong to the newly-created Ukrainian National Republic, so Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi decided to act. On 2 April 1918 he informed the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry that the Greek Catholic eparchy of Chełm was reestablished and that he had appointed the Reverend Iosyf Botsian as administrator. He asked the foreign ministry to support the missionary work of Botsian and his priests, especially since the Austro-Hungarian military government based in nearby Lublin had not allowed Greek Catholic priests in the Austrian army to practice their ecclesiastical functions among the local Greek Catholic population.[43]

Sheptyts'kyi's actions prompted an extensive exchange of letters between the Austro-Hungarian military government in the Chełm region, the supreme army command, the foreign ministry, the Austrian ambassador to the Vatican, and Sheptyts'kyi's appointee, Botsian.[44] In the midst of the exchange, on 8 April 1918, the office of the apostolic army curate informed the Austro-Hungarian military governor in Lublin of its position on the reestablishment of the Chełm Greek Catholic eparchy. It was that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi or administrator Botsian should try to obtain instructions from the Vatican via the papal nuncio, and that in the meantime the Greek Catholic faithful in the Chełm eparchy were to be jurisdictionally subordinate to the Roman Catholic bishop of Lublin.[45] This view was then conveyed to Sheptyts'kyi's chancery on 23 April by the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry.[46]

While all parties awaited a clarification of the matter from the Vatican, which never came, Sheptyts'kyi again contacted the foreign ministry on 18 July regarding the question of Chełm. According to the Metropolitan, five problems needed to be resolved. (1) The local population had asked for Greek Catholic priests from Galicia, but this was prohibited. (2) Greek Catholic churches were changed to Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic cultural arrangements were treated improperly. (3) Local people evacuated during the war, eastward to Ukraine, upon their return home were not being given their property and houses. (4) The divisions in the fields of those people who were evacuated were obliterated through border changes, and the returning landlords could no longer distinguish the land boundaries. Moreover, since houses and documents were burned, it was impossible to prove titles to property. (5) In February 1918, the Austro-Hungarian district-commander in Zamość punished John and Mary Kharko with a fine for illegally changing to the Greek Catholic rite.[47]

After giving the matter a "thorough and attentive examination," the Austro-Hungarian supreme army commander responded to Sheptyts'kyi's complaints on 6 October 1918:

(1) Pastoral duties could not be performed by the Greek Catholic priests because "no decision on this matter has yet been received by the Vatican."

(2) Orthodox churches which had previously been Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic should be left, if necessary, for temporary use to the eparchial administrator in Lublin. The question of property rights over churches and inventory was therewith not anticipated. The right to use a church could be withdrawn by the state at any time and the Roman Catholic episcopal ordinary was responsible for the inventory. The ordinary was asked to proceed with tact with regard to the furnishings of the churches. An unused Orthodox and a former Roman Catholic church in the district of Chełm, a former Roman Catholic reformation church in the town of Chełm, and Orthodox churches in six communities of the district of Zamość had been "reconciled" to the Roman Catholic rite (two of which were never before 1867 Greek Catholic, rather Roman Catholic). In any case, Greek Catholic ritual furnishings in the churches "reconciled" to Roman Catholicism "should be treated reverently." As for complaints about profanation of churches causing anger among the local population, these reports had no basis, and the same applied to four Russian Orthodox churches changed by the military early on in the war into Catholic garrison churches in which both Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic liturgies had been celebrated.

(3) The regulations for returnees would be followed. The returnees would get 1/3 to 1/2 of the harvest, while they would have to take care of the autumn cultivation by themselves; the beneficiaries would be granted domicile until the end of the harvest (that is, the end of October).

(4) Ploughing with motorized vehicles undertaken by the military may have caused some damage to land boundaries, but they had never been rendered unrecognizable. Moreover, this situation applied primarily to German and Polish landowners, not to Ukrainian returnees.

(5) The statements about the Kharko family were a "pure fabrication." The whole Kharko family was Orthodox, although the daughter Maria changed to the Roman Catholic religion in May 1917. There was nothing known about any punishment. In general, the criticisms directed against Austrian authorities in ostensible violation of the law and human rights "were based on false information." Moreover, according to the reports of all district commanders, the complaints raised did not deal, "except in a few cases," with Greek Catholics.[48]

Considering Sheptyts'kyi's deep interest in church union, a concern that was heightened in the course of 1918 when eastern Ukraine fell within the sphere of the Austro-Hungarian and German military, it is reasonable to inquire about the attitude of the Austrian government vis-à-vis the Metropolitan's religious *qua* political goals. While opinion in Austro-Hungarian governing circles may have varied, the position of the foreign ministry on such matters was particularly important. It may be gauged from an internal report dated 20 August 1918:

> A conversion of Ukrainians [in the Russian Empire] to the Uniate Church would on the one hand complete the present . . . division between them and the Russians, and on the other hand it would completely obliterate the weak ritual differences between Ukrainians beyond our [Austria's] borders and those in East Galicia.
>
> The first consequence could only be considered a favorable objective if from our standpoint we take into consideration the future threat posed by a strengthened and once again unified Russia . . . .
>
> The total fusion of Ukrainians on this and the other side of our border into a unified entity both from the national and religious standpoints would, in the present circumstances, be disadvantageous for us. Since there is obviously no question of the incorporation of the whole Ukrainian nation into the [Austro-Hungarian] monarchy—and only such an eventuality would make the unity of the [Ukrainian] nation a factor in our interest—the Eastern Ukraine will more than ever become a center of attractiveness.
>
> The attraction of the Eastern Ukraine for [Ukrainians in] Galicia will, with religious unification, be greater still. [Therefore], I must from the very outset express my opposition against those circles who favor [Ukrainian religious] unity.[49]

Conclusion

Despite the fact that Sheptyts'kyi's activity on behalf of church union among Ukrainians may have been considered by some as a negative factor for Austrian politics, the Metropolitan himself remained a loyal subject of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until the last days of its existence in October 1918. His example, after he became Greek Catholic metropolitan at the outset of the twentieth century, helped to strengthen the traditional pro-Austrian orientation among Ukrainians living under Habsburg rule.

Sheptyts'kyi's actual participation in the Austro-Hungarian political process was limited, although twice (1910 and 1918) he did speak in the Austrian parliament's House of Lords and once in the educational committee of the Galician diet in L'viv. Moreover, he played a decisive role in electoral reform in Galicia, the Ukrainian university question, and the problem of the Chełm region. To conclude this discussion of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and the Austrian government in the years before 1918, it might be useful to cite the assessment of Ivan L. Rudnytsky:

> While keeping aloof from current politics, Sheptyts'kyi rendered great services to the Ukrainian cause by a tactful use of his connections in Vienna, and also as a generous patron of the arts. Intellectually alert and aware of the needs of the times, he encouraged the clergy's participation in civic life. The fact that the Greek Catholic Church was now headed by a grand-seigneur who was also an impressive, colorful personality gave a new self-assurance to the Ukrainian national movement. Sheptyts'kyi, however, was not a narrow nationalist but a man of a supranational vision: the idea to which he had dedicated his life was the reconciliation of Western and Eastern Christianity. This implied a respect for all the traits of the Oriental religious tradition compatible with Catholic dogma.[50]

Notes

1. For further details, see Wolfdieter Bihl, "Beiträge zur Ukraine-Politik Österreich-Ungarns 1918," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F., XIV (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 51-62; idem, "Einige Aspekte der österreichisch-ungarischen Ruthenenpolitik 1914-1918," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F., XIV (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 539-50; idem, "Die Ruthenen," in Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, eds. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, vol. III: *Die Völker des Reiches*, pt. 1 (Vienna), pp. 555-84; Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," in Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn, eds. *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 23-67; Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1978), pp. 21-75; idem, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1983), pp. 116-73.
2. For instance, by the time of World War I, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Defence favored the name change, but the necessary agreement between the Austrian and Hungarian prime ministers never occurred. This is because the Hungarian prime minister was sure that such a change "would open for this nationality the doors to all kinds of bewildering propaganda." In any case, the Hungarian -

minister argued that in Hungary there are "only Ruthenians... that means, a nationality which has nothing at all in common with the Ukrainians." Cited in Bihl, "Einige Aspekte," p. 542.

3. For instance, in a telegram from a member of the imperial family to the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in 1915/16, the German translation of *Ukraïns'ka Parliamentarna Reprezentatsiia* read: *Ukrainische Parlamentarische Vertretung*; and of the *Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi*: *k. k. ukrainisches freiwilliges Sitsch Schützenregiment.*
4. In 1910, Ukrainians represented 40.2 percent of the total population in Galicia; 38.4 percent in Bukovina; and generally lower percentages in seven counties of northeastern Hungary—Szepes/Spish (7.1 percent); Sáros/Sharysh (22 percent); Zemplén/Zemplyn (11.4 percent); Ung (38.2 percent); Bereg (42.7 percent); Ugocsa/Ugocha (37.5 percent); and Máramaros/Marmarosh (44.7 percent).
5. These included the Eparchy of Przemyśl-Sanok-Sambir and Chełm (until 1809), and after 1885, the Eparchy of Stanyslaviv. The relatively small number of Greek Catholics in Bukovina were subordinate until 1885 to the Eparchy of L'viv and then to Stanyslaviv.
6. Edith Saurer, "Die politischen Aspekte der Bischofernennungen in der Habsburgermonarchie, 1897-1903" (unpublished University of Vienna Ph.D. dissertation, Vienna, 1966), p. 146.
7. Bihl, "Einige Aspekte," p. 544. In connection with the Orthodox movement and its pro-Russian orientation, the bishop of Stanyslaviv introduced a calendar reform in 1916 (replacing the "Orthodox" Julian calendar with the western Gregorian calendar). Although this was done with the knowledge of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, it never received authorization from the Vatican.
8. The comparative figures for Polish schools were 3,200 public and 130 private elementary schools, and 296 high and trade schools.
9. For biographical data on Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, see the basic literature on him listed in Magocsi, *Galicia*, p. 160.
10. Cited in Saurer, "Die politischen Aspekte," p. 146, note 3.
11. For details of his philanthropic activity in the fields of education and the arts, see below, Chapters 13 and 14.
12. *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Herrenhauses des Reichsrates*, XX Session, 11 Sitzung: 28. VI. 1910 (Vienna, 1911), pp. 286-8.
13. Verwaltungsarchiv Wien, Minister des Innern, Präsidiale 2112/22, Statthaltervizepräsident an Innenminister (25.IV.1908). Cf. John-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VIII, 3-4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 445; and Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoï dumky halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv, 1848-1914*, vol. II (L'viv, 1927), pp. 494-5.
14. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Politisches Archiv, PA XL 222, Lemberger Polizeidirektor an Bobrzynski (21.I.1914).
15. The first attempt came in 1911, when Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Aloys Lexa von Aehrenthal felt that a cardinal's appointment would help to counter Orthodox propaganda that was critical of Austrian policy towards its Eastern Christians in Galicia. Erika Weinzierl-Fischer, "Die letzten Ernennungen österreichisch-ungarischer Kardinale: *Österreich und Europa: Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag* (Graz, Vienna, and Köln, 1965), p. 412.
16. Theophil Hornykiewicz, ed., *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914-1922, deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe* [with material from Viennese archives], vol. II (Philadelphia, 1966 [I], 1967 [II], 1968 [III]), pp. 408-16, hereinafter cited as *Ereignisse.* Cf. Dmytro Zlepko, "Šeptyckyj als Kandidat für das Kardinalskollegium," *Mit-*

teilungen Arbeits- und Förderungsgemeinschaft der Ukrainischen Wissenschaften, XVII (Munich, 1980), pp. 214-9.

17. *Ereignisse*, vol. II, pp. 414-15.
18. Ibid., vol. I, p. 8.
19. Ibid., pp. 8-11.
20. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 424-6.
21. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 45-6.
22. Ibid., vol. II, p. 426.
23. For further details on Sheptyts'kyi's exile in the Russian Empire, see below, Chapter 15.
24. *Ereignisse*, vol. II, pp. 427-8.
25. Ibid., pp. 416-23.
26. They tried to exchange him for the Archpriest Ryshkov of the Russian church in Prague and the deacon Solov'ëv, who were sentenced by the Austrians to death for high treason. Ibid., pp. 428-31.
27. Ibid., p. 440.
28. Ibid., pp. 440-1.
29. Ibid., pp. 432-3.
30. Ibid., p. 442.
31. Ibid., pp. 442-3.
32. Ibid., pp. 443-4.
33. Ibid., vol. I, p. 258.
34. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 433-7.
35. Ibid., pp. 438-9.
36. Ibid., pp. 444-5.
37. Ibid., p. 446.
38. Ibid., pp. 448-9.
39. Ibid., p. 445.
40. Ibid., p. 451.
41. Ibid., p. 453.
42. *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Herrenhauses des Reichsrates*, XXII Session, 28 Sitzung: 28.II.1918 (Vienna, 1918), pp. 809-12.
43. *Ereignisse*, vol. II, pp. 354-5.
44. Ibid., pp. 355 ff.
45. Ibid., p. 373.
46. Ibid., p. 374.
47. Ibid., p. 383.
48. Ibid., pp. 384–7.
49. Ibid., vol. III, p. 293. This report was directed to Foreign Minister Burián and came from the Ministry's First Section (Referat I) in regard to a response given to the Austro-Hungarian representative in Odessa, who had previously requested instructions on how to deal with Ukrainian Orthodox priests requesting visas for Austria in order to meet with Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in L'viv for the purpose of promoting church union.
50. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia," pp. 56–7.

Chapter 2

Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914*

John-Paul Himka

In his brief biography of "the great Metropolitan," Volodymyr Doroshenko voiced the complaint that the literature on Andrei Sheptyts'kyi had oversimplified, and therefore distorted, the history of his relations with the Ukrainian national movement. Under the spell of the churchman's great prestige in interwar Ukrainian society, biographers tended to depict the growth of Sheptyts'kyi's authority in the nation "as if he went from one success to another with complete understanding and recognition on the part of Ukrainian society."[1] However, perfect harmony between Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian movement was not what Doroshenko remembered from his own years in Galicia as a summer student in 1904 and as a political exile in 1908-1914. On the contrary, he recalled tension and conflict as well as collaboration between the Metropolitan and the national movement.

This study concentrates on the moments of conflict, not only in order to serve as a corrective to the existing literature, but also in order to highlight those issues which reveal where Sheptyts'kyi and the national movement parted company, thus bringing into relief that which distinguished each. Through this contrastive investigation, the positions of both Sheptyts'kyi and the national movement should become more sharply defined.

Sheptyts'kyi as Wallenrod

An example of how the hagiographical trend has obscured the history of relations between the national movement and Sheptyts'kyi can be found in a well-meaning work by the church historian, Irynei Nazarko. This is how Nazarko depicted the initial reaction of Ukrainian society to the appearance of Sheptyts'kyi in the Greek Catholic church in 1888: "The entrance of the young count, a doctor of law true to the ideals of his Sheptyts'kyi ancestors, into a monastery that was not only Ukrainian but Greek Catholic, found an appropriate response in our own [Ukrainian] and alien [non-Ukrainian] press."[2] The reader is left with the distinct impression that the "appropriate response" (*vidpovidnyi vidhomin*) was enthusiasm.

Nazarko supports such a misleading impression not only by omitting detailed research and quotations from the relevant press, but by abstracting it completely from the historical context. That context is the strained relations between the church hierarchy and the nation in the mid-1880s and the perception of Ukrainian society then that the commanding heights of its church were falling under Polish control.

In 1882, Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych (1870-1882) was deposed as head of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia for failing to curb the Russophile influence among the clergy. Ukrainian society did not initiate the Metropolitan's removal from office. Rather, it was the Polish nobility in Galicia, backed by the Austrian imperial authorities, who instigated that act. This Polish intervention into Ukrainian church affairs rankled all elements of Ukrainian society, whether of Russophile or national-populist (Ukrainophile) convictions. Ukrainians had no say in the selection of their hierarchy and they feared that the Poles would use the Sembratovych affair, with its implications of pervasive disloyalty in the Greek Catholic clergy, to gain Vienna's approval for the appointment of a pro-Polish metropolitan. In 1885, the fears of Ukrainian national leaders were justified. Syl'vester Sembratovych (1882-1898) was installed as metropolitan, and he immediately proceeded to collaborate with Polish ruling circles in Galicia during the parliamentary elections. At the time, there were in East Galicia two unprecedented electoral slates. One was put forward jointly by the Galician provincial government, the Polish central committee, and the Greek Catholic metropolitan, while the other represented a joint slate of Russophiles and Ukrainian national-populists. Thus, in the late 1880s, the head of the Ukrainian church and the Ukrainian national movement were bitter political enemies.[3]

The pro-Polish posture of their metropolitan was not all that disturbed Ukrainians in the mid-1880s. In the same year that Iosyf Sembratovych was deposed, the Vatican ordered a reform of the Basilian order in Galicia. Although it was generally recognized in Ukrainian circles that the order urgently needed reform, the decision to entrust that reform to the unrestricted charge of the Jesuits was met with indignation. Even the Greek Catholic bishop of Przemyśl protested when the Basilian monastery in Dobromyl' was placed under Jesuit supervision at the start of the reform. The reform was initially carried out with some tact by the Tyrolean German Jesuit Count Brandes, but after several months he was removed from his post in

Dobromyl' and transferred to Bosnia. Thereafter the reform seemed to take on an intense anti-Ukrainian dimension. At one point, reminiscent of Prague in the 1620s, Polish Jesuits allegedly destroyed all the carefully bound volumes of Ukrainian periodicals in the Dobromyl' library. Dobromyl' became a symbol in the mid-1880s of what was perceived by the Ukrainians as a Polish crusade to assimilate their church.[4]

It was in this context that Ukrainian society learned, in the fall of 1888, that the young Count Roman Szeptycki had been given permission by Rome to change his rite from the Latin to the Greek and that he had entered the Basilian novitiate in Dobromyl'. Given that context, the reaction of Ukrainian society—the "appropriate response" alluded to by Nazarko—could only have been negative.

The authoritative national-populist organ *Dilo* was generally very cautious and constrained when it came to church affairs. On 17 November 1888, it carried a brief announcement that "Count Sheptyts'kyi has already entered the Basilian monastery and remains in the Dobromyl' novitiate under the administration of the Jesuit fathers" (*patry iezuity*).[5] Although the announcement is terse—a seeming mere registration of fact—analysis shows that it conveyed a strong connotation of disapproval. No one in Galicia in 1888 had to be reminded that the Dobromyl' monastery was under Jesuit administration. To mention the fact was to call attention to it at a time when the Jesuits were extremely unpopular. Even after the Jesuits were deprived of their tutelage over the Basilians in 1904, feelings ran high against them. A Greek Catholic pastor, welcoming their exclusion from the Basilian monasteries, wrote that the Jesuits were "an Egyptian plague which contaminates and destroys our life in every respect."[6] Thus, *Dilo*'s gratuitous reference to the Jesuits was, as Doroshenko has pointed out,[7] a way of expressing suspicion. Similarly, the announcement referred to the young novice simply as "Count Sheptyts'kyi." Under the circumstances of bitter socio-national conflict in Galicia, this was also not a neutral statement. Later, the designation "Count Sheptyts'kyi" was characteristically favored as well by all who wished to portray the Metropolitan as an enemy of the Ukrainian people, whether it be the pre-World War I radical Kyrylo Tryl'ovs'kyi, or the more recent Soviet publicist Serhii Danylenko.[8]

If the announcement in *Dilo* was written in a kind of code for the cognoscente, the same cannot be said of what appeared in *Bat'kivshchyna*, the national-populist newspaper for the peasantry. That announcement began by repeating what *Dilo* had published, but then it provided the peasants with a translation into simple language: "Count Sheptyts'kyi has already entered the Basilian monastery and is staying in the Dobromyl' monastery for his novitiate. . . . In the last century there had already been several bishops in Rus' from the Sheptyts'kyi family; so it is obvious that now, too, the Jesuits are preparing a Polish nobleman for us as a bishop."[9]

Twenty years later, the radical Tryl'ovs'kyi recalled the negative reaction of Ukrainian society to the news that "the young, handsome, Polish count Sheptyts'kyi, a doctor of law and lieutenant in the reserves, abandoned his secular career and entered the order of the Ruthenian Basilians, which had been reformed by the Jesuits. . . . The Ruthenians knew in advance what this meant, and their guesses were proven absolutely correct," by the unprecedented pace at which the young cleric advanced in his ecclesiastical career.[10]

Indeed, within five years, at a time when Sheptyts'kyi was between the ages of thirty-one and thirty-six, he rose to become hegumen of the Basilian monastery in L'viv (1896), bishop of Stanyslaviv (1899), and Metropolitan of Halych (1901). To Tryl'ovs'kyi and many other Ukrainians, this spectacular ascent in the clerical ranks suggested that Sheptyts'kyi was being promoted by Polish ruling circles in Galicia and it seemed to confirm the suspicion that Sheptyts'kyi was a Polish agent within the Ukrainian church.

It is not difficult to understand how the appointment of Sheptyts'kyi as metropolitan in 1901 could have been interpreted by the Ukrainian national movement as a further development in a Polish campaign to undermine the Ukrainian church. Metropolitan Syl'vester Sembratovych had continued to pursue a pro-Polish political line after the 1885 elections, at one point drawing the Ukrainian national-populists into a rapprochement, subsequently much regretted, with the Polish nobility (the so-called New Era). Moreover, the successor to Syl'vester Sembratovych was Iuliian Sas-Kuïlovs'kyi (1898-1900), a member of the Polish National Guard in 1848 and a veteran of the Polish insurrection of 1863. The prominent national-populist leader Kost' Levyts'kyi characterized him as "permeated by a Polish spirit."[11] *Dilo* was afraid that Kuïlovs'kyi would not even defend the Ukrainian church against Latinizing influences, let alone defend the nation. The newspaper warned that the accessions of Kuïlovs'kyi and Sheptyts'kyi represented a return to power of the Basilian order: ". . . there will be a repetition of that period in the history of the Uniate church when the order of St. Basil the Great stood at the head of the white clergy and brought the clergy to that miserable state from which Austria finally delivered our church."[12] To the historically minded, *Dilo* was equating the nominations of Kuïlovs'kyi and Sheptyts'kyi to the restoration of unmitigated Polish rule over the Ukrainian church. Even a Polish paper, Cracow's *Głos Narodu*, thought that the nominations of Kuïlovs'kyi and "the Pole Father Sheptyts'kyi" went too far and played into the hands of those who accused the Poles of persecuting the Ukrainians.[13]

Less than two years later, Sheptyts'kyi was nominated to replace Kuïlovs'kyi on the Galician metropolitan throne. The Ukrainian national movement greeted the news with reserve. When Austria's official *Wiener Zeitung* announced the nomination on 19 November 1900, *Dilo*, the organ of the national-populists, refrained from any commentary. By contrast, the Russophiles, whose relations with Sheptyts'kyi will be discussed below, published a front-page editorial warmly endorsing the nomination under the title, "Blessed is He Who Comes [in the Name of the Lord]." "The Russian National party," the paper stated, "welcomes with great joy the nomination of Bishop Andrei as Metropolitan."[14] When *Dilo* finally did publish its "Greetings to the New Metropolitan" on the occasion of Sheptyts'kyi's formal installation on 17 January 1901, the statement was not overly cordial: "The Ruthenians, of course, have no influence on the choice of their archpastors, but as always, so too at this nomination, we [are] sincerely welcoming Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, who has already given proof, as bishop of Stanyslaviv, that he stands by the Ruthenian people with his heart and endeavors. . . . " *Dilo* noted that the Poles and the Russophiles were trying to lure Sheptyts'kyi into their camps, but neither was the proper place for the Galician-Ruthenian Metropolitan, who belonged "in the camp of the Ruthenian people." "It is there, undoubtedly, that we shall always see Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi."[15]

As the reference in *Dilo* to Sheptyts'kyi's one-year term as bishop of Stanyslaviv suggests,[16] Sheptyts'kyi was to prove by his actions that he was not the Polish agent that circumstantial signs indicated and that he did, in his own way, support the aspirations of the Ukrainian people in Galicia. Distrust of Sheptyts'kyi did not abate rapidly and erupted periodically and with particular intensity in 1908.

There were two factors that kept Ukrainian doubts about Sheptyts'kyi's sincerity and loyalty alive until World War I. One was that Sheptyts'kyi's support for the Ukrainian national movement was qualified. He never endorsed it absolutely and did oppose some aspects of it with all the authority of his office and his strong personality. Sheptyts'kyi's differences with the national movement might not have reawakened suspicions that he was, as a Ukrainian hierarch, serving Polish interests, had not a second factor been involved. This factor, the concept of Wallenrodism, allowed Ukrainians to interpret even Sheptyts'kyi's support of the Ukrainian movement as merely a device to conceal his true intentions.

In 1897, during the period between Sheptyts'kyi's appointment as hegumen of the Basilian monastery in L'viv and his elevation to the throne of Stanyslaviv, the great Galician-Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko published an article in the Viennese newspaper *Die Zeit* entitled, "A Poet of Treason." The article caused a scandal in Galicia and beyond, because in it Franko accused the national bard of Poland, Adam Mickiewicz, of glorifying treason in his writings. In particular, Franko focused on the poem, "Konrad Wallenrod," named after its hero, a Pole who gained the confidence of the Teutonic Knights, rose to an exalted position, and then used his position to destroy the Knights. Many Poles were indignant, claiming that Franko had implied that Wallenrodism was part of the Polish national character. Franko's article, translated into Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian, was debated, defended, and denounced in many forums. Tempers rose to such heights that Franko was expelled from the Polish press in which he had worked for the previous two decades. Extremists even attempted violence against his person.[17]

The coincidence that all of Galicia was discussing Wallenrodism as Sheptyts'kyi was advancing in the Ukrainian ecclesiastical hierarchy surely contributed to the otherwise scarcely tenable view that Sheptyts'kyi had never shed his Polish aristocratic heritage, but was waiting for the right moment to do harm to the Ukrainians. The psychological power of the Wallenrod thesis was further augmented by Sheptyts'kyi's connection, through Dobromyl', with the Jesuits. In the popular imagination, the Jesuits were linked with just such devious methods.

Thus, even after Sheptyts'kyi had supported Ukrainian students in their secession from L'viv University by closing down the Greek Catholic seminary in L'viv (1901);[18] even after he had spoken with the emperor, prime minister, and minister of education about the need to establish a Ukrainian university and had made a plea before the Galician diet's school commission to establish a Ukrainian *gymnasium* in Stanyslaviv (1902); even after he had joined the Ukrainian deputies' boycott of the Galician diet (1903); and even after he had headed the Ukrainian delegation to the emperor to press for a reform of the suffrage (1906); it was still possible for Ukrainian politicians to question his motives.[19]

In 1908, Tryl'ovs'kyi, the radical Ukrainian deputy to the Austrian parliament, called Sheptyts'kyi a Wallenrod four times in the course of one speech.[20] In that same year, but with a different pretext, an editorial in *Dilo* accused Sheptyts'kyi of being a foreigner inspired by the tradition of Wallenrodism.[21] These charges of Wallenrodism were occasioned by Sheptyts'kyi's refusal to support the Ukrainian national movement without reservation. Specifically, in the first case Sheptyts'kyi condemned, as a Christian churchman, an act which was endorsed by the national movement, but which conflicted with religious precepts. In the other case, Sheptyts'kyi made more concessions to the Russophiles than the Ukrainian national-populists found tolerable. In the opposition between Christianity and nationalism, and between Ukrainianism and Russophilism, lay the source of Sheptyts'kyi's reservations about the Ukrainian national movement as well as the movement's reservations about him. It is to these two themes that we now turn.

Christianity and Nationalism

The tension between the Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian national movement was exacerbated in the period 1890-1914 by the growth of anticlericalism among both the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Ukrainian peasantry. The first formal political party established by the Ukrainians was, in fact, an anticlerical, agrarian-socialist party, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical party (founded in 1890). The intellectual leadership of the party was of outstanding caliber, including the political thinker Mykhailo Drahomanov and the writer Ivan Franko. The party and its ideals appealed to both Ukrainian university students and peasants.[22]

The traditional Ukrainian movement of the national-populists still remained the mainstream in the 1890s, but the challenge of the radicals was so powerful that the national-populists merged with a wing of the radicals in 1899 to form the National Democratic party.[23] Although the National Democrats were not as programmatically anticlerical as the radicals, they were certainly cooler to the church than the traditional national-populists had been. The National Democratic party included a number of well-known anticlericals among its founders, such as the former radical Franko and the historian Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. The latter remained hostile to the Greek Catholic Church and to its leader, Sheptyts'kyi, throughout the years preceding World War I.[24] The National Democratic party newspaper for the peasantry, *Svoboda*, was largely edited by former radicals in the years 1900-1907 (Volodymyr Okhrymovych, Ievhen Levyts'kyi, Viacheslav Budzynovs'kyi), and in the decade before World War I regular contributors to the leading National Democratic organ, *Dilo*, included such anticlericals as social democrat Vasyl' Paneiko, anarchist Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, socialist revolutionary Mykola Zalizniak, and radicals Osyp Nazaruk and Iaroslav Vesolovs'kyi. The last even served as editor of *Dilo* (1910-1911), while retaining his leadership position in the Radical party.[25]

In the student movement, socialist and anticlerical ideas were particularly strong. At the Ukrainian student congress held in L'viv, 11-14 July 1909, social-democrat Dmytro Dontsov delivered a powerful attack against the church (''the sworn enemy of every freedom'') and Christian ethics (''the nurturing of hypocrisy and pharisaism'').[26] Under the impact of this speech, the student congress passed a resolution calling for the complete removal of the church and religion from the educational system.[27] Later, the Ukrainian students' union published Dontsov's speech as a brochure.[28]

Among the peasantry, the national movement's penetration into villages precipitated formulation of anticlerical sentiments. Peasants who gathered in reading clubs (*chytal'ni*) began to sit in judgment on their pastors, censuring them if they did not live up to the code of behavior propagated by the national movement or if they charged too much for christenings, marriages, and funerals. Conflicts between priests and nationally-awakened peasants became common in Galicia in the 1890s, and they provided the Radical party with opportunities to establish a mass rural constituency.[29]

Thus, in the 1890s, when the young Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was rising in the ranks of the Greek Catholic Church, the Ukrainian national movement was redefining its attitude toward the church. Previously, between the 1830s and 1850s, the Ukrainian national movement was dominated by churchmen. Then, from the 1860s to the 1880s, the secular intelligentsia worked in tandem with the clergy, particularly the lower clergy. In essence, the secular intelligentsia in the cities were the generals of the movement, while the village priests were its loyal foot-soldiers who brought the national idea to the peasant masses. From the 1890s until at least World War I, however, the national movement was predominantly secular and, in a number of its manifestations, overtly hostile to the church.

The majority of Greek Catholic hierarchs responded to the new irreligious tendencies of the national movement by advocating the church's withdrawal from the movement. In 1896, Metropolitan Syl'vester Sembratovych censured the "religious devastation" wrought by "evil people," who regarded "purely human things like their patriotism" as more important than "God and salvation," and who considered "*nationality* as the ideal of the entire happiness of the people."[30] Three years later, Bishop Sas-Kuïlovs'kyi of Stanyslaviv prohibited his clergy from founding reading clubs.[31] The most consistent and radical proponent of this view was Sheptyts'kyi's successor at the see of Stanyslaviv, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn (1904-1946). In 1908, for example, Khomyshyn forbade the priests of his eparchy to establish Prosvita Society reading clubs and Sich gymnastic societies, urging them instead to found "Christian-Catholic" associations for the youth. He also prohibited the clergy of his eparchy from subscribing to *Dilo* and *Svoboda*, because they were edited in an anti-Catholic spirit.[32]

Sheptyts'kyi's policy towards the national movement was more complex. He, too, was deeply disturbed by the emergent anticlericalism of the peasantry and intelligentsia and by the increasingly irreligious character of the Ukrainian national movement, but he was unwilling to have the church withdraw entirely from the movement. He envisioned the church as a spiritual and moral authority independent of the national movement. The church would support the movement fully when this was not inconsistent with Christian doctrine or morality, but would also never hesitate to challenge or condemn aspects of it when this was required by a Christian perspective. Thus, he took measures to combat the growing indifference and hostility to religion and the church in Ukrainian society. As hegumen of the Basilian monastery in L'viv in 1897, he established the popular religious periodical *Misionar'*, whose "mission" was to provide a Christian alternative to the radical periodicals in the countryside. Once enthroned as metropolitan in 1901, he issued a special pastoral letter to the Ukrainian intelligentsia in which he confronted their agnosticism frankly and argued for a return to the faith.[33]

An incident that led to exceptional tension between Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian national movement was the assassination in 1908 of the viceroy of Galicia, Count Andrzej Potocki. This incident clearly demonstrates where Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi felt he had to draw the line in his support of the Ukrainian national movement.

On 12 April 1908, Myroslav Sichyns'kyi, a Ukrainian student, received an audience with viceroy Potocki, drew a revolver from his pocket, and shot him. The assassination was intended to protest the murder by gendarmes of several Ukrainian peasant activists. Sichyns'kyi acted entirely on his own initiative, quite separate from the organized Ukrainian movement.

The official reaction of the National Democrats to the assassination was to dissociate themselves from terror as a method of political struggle, but to interpret Sichyns'kyi's act as a natural consequence of the misrule of the Polish nobility in Galicia. According to *Dilo*, in the immediate aftermath of the assassination, the taking of a man's life was "a terrible thing." However, ". . . the late [viceroy] perished not as a private individual, but as a statesman; the hand which deprived him of life did this not from private, but from political motivations; before us is an act of political murder—and *we must assess it exclusively from a political standpoint*.[34]

The assassination may have been regarded as exclusively political by the national movement, but this was certainly not the view of the church. In his Good Friday sermon at St. George's Cathedral (24 April 1908), the Metropolitan strongly condemned the assassination as "an affront to divine law," which demanded from Christians "decisive, energetic protest," and "indignation and revulsion."[35] Sheptyts'kyi and the other Ukrainian bishops subsequently issued a joint pastoral letter on the assassination in which they condemned politics "without God."[36]

Many Ukrainians were angry at the Metropolitan for his stance, since "all of Ukrainian society in Galicia, and even more so the youth, considered Sichyns'kyi a national hero."[37] The radicals made their dissatisfaction with Sheptyts'kyi public. Their representative, Tryl'ovs'kyi, attacked the Metropolitan sharply in the Austrian parliament on 22 May 1908, accusing "Count Sheptyts'kyi" of class and national solidarity with the assassinated Count Potocki. It was in the course of this speech, which was translated into Ukrainian and printed as a brochure, that Tryl'ovs'kyi called Sheptyts'kyi a Wallenrod four times.[38] A year later, at the 1909 student congress, Dontsov denounced Sheptyts'kyi's condemnation of the Potocki assassination. Even two years later, when Sheptyts'kyi was visiting Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, radicals in Winnipeg and Vancouver tossed eggs at him and called him a traitor for censuring the assassination.[39]

Thus, the assassination brought into sharp focus the differences in perspective between Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian national movement. For all his service to that movement, Sheptyts'kyi remained primarily a Christian bishop who could not support the movement when it transgressed against Christian morality. At the risk of great unpopularity, he condemned what he considered a sinful act. The national movement, however, wanted to gain politically from the assassination, by using it as an issue to draw international attention to the plight of Galicia's Ukrainians. Moreover, the mass constituency of the national movement made a hero of the assassin. At the base of the conflict between Sheptyts'kyi and the national movement there lay, in this instance, a conflict between Christianity and nationalism.

Where there was no such conflict, Sheptyts'kyi could be both magnanimous and effective in his support. As metropolitan, he donated the building for a free walk-in "people's" clinic (*Narodna Lichnytsia*), founded by Ukrainian physicians in L'viv, and he established, at his own cost, a Ukrainian national museum.[40] He campaigned continually for the establishment of a Ukrainian university in L'viv. He spoke on this topic before the Austrian parliament's House of Lords on 28 June 1910, the first time that a Ukrainian had ever addressed this assembly.[41] In 1914, he played a crucial role in negotiations between Ukrainian and Polish leaders in the Galician diet, which resulted in promises to establish a Ukrainian university in L'viv and to increase Ukrainian representation in that provincial assembly.[42] In sum, Sheptyts'kyi was an important ally of the Ukrainian national movement, but only in so far as this was consistent with Christian principles.

Ukrainianism and Russophilism

Aside from the relation of Christianity to nationalist politics, another area of conflict between the Metropolitan and the Ukrainian national movement was the Metropolitan's attitudes toward Russophiles among his clergy.[43] Competing with the Ukrainian movement proper in Galicia was a national movement that claimed Galician Ukrainians were part of the Russian nation. Although the Russophiles were not numerous by the twentieth century, they had some regional strongholds, such as the Lemko region (West Galicia), and a disproportionate (but minority) following among the clergy.

Russophilism appealed to some of the clergy because of a certain religious vacuum, since Greek Catholicism had had little time or opportunity to develop an independent religious heritage. The Uniate (later Greek Catholic), Church was founded in 1596 and only took hold in Galicia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the period of Polish rule, that is until 1772, the Uniate Church was the victim of discrimination that reduced its clergy to an ignorant and poverty-stricken stratum little elevated above the enserfed Ukrainian peasantry. Austrian rule rescued the renamed Greek Catholic Church from its cultural and material degradation and infused it with the spirit of the Austrian enlightenment (Josephinism). Still, the religious identity of the church remained unclear. It shared certain features with Orthodoxy and others with Roman Catholicism.

With little in its heritage that could truly be termed its own, the Greek Catholic Church looked to both East and West for religious guidelines. However, both orientations posed problems. Orientation toward Eastern Christianity meant an orientation toward Orthodoxy. The break with it lay at the very foundations of Greek Catholicism. On the other hand, orientation toward Western Catholicism meant essentially an orientation toward the Polish church. This became increasingly unpalatable as the Polish-Ukrainian conflict developed in Galicia. The practical solution to this quandary that faced many Greek Catholic priests was simply to immerse themselves in national work and to treat religious matters as secondary. Some, however, were attracted to the Eastern Christian tradition and drew close to Russian

Orthodoxy, and it was this religious Russophilism that was generally a counterpart of political Russophilism.[44]

The view that Russophilism derived partly from a religious concern was never shared by the Ukrainian national movement proper, but I believe it was understood by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. He was very concerned to restore the Eastern Christian component to Greek Catholicism, as illustrated in both symbolic manifestations (the long beard he wore)[45] and concrete endeavors (the revival of Eastern monasticism with the Studites).

Traditionally, the easternizing Greek Catholic priests had been attracted to Russian Orthodoxy, and in a number of cases (the most famous being that of Ivan Naumovych) they actually converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy. The easternizing trend, therefore, posed the serious danger to Greek Catholicism of absorption into Orthodoxy. Sheptyts'kyi worked out a new conception of how to reintegrate the Eastern tradition into Greek Catholicism without risking the peril of absorption. The presuppositions of his easternizing endeavors—and what kept it out of Orthodoxy—were an authentic dedication to church unity and a penetrating critique of contemporary Russian Orthodoxy.

During his entire life as a churchman, Sheptyts'kyi worked to unite the Eastern and Western churches. While still hegumen of the Basilian monastery in the late 1890s, he wanted to establish a Basilian mission in Orthodox Bulgaria in order to promote the idea of church union. In his last years he took advantage of the unification of Ukrainian territories (under exceptionally difficult political circumstances) to propagate the idea of church union in the Orthodox East. These pro-Union activities are well known and there is no need to rehearse them here, but one point should be stressed. Sheptyts'kyi's activism in the cause of church union prevented the sort of passive surrender to Russian Orthodoxy that had been characteristic of the easternizers in the Galician Russophile camp. Furthermore, Sheptyts'kyi maintained a critical stance toward contemporary Russian Orthodoxy, which was exemplified in the heroic sermon he delivered on the first Sunday after the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1914. He said then that both Greek Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy were "orthodox," but that Greek Catholic "orthodoxy" was religious, while Russian "orthodoxy" was based on the power of the state.[46] Sheptyts'kyi thus identified the major problem with Russian Orthodoxy under tsarist rule: the church had been reduced to a mere instrument of state. With such a critique of Orthodoxy, Sheptyts'kyi could restore what he considered valuable from the Eastern tradition without endangering Uniatism.

I believe it was this set of problems, which was completely outside the framework of national politics and thus incomprehensible to the national movement, that made Sheptyts'kyi conciliatory to the Russophiles among his clergy. In so far as they were motivated by genuine concern for their church's

Eastern heritage, they could be led, Sheptyts'kyi hoped, to accept his renewed synthesis of Western and Eastern Christianity.

There was certainly another motivation for the Metropolitan's tolerance of the Russophile trend. He was primarily a bishop of the Greek Catholic Church, not the leader of a political tendency. If a part of his faithful considered itself Russian, he had to take care not to offend its sensibilities. This was an elementary pastoral obligation. In this regard, it is worth quoting at length what Sheptyts'kyi told Cyril Korolevsky:

> I have forced myself to refrain from ever taking the side of one party against another among my faithful. This is even more difficult, because these parties are divided by the very conception of the national ideal, Ukrainians and Russophiles. I have had to use great circumspection so as to offend neither group *in a matter which is morally neutral*. It took me years of work before my nation understood that the motivation behind my actions is love for the whole of the nation. In all cases, I have had not merely to be careful to guard against serving my personal sympathies, I have even had to deny myself any personal opinion or personal wish. I have striven to do what as a theologian I consider to be the duty of a Catholic bishop.[47]

Sheptyts'kyi's conciliatory policy toward the Russophiles was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, he tried to refrain from referring to his faithful as either Ukrainian or Russian, using instead the inclusive formulation "our people." It was a minor, symbolic point, but one that irritated the Ukrainian national movement.[48] Another, rather symbolic, concession to the Russophiles was that he allowed official consistorial documents to appear in their version of the Ukrainian language. This was denounced by a National Democrat parish priest in *Dilo* in 1908.[49]

The Metropolitan's decisions to allow Russophiles to occupy influential positions in the consistory and deaneries and to protect Russophile priests from other priests who were Ukrainian activists were more substantive and generated more dissension.[50] The latter issue blew up with particular force in the summer of 1908, in the wake of the Sichyns'kyi affair. The foundation was laid by the younger priests who, allied with the Ukrainian National Democrats, were setting up reading clubs and other voluntary associations in neighboring parishes where there were older Russophile priests. The Russophile priests complained to the metropolitan consistory that their authority in the parishes was being eroded. In 1902, Sheptyts'kyi had taken a stand on this matter. He issued a pastoral letter in which he admonished priests to steer clear of political bickering and to concern themselves with their vocations.[51] Then an ordinance, issued 9 August 1908 (27 July, old style), reaffirmed the sentiments of the earlier pastoral letter and stiffened them with an explicit prohibition, which forbade "all priests of our eparchies to interfere without the agreement of the relevant pastor in matters relating to his parish or faithful by any means undermining his authority, e.g.: founding reading clubs, fraternities and associations even of a purely economic character, organizing public assemblies, conferences, meetings, etc.''[52] The punishment for violation of the ordinance was relatively severe: administrators and assistants would not be considered for a parish of their own for five years after an infraction.

The newspaper *Dilo* reacted to the Metropolitan's ordinance with a front-page editorial under the inflammatory title, ''Ad maiorem Poloniae gloriam,''[53] which denied that there could be a religious motivation for the ordinance. ''If religion was the concern,'' stated the editorial, ''then perhaps Count Andrei Sheptyts'kyi would have taken care to defend Catholicism against Orthodox propaganda with at least equal fervor and equal consistency as he takes care to fight against the Ukrainian national movement.'' Instead, the ordinance had political purposes: ''to help Russophilism, which is threatened by the national Ruthenian expansion,'' and ''to eradicate the national spirit from the clergy and make it a mere automaton for executing parochial duties.'' With the new ordinance, ''Count Andrei Sheptyts'kyi has thrown off the helmet with which he has hitherto concealed his true national countenance. Before us stood a foreigner, inspired by the tradition of Wallenrodism, who has stolen onto the Ruthenian metropolitan throne only, it seems, to weaken its power to resist the enemy onslaught.'' Whatever ''pseudopatriotic activities'' Sheptyts'kyi had engaged in in the past were only intended ''to mask these plans.''[54]

The editorial was a major breach of tact and the National Democrats backed down almost immediately from this stance. The editor of *Dilo*, Lonhyn Tsehel's'kyi, was forced to resign from the paper as was the actual author of the offending editorial, Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi. Tsehel's'kyi later apologized to the Metropolitan.[55] Although the National Democrats understood that they had overstepped the bounds of what was politic, it is unlikely that they grasped the spiritual and pastoral concerns that led Sheptyts'kyi to make concessions to the Russophile clergy.[56]

In the incident of the ordinance, as with the Potocki assassination, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement were motivated by entirely different concerns. The Metropolitan's outlook was fundamentally religious, the movement's fundamentally political. When the religious and political collided, as they did more than once in the first period of Sheptyts'kyi's metropolitanate, confrontation was inevitable. Because the national movement had by that time lost its religious dimension, it could not understand the Metropolitan's true motivations. It could only interpret his opposition to this or that aspect of the national movement in secular, political terms.

Under these circumstances, the national movement reverted in times of confrontation to its original distrust of Sheptyts'kyi. The great services that the Metropolitan had rendered the Ukrainian cause and the Ukrainian nation were rationalized by the notion that he was a Wallenrod, that is, a traitor who worked his way into the confidence of Ukrainian society precisely in order to do it harm. This untenable notion seems finally to have been laid to rest in 1914, when, alone among the Greek Catholic hierarchy, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi remained in Galicia to confront the Russian regime of occupation. It was this readiness to risk a martyr's death for the faith and the nation that seems ultimately to have secured his acceptance by Ukrainian society.

Notes

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1. Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt (pam''iati Mytrop. A. Sheptyts'koho): spohady i narysy*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XVII (Yorkton, Sask., 1958), p. 15.
2. Irynei Nazarko, *Kyïvs'ki i halyts'ki mytropolyty: biohrafichni narysy (1590-1960)*, Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, Series II, Section I: Opera, vol. XIII (Rome, 1962), pp. 223-4.
3. See the accounts of the 1885 elections by two prominent Ukrainian leaders, one a Russophile journalist, the other a national populist activist: Gregor Kupczanko [Hryhorii Kupchanko], *Die Schicksale der Ruthenen* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 140-2; and Evhen Olesnyts'kyi, *Storinky z moho zhyttia*, 2 vols. (L'viv, 1935), vol. I, pp. 196-7.
4. See Kupczanko, *Die Schicksale*, pp. 108, 130-1; Olesnyts'kyi, *Storinky*, vol. I, p. 177; and Von einem griechisch-katholischen Pfarrer, "Die Kulturarbeit der Jesuiten in Galizien," *Ruthenische Revue*, III, 6 (Vienna, 1905), pp. 149-52. It should be noted that for the purposes of this study the *perception* of the Dobromyl' reform in Ukrainian society is the concern and not the reform's actual history. For a collection of documents on the latter, see Porfirio Pidručnyj, "Relazioni dei Gesuiti sulla Riforma Basiliana di Dobromyl' (1882-1904)," *Analecta OSBM*, XII [XVIII], 1-4, (Rome, 1985), pp. 210-54.
5. "Hraf Sheptyts'kyi," *Dilo*, IX, 247 (L'viv, 1888), p. 3.
6. He also called them, the *Jesuwider*. Ein Pfarrer, "Die Kulturarbeit", p. 149.
7. *Velykyi mytropolyt*, pp. 16-17.
8. Kyrylo Tryl'ovs'kyi, *Pototskyi, Sichyn'skyi, Sheptytskyi: promova posla Dra Kyryla Tryl'ovskoho, vyholoshena v Radi derzhavnii dnia 22. maia 1908 r.* (Kolomyia, 1908), pp. 56-9. For Danylenko's portrayal, see below, Chapter 20.
9. "Graf Sheptytskyi," *Bat'kivshchyna*, X, 47 (L'viv, 1888), p. 290.
10. Tryl'ovs'kyi, *Pototskyi, Sichyn'skyi, Sheptytskyi*, p. 56.
11. Cited in Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt*, p. 14.
12. "Halytskii mytropolyt," *Dilo*, XX, 7 (L'viv, 1899), p. 1.
13. Cited in ibid. "Evil spirits put out the malicious slander that the new bishop was a

Polish lord." Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: korotkyi zhyttiepys i ohliad ioho tserkovno-narodnoï diial'nosty* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 15.

14. "Blahosloven hriadyi," *Halychanyn*, VIII (XX), 252 (L'viv, 1900), p. 1.
15. "Na pryvit novomu Mytropolytovi," *Dilo*, XXII, 3 (L'viv, 1901), p. 1.
16. In his first pastoral letter as Bishop of Stanyslaviv, Sheptyts'kyi urged the faithful to establish reading clubs, the nuclear organizations of the Ukrainian national movement in the countryside. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Pershe slovo pastyria," in *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Tovarystva, vol. XV (Toronto, 1965), p. 13. See also T., "Vstuplenie na mytropolychii prestol vysokopreosviashchennoho kyr Andreia," *Bohoslovskii vistnyk*, II, 2 (L'viv, 1901), p. 149.
17. Franko's article, "Ein Dichter des Verrathes," appeared in *Die Zeit*, XI, 136 (Vienna, 1897), pp. 86-9. Relevant literature on the Mickiewicz affair includes: Alfred Berlstein, "The Figure of Mickiewicz in Ivan Franko's Life," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, VI, 3-4 (21-22) (New York, 1958), pp. 1372-80; George Brandes, *Poland: A Study of the Land, People and Literature* (New York, 1903), pp. 170-1, 175-6, 261-2; Iwan Franko, *O literaturze polskiej*, ed. Mikołaj Kuplowski, Biblioteka Studiów Literackich (Cracow, 1979); and Mikołaj Kuplowski, "Galicyjski spór o Mickiewicza," *Życie Literackie* (Cracow) 28 October 1973, pp. 5-6.
18. This was done much to the astonishment of the Austrian minister of education.
19. On Sheptyts'kyi's various interventions, see Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoï dumky halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv 1848-1914*, vol. I (L'viv, 1926), pp. 359, 368; "Preosv. Mytropolyt Sheptytskyi," *Dilo*, XXII, 5 (L'viv, 1902), p. 3; Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit Andreas Graf Scheptyćkyj: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1967), p. 132; and Nazarko, *Kyïvs'ki i halyts'ki mytropolyty*, p. 238.
20. Tryl'ovs'kyi, *Pototskyi*, pp. 56-9.
21. "Ad maiorem Poloniae gloriam," *Dilo*, XXIX, 182 (L'viv, 1908), p. 2.
22. On the emergence of the radical party, see John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).
23. On the split in the radical party and formation of the national democratic party, see John-Paul Himka, "Ukraïns'kyi sotsiializm u Halychyni (do rozkolu v Radykal'nii Partiï 1899 r.)," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, IV, 2 (Toronto, 1979), pp. 48-51.
24. Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt*, pp. 17-18.
25. For a clerical complaint concerning the dominance of radicals and social democrats in the national-populist press, see (Kh.), "Zamrachenie zamists' proiasnenia ruskoi spravy," *Ruslan*, XII, 80 (L'viv, 1908), p. 1.
26. Cited in Mykhailo Sosnovs'kyi, *Dmytro Dontsov, politychnyi portret: z istoriï rozvytku ideolohiï ukraïns'koho natsionalizmu*, Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, Biblioteka ukraïnoznavstva, vol. XXXIII (New York and Toronto, 1974), pp. 85-7.
27. "Z"ïzd ukraïns'koï akademichnoï molodizhy," *Dilo*, XXX, 152 (L'viv, 1909), p. 3 (contains text of resolutions). Roman Dombchevs'kyi, "Po z"ïzdi," *Moloda Ukraïna* (revived), I, 1 (L'viv, 1910), pp. 3-8. "Konhres ukrainskoi molodezhy," *Halychanyn*, XXIX, 146 (L'viv, 1909), p. 3. The prefect of studies at the L'viv seminary, the Reverend Onufrii Volians'kyi, was very upset by the congress, which he characterized as "a product of Czech freemasonry." "Better no [Ukrainian] university, better no Ukraine, than one such as the student congress demands." On. Volian'skyi, "Z nahody z"ïzdu ukraïn'skoï akademichnoï molodizhy," *Ruslan*, XIII, 148 (L'viv, 1909), p. 2.

28. Dmytro Dontsov, *Shkola a religiia (referat vyholoshenyi na z’’ïzdi ukraïns’koï akademichnoï molodïzhy u L’vovi v lypni 1909 roku)* (L’viv, 1910).
29. On these problems, see John-Paul Himka, “Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXI, 1 (Toronto, 1979), pp. 1-14.
30. Cited in Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt*, p. 14. Emphasis in original.
31. Himka, “Priests and Peasants,” pp. 9-10.
32. “Novynky: Intryga epyskopa Khomyshyna protyv t-a ‘Prosvita’,” *Dilo* XXIX, 116 (L’viv, 1908), p. 3; “Novynky: nova intryga epyskopa Khomyshyna,” *Dilo*, XXIX, 170 (L’viv, 1908), p. 2; “Noviisheie poslaniie stanyslavovskoho epyskopa,” *Halychanyn*, XXVIII, 173 (L’viv, 1908), p. 3. See also Anton Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1921), p. 151; and Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rzhdów polskich w latach 1921-1939*, Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku, vol. III (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdańsk, 1979), pp. 188-9.
33. “Do ukraïns’koï inteligentsiï,” in Sheptyts’kyi, *Tvory: pastyrs’ki lysty*, vol. I, pp. 190-214.
34. “Gr. Potots’kyi ubytyi,” *Dilo*, XXIX, 82 (L’viv, 1908), p. 1 [emphasis mine].
35. “Mytropolyt Andrei ob ubiistvi namistnyka,” *Halychanyn*, XXVIII, 85 (L’viv, 1908), p. 1; “Mytropolyt gr. Sheptyts’kyi pro atentat,” *Dilo*, XXIX, 92 (L’viv, 1908), pp. 3-4; “Eksts. Mytropolyt pro atentat,” *Ruslan*, XII, 85 (L’viv, 1908), pp. 1-2. Extracts from the sermon are included in the essay by Ryszard Torzecki, Chapter 4.
36. Andrei Sheptytskyi, Konstantyn Chekhovych, Hryhorii Khomyshyn, “Pastyrske poslaniie,” *Ruslan*, XII, 95 (L’viv, 1908), pp. 1-2.
37. Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt*, p. 20. Both the national-populist *Dilo* and the social-democratic *Zemlia i volia* printed parodies of the joint pastoral letter. “Poslaniie do nashykh vladyk,” *Ruslan*, XII, 103 (L’viv, 1908), pp. 2-3; and “Zlobnyi pomysl,” *Ruslan*, XII, 104 (L’viv, 1908), p. 2. The leading Ukrainian immigrant newspaper in America, *Svoboda*, also disapproved of the pastoral letter. Luka Myshuha, “Iak formuvavsia svitohliad ukraïns’koho imigranta v Amerytsi,” in *Propamiatna knyha vydana z nahody sorokolitn’oho iuvyleiu Ukraïns’koho narodnoho soiuzu* (Jersey City, 1936), pp. 85-6.
38. Tryl’ovs’kyi, *Pototskyi, Sichyn’ski, Sheptytskyi*, pp. 56-9. The original of Tryl’ovs’kyi’s speech is in *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates*, XVIII Session, 74 Sitzung: 22.V.1908 (Vienna, 1908), pp. 4842-63. See also the interpellation of Vasyl Stefanyk and other Ukrainian deputies, 26 June 1908: *Anhang zu den stenographischen Protokollen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates*, XVIII Session, 96 Sitzung:26.VI.1908 (Vienna, 1908), p. 10893. A clerical author, who signed his article with only the Greek letter delta, accused the national populists of giving tacit assent to Tryl’ovs’kyi’s speech: “Vnutrishnie polozhenie v ruskim kliubi i ieho stanovyshche,” *Ruslan*, XII, 109 (L’viv, 1908), p. 2.
39. Sosnovs’kyi, *Dmytro Dontsov*, p. 86. Dontsov, *Shkola a religiia*, p. 31. “Mytropolyt Sheptyts’kyi v Vinnipehu,” *Ukraïns’kyi holos*, I, 31 (Winnipeg, 1910), p. 3; “Graf A. Sheptyts’kyi i Myr. Sichyns’kyi,” *Ukraïns’kyi holos*, I, 31 (Winnipeg, 1910), p. 4; and Andrei Sheptyts’kyi, *Kanadyiskym rusynam* (Zhovkva, 1911), pp. 60-1. On the Canadian incident, see also below Chapter 16.
40. Nazarko, *Kyïvs’ki i halyts’ki mytropolyty*, p. 237. See also Chapters 13 and 14 below.
41. “Persha promova Rusyna v palati paniv,” *Dilo*, XXXI, 142 (L’viv, 1910), pp. 1-2; “Promova mytropolyta gr. Andriia Sheptys’koho,” *Dilo*, XXXI, 142 (L’viv,

1910), p. 3. The original German text of the speech is reprinted in Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit Andreas Graf Sheptyćkyj*, pp. 133-7. See also the discussion in Chapters 1 and 13 of this volume.

42. Both promises remained unfulfilled owing to the outbreak of World War I and the collapse of Austria-Hungary. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia*, vol. II, pp. 652, 685-6. Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867-1914*, European University Studies, Series III: History and Allied Studies, vol. CXXI (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and Cirencester, U.K., 1980), p. 155.
43. What follows is not a complete account of Sheptyts'kyi's relations with the Russophiles. For another aspect, see *Mitropolit galytskii Andrei Sheptitskii i 'Galitsko-russkaia Matitsa'* (L'viv, 1905).
44. On these problems, see John-Paul Himka, "The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772-1918," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VIII, 3-4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 438-40.
45. It may seem ludicrous to some modern readers that the beard became such an important symbol, but it unquestionably did. Around 1840, a German traveller to Galicia noted: "Two millions of Rusniaks subject to Austria have long kept their eyes fixed on the occurrences of the east. They feel an unconquerable hatred toward their [own] beardless priests of the union and will stretch out a friendly hand to the Russian Greeks; when they advance towards them, were it only that the venerable old beard might again grow on the chins of their priests." J. G. Kohl, *Austria, Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Danube: Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina, and the Military Frontier* (London, 1844), pp. 435-6.

    In the 1860s, easternizing Greek Catholics, the so-called ritualists, were dubbed *borodobortsi* (beard-champions) by their opponents. They even wrote, in all seriousness, that "almost all . . . the saints wore beards, and to this day they are depicted with beards in our churches and books . . . With the money that we spend on razors and other barberish appurtenances, they performed good works; not having been forced against their will to examine their lips and the rest of their carnal physiognomy in a mirror, they were able to examine that much more closely the requirements of their souls." "Iz sela," *Slovo*, V, 23 (L'viv, 1865), p. 3. That contemporaries understood Sheptyts'kyi's flowing beard as an expression of the Eastern spirit is evident from "Persha promova Rusyna," p. 2; and Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi*, p. 30.
46. *Tsars'kyi viazen', 1914–1917* (L'viv, 1918), p. 8. For an extensive excerpt from Sheptyts'kyi's sermon, see below, Chapter 15.
47. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865–1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI–XVII (Rome, 1964), pp. 69–70. The quotation is from the yet-to-be-published translation of this work by the Reverend Brian Keleher (emphasis mine).
48. Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt*, p. 26. The Ukrainian social democrat Semen Vityk made fun of "'our' very revered 'our' Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi" in a brochure published during the agrarian strike of 1902. Semen Vityk, *Shcho dalii robyty?: vidozva v spravi velykoho streiku khlopskoho* (L'viv, 1902), p. 46. The brochure was confiscated by the police; an uncensored copy is preserved in Derzhavnyi Arkhiv L'vivs'koï Oblasti, Fond 350, file 1, item 2707.
49. Sil's'kyi parokh, "Ofitsiial'ne shyrenie katsapstva cherez l'vivs'ku tserkovnu vlast'," *Dilo*, XXIX, 162 (L'viv, 1908), pp. 2–3. See also Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt*, p. 13.
50. Sil's'kyi parokh, "L'vivs'ka konsystoryia na sluzhbi moskvofiliv," *Dilo*, XXIX, 190 (L'viv, 1908), p. 2. The "village pastor" mentioned the following "Russian

trinity" (*katsaps'ka troitsa*) in the consistory: [Andrii] Bilets'kyi, [Havryil] Kryzhanovs'kyi and [Oleksander] Bachyns'kyi. Cf. the Russophile response: "Provokatsiia russkaho dukhovenstva," *Halychanyn,* XXVIII, 161 (L'viv, 1908), p. 1.

51. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia,* vol. I, p. 371.
52. "V zashchyti prav prykhodnykov," *Halychanyn,* XXVIII, 172 (L'viv, 1908).
53. The same title had been used the previous year to attack Russophile politicians, especially the so-called *novokursnyky,* who by their divisive policies ultimately worked for the greater glory of Poland. "Ad maiorem Poloniae gloriam... ," *Dilo,* XXVIII, 164 (L'viv, 1907), p. 1. Doroshenko, in *Velykyi mytropolyt,* p. 19, confuses the 1907 article with the 1908 article. The 1908 article has already been cited.
54. "Ad maiorem Poloniae gloriam" (1908), p. 2.
55. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia,* vol. II, pp. 494–5. Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt,* p. 19. "V [sic] kryzysu v redaktsii 'Dila'," *Halychanyn,* XXVIII, 177 (L'viv, 1908), p. 3. V. Okhrymovych and Volodymyr Bachyns'kyi, "Novynky: v spravi ustuplenia p. L. Tsehel's'koho zi stanovyska redaktora 'Dila'," *Dilo,* XXIX, 185 (L'viv, 1908), p. 3. The article in *Halychanyn* misinterpreted why Tsehel's'kyi and Lozyns'kyi had to resign; the article in *Dilo* was deliberately misleading. Tsehel's'kyi did not mention the incident at all in his subsequent panegyric: *Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi* (Philadelphia, 1937).
56. Almost forty years later, by which time the Metropolitan was already a canonized national hero, the National Democrat Stepan Baran could only explain Sheptyts'kyi's concessions to the Russophiles as the result of caution and a policy of gradually eliminating their influence. Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947), pp. 26, 33. Similarly, Doroshenko explained Sheptyts'kyi's condemnation of the Potocki assassination as being partially politically motivated: "Vienna demanded it as a precondition for putting pressure on the Poles to make concessions to the Ukrainians." *Velykyi mytropolyt,* p. 20.

Chapter 3

Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement after 1914

Bohdan Budurowycz

The year 1914 marks the beginning of a new era in modern history—an era of international and internal upheavals, which have continued up to the present. Even the people who lived on the peripheries of Europe were profoundly influenced, both by the momentous events which started to unfold in that year and by the revolutionary ideas which began to spread freely across the boundaries of the Continent and which brought the promise of national and social liberation and, generally, of a new and better world. All these developments put an end to the relative isolation in which most Ukrainians had lived for centuries and for the first time involved them, for better or worse, in the mainstream of world history.

The Galician Ukrainians, who under the comparatively benevolent rule of the Habsburgs had developed a considerable national consciousness, saw in the great historical cataclysm a chance to become reunited in one form or another with their kinsmen in eastern or Dnieper Ukraine. There, budding aspirations to some kind of autonomous status were being harshly suppressed by the tsarist regime. The east also seemed to provide a great opportunity for the spiritual leader of the Galician Greek Catholics, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, who was a loyal subject of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and a staunch Ukrainian patriot. As an enthusiastic promoter of church union, and at the same time an ardent fighter for the temporal well-being of his flock, Sheptyts'kyi felt that the events unfolding in 1914 offered a unique occasion to spread his ecumenical ideas freely within the Russian Empire and to lay the foundations for religious and, subsequently, political unity for his people.

One of the most fascinating and revealing documents of that crucial period, which spelled out in considerable detail Sheptyts'kyi's views on the situation in Ukraine and his ideas about the future of that country, is his memorandum of 15 August 1914. It was formally submitted to a representative of the Austrian foreign ministry, Consul Emanuel Urbas, during his stay in L'viv, but it was obviously intended to influence the policy of the Habsburg monarchy and its allies on their war objectives.[1] The leading idea of this singular document was the proposal to detach Ukraine as completely as possible from Russia and to give it the character of a national territory "independent from . . . and alien to the tsarist empire."[2] This was to be accomplished through a series of decisive measures taken by the occupying Austro-Hungarian forces after their hoped-for victory over the Russian army.[3]

Throughout the memorandum Sheptyts'kyi stressed the necessity to revive the historical traditions of Ukraine and suggested, among other things, restoration of the office of hetman as well as other military and civil offices of the former Ukrainian Cossack state.[4] The hetman was to be given the authority to issue "universals" (manifestos and proclamations, a term that was adopted in 1917-1918 by the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kiev) to the army and the people, while the Russian legal system was to be replaced by the Austrian civil code. Even more radical were Sheptyts'kyi's proposals for church organization. The Ukrainian church was to be exempt from the authority of the St. Petersburg synod and prayers for the tsar were to be replaced by those for the Austrian emperor. Any bishops opposed to this new order were to be removed from their sees and replaced by Ukrainian and Austrian sympathizers. Sheptyts'kyi himself proposed to take over the leadership of the church as Metropolitan of Halych and "the whole Ukraine," and he assured the Austrian government that he had already taken some preliminary steps to have these measures approved by the Vatican.[5]

Sheptyts'kyi's revolutionary attempt to solve the Ukrainian problem in its political, military, legal, and spiritual aspects through a fait accompli undoubtedly had the backing of Ukrainian political leaders in Galicia. While it is impossible to establish which of the ideas embodied in the memorandum originated with the Metropolitan himself, it is clear that they did not depart in any substantial way from the political platform adopted by Ukrainian parliamentarians in 1912, when they had almost unanimously decided to cast their lot with the Habsburg Empire in the event of an Austro-Russian war. Sheptyts'kyi's suggestions, however, were more detailed and comprehensive and since they came from a person who enjoyed the complete confidence of the Austrian government, they carried more weight in Vienna.[6]

Sheptyts'kyi's internment by the tsarist authorities on 19 September 1914, just two weeks after the occupation of L'viv by the Russian army, effectively removed him from any contact with the Ukrainian national movement for the next two and a half years.[7] Immediately after his release by the Provisional

Government on 8 March 1917,[8] the Metropolitan went to Petrograd, where he visited several prominent cabinet ministers, including Prime Minister L'vov. Thus he established a pattern which he followed during his later travels to various world capitals.[9]

In addition, Sheptyts'kyi established close relations with the local Ukrainian National Council. Before he left for Kiev on 24 April, he addressed a special message to his compatriots in which he urged them to "coordinate our national forces" and stressed "our indivisible national unity" as well as "identical strivings for self-determination and for the development and growth of our national culture."[10] While Sheptyts'kyi's letter was directed to an influential but comparatively isolated colony of his fellow Ukrainians, it clearly revealed the main tenor and course of his future activities in the territory of the former Russian Empire. The dual purpose of his visit to the ancient Ukrainian capital obviously was to gain first-hand knowledge of conditions there and to establish a personal relationship with the leading politicians of the Central Rada. With a great sense of urgency he tried to convert them to his view that a rebirth of the Ukrainian state was impossible without national unity, and that national solidarity could only be built on the foundation of religious unity. His contacts and conversations with such outstanding figures of the Ukrainian revolution as the president of the Rada, Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, and the prime minister of the Ukrainian People's Republic under the Directory, Volodymyr Chekhivs'kyi, were apparently less than successful, even though both Dnieper Ukrainian leaders promised to take into consideration Sheptyts'kyi's views on the future form of government in Ukraine and the possible role the Greek Catholic church could play in the process of reconstructing Ukrainian statehood.[11]

After leaving Russia, Sheptyts'kyi travelled via Sweden, Denmark, and Germany to Switzerland. He hoped to receive permission from the Italian authorities to go to Rome and to present a personal report about his experiences to Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922). However, some underhanded machinations on the part of French intelligence prevented this.[12] While on German soil, the Metropolitan was welcomed by a delegation of Ukrainian parliamentarians, who briefed him in detail on conditions in Galicia and Bukovina.[13] After a brief stay in Vienna, where he was received in a private audience by the emperor and was lionized by the local Ukrainian community, Sheptyts'kyi made a triumphal entry into L'viv on 10 September 1917, which included an official welcome from the emperor's personal representative, Archduke Wilhelm, as well as speeches by Ukrainian political leaders and delegates of social and cultural organizations. The Metropolitan assured his flock that, after the fall of the tsarist government, Ukrainians on both sides of the Russo-Austrian frontier could look forward to a brighter future and that they had friends and patrons even in the ruling House of Habsburg.[14]

In January 1918, when the war entered its crucial phase and the future of the Ukrainian cause was hanging in the balance, Sheptyts'kyi decided to convene a meeting of all Ukrainian parliamentary representatives, including the deputies to the Viennese Reichstag and to the Galician and Bukovinian diets, in order to discuss current political developments and to plan for the immediate future. However, while some leaders regarded such a conference as timely and potentially useful since the general situation made a unity of thought and action almost imperative, the Ukrainian parliamentarians in Vienna were apprehensive of being upstaged by the Metropolitan and persuaded him to cancel the meeting.[15] Later, on 28 February 1918, in a speech to the Austrian House of Lords (*Herrenhaus*), Sheptyts'kyi strongly supported the provision of the treaty signed on 9 February at Brest-Litovsk between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Central Powers which transferred the Chełm region to the precarious sovereignty of Kiev's Central Rada government. He stressed that, in addition to having close ethnic ties to Ukraine, Chełm also had strong historical connections with the Kievan Rus' state and the Galician-Volhynian kingdom. In an obvious allusion to President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, Sheptyts'kyi contrasted the old order of things, when frontiers between states were decided by diplomats, with the new revolutionary principle of self-determination, which broke the obsolete provisions of antiquated state treaties and replaced them with a new set of rules, corresponding more closely to the needs and wishes of individual peoples.[16]

The peace of Brest-Litovsk led to the occupation of most of the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic by German and Austrian armies. This was followed by a coup d'état on 29 April 1918. As a result, Pavlo Skoropads'kyi was proclaimed Hetman of Ukraine. In June, an opportunity arose for Sheptyts'kyi to become actively involved in the affairs of Dnieper Ukraine, when the national faction to the forthcoming second session of the All-Ukrainian Church Council in Kiev was reported to favor his candidacy for the office of patriarch of an autocephalous Ukrainian church. In his letter of 13 June 1918 to Archduke Wilhelm Habsburg, then commander of an Austrian army group in Ukraine, Sheptyts'kyi expressed his qualified interest in this proposition, but he emphasized that he would only accept election by an absolute majority of the council and that such an act would be tantamount to conclusion of church union with Rome and hence would require the assent of both the Vatican and the Austrian government.[17] However, the proceedings of the council were dominated by a pro-Russian majority, which shelved the question of autocephaly and reaffirmed instead the spiritual authority of the Patriarch of Moscow over the Ukrainian church.[18]

In the meantime, World War I was drawing to a close, and Ukrainian political leaders in Galicia, as well the members of the Greek Catholic episcopate, were faced with the imminent collapse of the Habsburg monarchy and decided during their meeting of 19 October 1918 to proclaim the independence of Ukrainian lands within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After seizing power in L'viv and other cities and towns of East Galicia and proclaiming a Western Ukrainian People's Republic on 1 November 1918, a delegation of officers of the Ukrainian Galician Army informed the Metropolitan about the coup that had taken place the previous night. Sheptyts'kyi expressed satisfaction that the transfer of power to the Ukrainian National Council, of which he was a member, had been accomplished without any bloodshed.[19] However, only two days later St. George's Cathedral complex was captured by Polish troops, and after three weeks of fighting Ukrainian forces were driven out of L'viv.

East Galicia then became the theater of a short but bitter Polish-Ukrainian war that must have severely tested the loyalties of the Metropolitan. Moreover, his situation under virtual house arrest remained extremely delicate and precarious. Rather revealing is the exchange of open letters between Sheptyts'kyi and the commander of the Polish forces in L'viv, General Tadeusz Rozwadowski, in which the latter accused the Greek Catholic clergy of having contributed to the "artificial hatred" which Ukrainians allegedly felt for the Poles. The general also made the Ukrainian side responsible for acts of violence committed against the Polish population, hostages, prisoners of war, and sanitary personnel. In a firm but measured reply, Sheptyts'kyi assumed the role of an unofficial spokesman for the Ukrainian side, although he stressed that the influence of a Catholic bishop, even in a devoutly Christian society, was limited to the religious life and could hardly ever be regarded as decisive in political matters. Sheptyts'kyi asked General Rozwadowski to provide him with precise information about the supposedly anti-Polish activities of his clergy, but he also brought to the army commander's attention the unrelentingg anti-Ukrainian campaign conducted by the Polish press. Since the Ukrainian command had also accused the Polish army of violating the generally accepted rules of warfare, the Metropolitan suggested that only a neutral commission would be able to examine the evidence presented by both sides impartially and to arrive at a competent judgment in accordance with the principles of international law.[20]

In January 1919, during a conversation with Colonel Smythe, a member of the Inter-Allied (Berthélemy) Mission to conduct an armistice between the Poles and the Ukrainians, Sheptyts'kyi demanded that the principle of self-determination be extended to East Galicia. However, Smythe said that Great Britain and France were not bound by Wilson's declaration on self-determination, and that in any case they were opposed to allowing a narrow interpretation of that particular rule to prevail over historical considerations.[21] In June of that same year Sheptyts'kyi's efforts to obtain an audience with the Polish chief of state, Józef Piłsudski, during the latter's visit to L'viv, were thwarted by the local civil militia under the pretext of an assassination threat against the Metropolitan.[22] On that occasion, however, Sheptyts'kyi did send to Piłsudski a memorandum charging the Polish authorities with an attempt to stamp out the Ukrainian national movement through a policy of mass arrests and other abuses which did not augur well for the future of Polish-Ukrainian relations or, for that matter, for the future of the Polish state itself.[23]

By mid-July 1919, the Poles extended their control over the rest of East Galicia, but the deep-seated Polish-Ukrainian animosity and mutual bitterness engendered by the war persisted unabated. During those difficult times, Sheptyts'kyi maintained close contacts with the diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian National Republic in Warsaw through the chief secretary of the Ukrainian Red Cross, the Reverend Josaphat Jean. Thanks to the papal nuncio's intervention with Piłsudski, the Metropolitan was able to obtain the release of some five hundred Greek Catholic priests and monks who had been imprisoned by Polish authorities.[24] The Metropolitan was apparently also kept informed by Symon Petliura about the progress of the latter's negotiations with Poland, which culminated on 21 April 1920 with the signing of the Treaty of Warsaw, in which the government of the Ukrainian National Republic gave up its claim to all western Ukrainian territories.[25] Through his emissaries (notably the Reverend Tyt Voinarovs'kyi), Sheptyts'kyi also maintained close contacts with the head of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile, Ievhen Petrushevych. In this way, he remained on good terms with two political groups which were often at loggerheads with each other. He was involved as well in the activities of the so-called Interparty Council in L'viv.[26]

After the collapse of the Polish-Ukrainian military expedition to Kiev in the summer of 1920, which was followed by a Soviet offensive that brought the advancing Red Army westward to the outskirts of Warsaw and L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi called a meeting of the members of the Ukrainian National Council and other prominent political leaders. There the Reverend Jean reported on a conversation which he held, as the Metropolitan's emissary, with Štefan Osuský, Czechoslovak ambassador to Paris. Jean suggested that a federation of Galicia with Czechoslovakia could preserve the integrity of that province and forestall its impending incorporation into the Soviet Ukraine.[27] When the Polish-Soviet war ended in an impasse, the Metropolitan received, in the fall of 1920, a delegation of the All-Ukrainian Council, which formerly was based in Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi. Sheptyts'kyi then expressed his interest in the activities of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic, including its plans for a future constitution.[28]

Toward the end of November 1920, the Polish government finally permitted Sheptyts'kyi to leave L'viv on an overdue visit *ad limina*. On his way to Rome, the Metropolitan stopped in Vienna, where he held far-reaching conversations with Petrushevych, Kost' Levyts'kyi, and other western Ukrainian leaders, who were trying to coordinate their activities in order to save the cause of East Galician statehood from complete collapse. At their urging, Sheptyts'kyi agreed to initiate appropriate actions in various western capitals. He did not wish, however, to compromise his role as a religious leader acting on behalf of his suffering flock whose country had been devastated as a result of six years of almost incessant warfare.[29] While Sheptyts'kyi's diplomatic activities remain outside the scope of this discussion, it should be pointed out that during his journeys, which took him from the Vatican to the Elysée Palace, Downing Street, the White House, and other seats of power, he was received with all respect due to the head of the Greek Catholic Church. He enjoyed the full rights of an apostolic delegate and thus an official representative of the Apostolic See. Nevertheless, the Metropolitan was also regarded by many as the unofficial standard bearer of the Ukrainian national movement, even though he studiously refrained from making any public statements of a political nature and stressed instead the purely humanitarian and pastoral character of his mission.[30] At the same time, however, he remained in close touch with representatives of the Petrushevych Western Ukrainian government-in-exile and visited its diplomatic posts abroad, while he avoided any contact with Polish diplomats.[31]

After Sheptyts'kyi returned from his tour to North and South America, he went to Rome. According to unsubstantiated reports which circulated in the Polish press, he proposed to the Apostolic See a far-reaching reorganization of the Greek Catholic Church. His plan included changing its name to "Ukrainian Catholic," creating a Ukrainian patriarchate, and introducing the Ukrainian vernacular into church services.[32] On the eve of the crucial meeting of the Council of Ambassadors which would determine the fate of East Galicia, the Metropolitan hurriedly left Rome to go to Paris to make an eleventh-hour appeal to the council's chairman, Jules Cambon, to decide the matter in favor of the Ukrainian side. Later, when the contested territory had been formally placed under Poland's sovereignty, Sheptyts'kyi persuaded the leaders of the western Ukrainian government-in-exile to bow to the inevitable.[33]

The next problem with which Sheptyts'kyi had to cope was his own Metropolitan See. His activities abroad, especially his implicit support of the Ukrainian claim to East Galicia, had hardly endeared him to the Warsaw government. Hence, he had become the bête noire of the Polish press and of Polish public opinion in general. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Metropolitan experienced considerable difficulties when he tried to obtain a Polish visa. That even led to a fantastic plan for him to return illegally to L'viv through the Carpathians with the help of the Ukrainian underground.[34] Finally, using a Vatican passport with an entry visa obtained from the Polish embassy in Rome, Sheptyts'kyi crossed the frontier into Poland, but his sleeping car was rerouted to Poznań where he spent several weeks in the convent of the Sisters of Charity. He was allowed to proceed to L'viv only after an audience with President Stanisław Wojciechowski (1922-1926), during which he reportedly took an oath of allegiance to the Polish state.[35]

While the Ukrainian press in Galicia was quick to draw an analogy between the Metropolitan's confinement in Poznań and his imprisonment in Russia,[36] the Ukrainian parliamentary representation in Warsaw, which consisted mostly of deputies from Orthodox Volhynia, rendered homage to him, denounced the "indignity" to which he had been exposed, and described him as a "distinguished fighter for the freedom of the Ukrainian people."[37] This attitude was indicative of Sheptyts'kyi's unparalleled standing in the Ukrainian community, which led one of Petliura's former ministers to describe him, with a touch of irony, as the "supreme chieftain" (*provid nad provodom*).[38] Indeed, the Metropolitan's wartime arrest by tsarist authorities and his activities on behalf of the Ukrainian cause abroad had immensely enhanced his prestige, so that after his return to L'viv he was regarded by the majority of Galician Ukrainians as the unchallenged leader of the whole community. While formerly it was possible to dispute openly some of Sheptyts'kyi's unpopular moves, such as his strong condemnation of the assassination of Count Andrzej Potocki, and questions about the wisdom or appropriateness of some of his political initiatives,[39] after 1923 he became practically immune to criticism. Only the extreme left (notably the Communist party of western Ukraine) and some fringe groups dared openly to contest his authority.

For his part, Sheptyts'kyi missed no opportunity to manifest strong pro-Ukrainian convictions and an unflinching solidarity with the Ukrainian national movement. At the same time, he painstakingly avoided any appearance of pro-Polish sympathies but took full advantage of the provisions of the concordat concluded by Poland and the Vatican on 10 February 1925, which gave a practically autonomous status to the Greek Catholic Church. His support for the pro-Ukrainian orientation was also apparent in the way in which he deprived the Old Ruthenian clergy of its positions of power and influence in various ecclesiastical councils and tribunals. He achieved this objective through attrition rather than abrupt dismissals or demotions.[40] As the nominal leader of the Greek Catholic episcopate, the Metropolitan determined to a considerable extent his church's attitude toward the Ukrainian national movement and its various manifestations. However, while Sheptyts'kyi regarded the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia as a national Ukrainian institution, some of his brother bishops, who enjoyed complete autonomy in their respective eparchies, were of the opinion that theirs was merely one of the many rites of the universal church and, as such, must not be used as a tool to gain purely temporal objectives.[41]

The Metropolitan's contacts with the Ukrainian political leadership expanded, intensified, and became more regular. They involved frequent consultations and a constant exchange of views, opinions, and information. Sheptyts'kyi responded to all significant events and developments in the life of the Ukrainian community in a way which he deemed practicable and appropriate, but his actions and official pronouncements of a general national import were carefully planned and coordinated with his political partners.[42]

On the Ukrainian political spectrum, the Metropolitan's natural sympathies lay with the conservatives, especially the monarchist movement, although its roots in Galicia were quite weak. In that context, he maintained a cordial relationship with the Berlin-based former hetman, Pavlo Skoropads'kyi.[43] Sheptyts'kyi also sponsored the creation of the Ukrainian Catholic Union, whose program embodied the basic principles of the church's social teachings, but at the same time he believed that Catholic organizations should stand above party politics since political programs tended to divide the Ukrainian people.[44] An especially close association developed between the Metropolitan and the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), which formed the backbone of the Ukrainian political establishment in Galicia, controlled most Ukrainian economic institutions there, and molded public opinion through its press, notably the influential daily, *Dilo*.[45] At the same time, Sheptyts'kyi also maintained contacts with the nationalist underground through one of its prominent leaders, Colonel Andrii Mel'nyk, who was employed at first as a senior forester and later as the inspector of all the estates of the metropolitan see.[46]

One of the most memorable occasions at which Sheptyts'kyi acted as an official spokesman of the Galician Ukrainians vis-à-vis the Polish government was his mission to Warsaw during the so-called pacification of 1930. At that time, representatives of a number of Ukrainian political parties urged him to intercede with the highest authorities in the country in order to stop a series of punitive expeditions by military and police detachments aimed at suppressing a wide-spread terrorist campaign launched by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).[47] While the Metropolitan's attempts to obtain an audience with prime minister Piłsudski and President Ignacy Mościcki (1926-1939) were unsuccessful, he was received by several cabinet ministers, including deputy prime minister Beck, minister of the interior Składkowski, minister of justice Car, minister of religious affairs and education Czerwiński, and former prime minister Sławek. He also attended a reception given by foreign minister Zaleski.[48]

In a censored interview, Sheptyts'kyi stated that on the whole he was satisfied with the results of his visit,[49] since he was assured that abuses against the Ukrainian population would be stopped and that the repressive measures were aimed solely at putting an end to the terrorist activities of the Ukrainian underground and were in no way intended to destroy Ukrainians and their cultural achievements.[50] These pledges notwithstanding, the "pacification" continued until the end of November, which prompted the Metropolitan and other Ukrainian bishops of Galicia to submit a detailed memorandum to the Apostolic See, in which they asked for the Vatican's intercession with the Polish government.[51] In addition, on 13 October the bishops issued a pastoral letter to their flock, in which they criticized both the terrorist excesses and the government's harsh measures to suppress them. After the bishops' refusal to delete certain supposedly "inflammatory" passages contained in the letter, it was suppressed in its entirety by the Polish authorities.[52]

The bitter aftermath of "pacification" led to a considerable expansion of the activities of OUN, whose ranks consisted chiefly of secondary-school and university students, with a liberal sprinkling of peasant and working-class youth.[53] Repeated terrorist outrages obviously deeply grieved the aging Metropolitan and filled him with mounting concern for the future of the younger generation, which seemed to remain outside the reach of his repeated calls for restraint and moderation. These feelings eventually prompted him to write an appeal addressed specifically to Ukrainian youth. In the mild tone of an indulgent grandfather he praised young people for their love of their native country and their readiness for self-sacrifice, but at the same time he upbraided them for their disregard of other people's property and happiness, their refusal to tolerate contrary opinions and beliefs, their thoughtless and foolhardy rashness, and their contemptuous disregard for the views and the life experience of their elders.

> Tradition is the foundation of the future. . . . Whoever rejects the authority of his elders, will just as easily repudiate the authority of his parents, and then any other authority in the nation. Finally, the authority of the Church, of God and of any ethical system will be rejected as well. . . . Whoever rejects these authorities, will be left with either his own authority, or the authority of his party, or that of various cliques which are close to him. Will this not result in complete anarchy?[54]

Sheptyts'kyi's abiding concern for the younger generation was also manifest during what was undoubtedly one of the highlights of his career, the "Ukrainian Youth for Christ" festival. It was held in L'viv on 6-7 May of the Jubilee Year, 1933, to commemorate the nineteen-hundredth anniversary of Christ's death and resurrection. According to Ukrainian sources, it attracted over 100,000 participants, the majority of whom came from rural areas of Galicia.[55] While the organizers of the celebration took great pains to stress its religious character so as not to give the Polish authorities any pretext to cancel it at the last moment, there can be no doubt that the festivities were regarded by Ukrainians and Poles alike as a manifestation of the organized strength of the Ukrainian minority in Poland.[56] Even so, the festival was boycotted by Ukrainian nationalist extremists, who denounced it as a scheme contrived by "political opportunists" and "appeasers."[57]

In the meantime, the explosive situation in Galicia continued unabated. The militants in the OUN, who had only recently carried out their major coup of assassinating the Polish minister of the interior, Bronisław Pieracki, proceeded to murder their first prominent Ukrainian victim, Ivan Babii, the generally respected principal of a prestigious *gymnasium* in L'viv and a former officer of the Ukrainian Galician Army, for having allegedly collaborated with the Polish police. The Metropolitan's reaction to this crime took the form of a violent denunciation delivered in the impassioned cadences of an Old Testament prophet. He condemned both the perpetrators and the inspirers of the evil act, but he singled out the leaders of the nationalist underground for his vituperation.[58] They, acting from their foreign hideouts, were "using our children to kill their parents":

> If you are planning to kill treacherously those who are opposed to your misdeeds, you will have to kill all the teachers and professors who are working for the Ukrainian youth, all the fathers and mothers of Ukrainian children . . . all politicians and civic activists. But first of all you will have to remove through assassination the clergy and the bishops who resist your criminal and foolish actions. . . . We will not cease to declare that whoever demoralizes our youth is a criminal and an enemy of the people.[59]

In order to strengthen the forces of moderation in the Ukrainian community, Sheptyts'kyi gave his support to the so-called normalization of 1935, a rapprochement between the Polish government and the Ukrainian minority initiated by the UNDO. This was regarded as the first step to a more far-reaching understanding. Later, however, when that policy ended in failure, the Greek Catholic hierarchy dissociated itself from it and joined forces with its opponents who united in the coordinating "Contact" Committee.[60]

The Metropolitan was also deeply concerned with the international situation in so far as it seemed to affect the Ukrainian cause. Thus, when the Spanish civil war began to cast its ominous shadow over Europe and the French government, led by Léon Blum, started to woo Poland as a potential member of an anti-fascist front, Sheptyts'kyi published a pastoral letter directed against Communism in general and against the Communist-inspired idea of popular fronts in particular. To be sure, the Metropolitan and other Greek Catholic bishops of Galicia had already taken an unequivocal anti-Communist stand in their message "to all people of good will" of 24 July 1933 and in their joint pastoral letter of 17 October 1933, which dealt with the famine in Soviet Ukraine.[61] Now, however, the Metropolitan attempted, in a personal and strongly emotional, if somewhat rambling, appeal to his flock, to give a succinct critique of Communist ideology and at the same time to state his strong opposition in principle to the participation of Ukrainians in any Communist-led anti-fascist coalition. Claiming that the Communists were trying to use Radicals and Socialists as their tools in an attempt to "destroy" and "obliterate" the Ukrainian people, Sheptyts'kyi argued that those who were helping Communists in their political activities were betraying the church, while those who were collaborating with them to organize popular fronts were traitors to their motherland. At the same time, he tried to minimize the danger of fascism by stating that all national parties in all countries were maligned by Communists as being imbued with fascist ideology.[62]

The year 1938 marked an important watershed in the precarious relationship between the Ukrainian minority and the Polish state. It was also a significant landmark in the career of Sheptyts'kyi, because he was thrust almost against his will into the forefront of the controversy which threatened to engulf the two antagonistic communities of East Galicia. The conflict started in rather trivial fashion when the Metropolitan refused to permit official participation of the units of the Polish army in the solemn celebration of the feast of Epiphany in the marketplace of L'viv. This decision, in turn, triggered a scathing attack against Sheptyts'kyi by deputy Bronisław Wojciechowski during a meeting of the Committee of Ways and Means (*Komisja Budżetowa*) of the Polish Sejm.

In addition to accusing the Metropolitan of violating his oath of allegiance to Poland and breaking the provisions of the Polish-Vatican Concordat, Wojciechowski charged that Sheptyts'kyi had completely Ukrainianized the Greek Catholic Church and transformed it into a tool of a militantly chauvinist splinter group. This had been done by eliminating or neutralizing moderate Ukrainian and Old Ruthenian priests who were basically loyal to Poland, while at the same time training cadres of new clergymen composed almost exclusively of anti-Polish elements.[63] Wojciechowski's speech, notwithstanding his intemperate language and some obvious exaggerations and oversimplifications, did contain at least a grain of truth, but it was bitterly criticized by Ukrainian parliamentarians and gave impetus to a series of mass meetings in which Galician Ukrainians, and even some of their Orthodox Volhynian kinsmen, declared their unswerving loyalty to Sheptyts'kyi.[64] After a solemn liturgy in St. George's cathedral on 6 February 1938, the Metropolitan received a representative group of Ukrainian leaders in a private audience. Then he stated that he regarded Wojciechowski's attack as a "great and rare distinction," for "there can be no better and higher honor than . . . to take upon oneself the blows intended for the whole people," which, in the long run, could only harden a nation's character and promote a general feeling of solidarity.[65]

The next controversy involving Sheptyts'kyi was not very long in the making. It erupted over the matter of the lands which had originally belonged to the Uniate Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but which had been expropriated after the partitions of Poland by the tsarist government. During discussions in the Polish parliament, Ukrainian Catholic deputies joined their Orthodox colleagues in voting against an agreement between the Polish government and the Vatican that might have regulated the issue to the satisfaction of both parties but appeared to be directed against the interests of the Orthodox Church and its Ukrainian faithful. At the same time it ignored the rights of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland which was the legal heir to the former Uniate Church.[66]

The situation was further exacerbated when many allegedly unused Orthodox churches and chapels in the Chełm region were destroyed or transferred to the Roman Catholic Church. This prompted the Metropolitan to manifest again his keen interest in that area with which his own see had strong historical ties and whose connections with Ukraine he had so eloquently defended before in the Austrian House of Lords.[67] Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter dealing with this deplorable situation condemned in strong terms the "terrible blow" dealt to the Orthodox faithful as well as to the reputation of the Catholic Church, whose ecumenical ideals and aspirations had been irreparably damaged and compromised. While ostensibly he was discussing purely religious matters, in the letter he subtly implied that the "persecuted Orthodox brethren" were actually blood brothers of Ukrainian Catholics in Galicia. Indeed, the whole anti-Orthodox campaign was now presented as a "political struggle against the Ukrainian people."[68] In this way, the Metropolitan practically assumed the role of chief spokesman not only for Ukrainian Catholics, but for the whole Ukrainian minority in Poland. According to the Polish press, Sheptyts'kyi transcended confessional boundaries for the sake of national solidarity.[69]

By the fall of 1938, the situation in East Galicia was threatening to get out of hand. The creation of an autonomous Subcarpathian Rus' (later known as Carpatho-Ukraine) by the Czechoslovak government in October 1938 was regarded by many observers as a milestone toward the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. Thus, when the Vienna Award of 2 November 1938 deprived Subcarpathian Rus' of almost all of its southern agricultural land, together with its capital Uzhhorod and the only railroad connection it had with the rest of Czechoslovakia, it was generally considered a foreboding blow not only to the chances of survival for that small province but also to the viability and credibility of the larger Ukrainian project. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in Sheptyts'kyi's opinion, this was the appropriate moment to warn his flock against any rash and precipitous action which could be harmful to the Greek Catholic Church and to the Ukrainian minority in Poland as a whole.[70]

At the same time, the Metropolitan reacted strongly against the repressive measures ordered by the Polish government which were intended to quell the unrest threatening to spread all over East Galicia, where the Ukrainian and Polish communities seemed to be on an inevitable collision course. Thus, together with three other Greek Catholic bishops and other Ukrainian leaders, Sheptyts'kyi raised a "solemn protest" against the principle of collective responsibility applied by the Polish authorities, and he called upon Ukrainians to show their "fraternal solidarity" with innocent victims and to defend the "lawful rights of the Ukrainian nation."[71] The tense atmosphere seemed to relax temporarily after Msgr. Felipe Cortesi, the papal nuncio in Warsaw, paid a visit to the Greek and Roman Catholic bishops of East Galicia and issued an appeal for reconciliation which was duly published in both the Polish and the Ukrainian daily press.[72] This brief respite, however, was merely the calm before the storm, for the final act in the Carpatho-Ukrainian tragedy, the occupation of that province by Hungary and the reestablishment of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier, shocked and stunned the Ukrainians in Poland, who saw their high hopes collapse and turn to ashes.

Sheptyts'kyi's reaction to the dramatic events south of the Carpathians was twofold. He used his regular Lenten pastoral letter to comfort his flock "in that great nationwide suffering which all of us are experiencing at the present moment,"[73] and he sent his closest associate, the Reverend Dr. Iosyf Slipyi, to Warsaw in order to sound out the views of the Polish government on whether it would be feasible to begin Polish-Ukrainian negotiations "on an internal platform." This latter initiative apparently failed to bring any tangible results.[74]

At the beginning of World War II, the Metropolitan was again acting as spokesman for the Ukrainian minority when, at the request of Ukrainian political leaders, he issued a declaration of loyalty to the Polish state during its hour of trial. His declaration coincided with a similar statement made in the Polish Sejm by the head of the Ukrainian parliamentary representation, Vasyl' Mudryi.[75] Subsequently, Sheptyts'kyi and Mudryi issued a joint communique in which they denied charges that Ukrainians were sabotaging the Polish war effort and that a Ukrainian legion was fighting on Germany's side against Poland.[76]

The occupation of the eastern half of Poland by the Red Army caught Ukrainian nationalist leaders completely by surprise.[77] As the Metropolitan expressed in a pastoral letter issued on that occasion, "a page of history has turned—a new epoch has begun." His instructions to the clergy of his archeparchy were equally succinct and straightforward: "We shall obey the authorities and comply with their laws as long as they do not contradict divine law. We shall not meddle in politics and secular affairs; we shall not cease, however, to work self-sacrificingly for the cause of Christ among our people."[78]

In this unprecedented situation, Sheptyts'kyi had necessarily to curtail his contacts with Ukrainian parliamentary and other political leaders, most of whom had either crossed the Soviet-Nazi demarcation line to the German side or been arrested and deported by the Soviet authorities. Nevertheless, he was keenly aware of both the limitations which the new reality imposed upon his activities and of the boundless opportunities that seemed to be opening for the proselytizing work of his church in the vast reaches of the East.[79] At the same time, however, he repeatedly approached Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) with a request to be formally designated for a martyr's death for the faith and the unity of the church.[80] From the point of view of the Ukrainian national movement, the Metropolitan's role was now uniquely important, though largely symbolic. As the most visible representative of the ancien régime allowed by the new rulers to continue to function as the unchallenged spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholics in Galicia, he represented a living link with the past. At the same time he embodied hope that the new order was only provisional and that at some future date it might be replaced by another, more congenial system of government. It is not surprising, therefore, that the nationalist underground had apparently maintained, throughout that period, some discreet contacts with Sheptyts'kyi.[81]

The beginning of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 drastically transformed the whole situation and prompted the Metropolitan to reassess his apolitical stance. Far from remaining a passive observer of the events that were rapidly unfolding around him, Sheptyts'kyi began once more to play his customary role as mentor and arbiter of Ukrainian political life. It is immaterial whether or to what extent he was aware of the internal split that had occurred within the OUN. The fact remains that irrespective of any later thoughts or reservations he might have had about his previous actions, he gave his support to Iaroslav Stets'ko's "State Administration of Ukraine," while at the same time he welcomed the German army as a "deliverer from the enemy."[82] In this way Sheptyts'kyi, like his contemporary, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac of Zagreb, "was, at the very least, not showing the caution which the Holy See always exercises towards changes in jurisdiction brought about by war."[83]

On 6 July 1941 the Ukrainians of L'viv decided to create the Council of Seniors, whose first and most important task was to achieve a reconciliation between the two warring factions of the OUN and to ask the Metropolitan to assume an "honorary protectorate" over the new body. Sheptyts'kyi immediately agreed to use his influence to quell the internal discord within the OUN, and in a letter of 10 July 1941 he urged Ukrainian youth to put an end to all party conflicts, which he described as an "intolerable national crime."[84] In a personal letter he also asked Colonel Mel'nyk to settle his differences with Stepan Bandera and his group, and thus remove the impending danger of a civil war.[85]

Toward the end of July, the Council of Seniors decided to expand its membership and to reconstitute itself as the Ukrainian National Council. The Metropolitan's involvement in its work was formal rather than real, although he was regularly kept abreast of its activities and gave his full support to the efforts to defend the rights of the Ukrainian population against the encroachments of German authorities. After the incorporation of Galicia into the *Generalgouvernement* on 1 August 1941,[86] the National Council remained a symbol of Ukrainian sovereign rights in Galicia, although it was devoid of any real power or influence.

On 14 January 1942, the Metropolitan, in his capacity as president of the Ukrainian National Council in L'viv, joined his counterpart in Kiev, Professor Mykola Velychkivs'kyi, and other notables in signing a letter to Adolf Hitler.[87] The letter criticized German policy in occupied Ukraine and was particularly concerned with six issues: the refusal to allow Ukrainians to fight the Soviet Union alongside the Germans and their allies; the treatment of Ukrainian prisoners of war; the incorporation of Galicia into the *Generalgouvernement* and the transfer of the so-called Transnistria region to Romania; the deprivation of the local population of any chance to develop its cultural and educational institutions; the failure to restore the right of private ownership in the occupied areas; and the generally negative attitude of the German administration toward the political, social, and economic aspirations of the Ukrainian people. At the same time, however, the signatories assured Hitler of the willingness of the "leading circles" in Ukraine to wage "a common struggle against the common enemy" and to cooperate with the Third Reich in building the "new order" in Ukraine and in the whole of eastern Europe.[88]

In February 1942, after Sheptyts'kyi wrote a letter to the Reichsführer of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, in which he deplored the mass killings of Jews and asked Himmler not to involve the Ukrainian auxiliary police in anti-Jewish actions,[89] the National Council was forced, under Nazi pressure, to stop its activities. Nonetheless, the L'viv branch of the German-sponsored Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow continued to maintain close contacts with the Metropolitan through its head, Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi. It coordinated with him its various actions and initiatives, some of which were quite mundane, such as satisfying the most urgent community needs and fighting human misery and poverty, while at the same time meeting the stringent delivery quotas imposed by German authorities on Ukrainian villagers.[90]

The realities of German occupation and the seemingly hopeless blind alley in which the Ukrainian national movement had found itself prompted Sheptyts'kyi to reflect upon the feasibility of its political program and the practicability of the methods through which it was to be achieved. He spelled out his views about the nature of an independent Ukrainian state and its future political system in considerable detail in a pastoral letter of December 1941, which was confiscated by the Germans and did not appear in print until after the war. The Metropolitan stated quite unequivocally that "the ideal of our national life is our own all-national home—our fatherland." This ideal, however, would never be achieved unless Ukrainians succeeded, in spite of all the differences that separated them, in attaining the highest possible degree of single-mindedness and unity. "If we aspire to our all-national home with a deep and sincere longing, and if that desire is not merely a phrase or an illusion, then it must manifest itself through action and that action must lead to unity."[91] He stressed the same theme of national unity in letters he wrote to Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop Ilarion of Chełm (21 October 1941),[92] to all Orthodox bishops in Ukraine (30 December 1941),[93] and to the Ukrainian Orthodox intelligentsia (3 March 1942).[94]

In the meantime, the ideal mentioned by Sheptyts'kyi seemed to be moving farther and farther away from the realm of the possible. In the fall of 1942, German armies were fighting in the ruins of Stalingrad and the oil fields of the Caucasus, but Galicia lay apparently safe in the deep hinterland hundreds of miles behind the battlefront. However, occupied Poland was becoming the lowest circle in Hitler's private hell, a country in the shadow of death, the chosen site for the "final solution" of the Jewish question. With mass killings and public executions taking place almost daily, and with genocide elevated for the first time in history to an official state policy, human life seemed to have become one of the cheapest commodities in Nazi-occupied eastern Europe.[95]

In such circumstances, it is not surprising that Sheptyts'kyi began to look at the occupation regime as a "system of lies, deceit, and plunder" and as a "caricature of all notions of civilization and order."[96] In particular, he became deeply concerned about the pernicious and depraving influence of Nazism on his flock.[97] Based on hatred and brutal force, the amoral character of the occupation regime was dangerously contagious, and the fabric of Ukrainian society in Galicia appeared to be too weak to withstand its destructive impact. These considerations prompted Sheptyts'kyi to write one of his best-known pastoral letters, "Thou Shalt Not Kill." It was directed against those who "are violating the sacredness of divine law, who are shedding innocent blood, and who are placing themselves beyond the pale of human society by scorning the most sacred value of that society, namely, human life." While he dealt with all forms of homicide, including abortion and suicide, the Metropolitan concentrated his attention on political murders and assassinations. He particularly condemned internecine feuds which inevitably destroyed all values and standards of human behavior. He deplored the unprecedented "degeneration and decline of the national conscience and of the spirit of patriotism," and he warned that if Ukrainians continued to regard each other with a feeling of hatred and enmity, their common cause would simply cease to exist because it would be unable to survive in the consciousness of the people.[98]

In the meantime, the military situation on the eastern front was undergoing a radical transformation. The German debacle at Stalingrad had immediate repercussions in Galicia, where Governor Otto Wächter approached the leadership of the Ukrainian Central Committee with a proposal to create a Ukrainian military unit which would fight on Germany's side against the Soviet Union. While both factions of the OUN opposed this suggestion, the leaders of other political groups and the hierarchy of the Greek Catholic Church regarded the formation of a Ukrainian-manned military force—the Waffen-SS Division Galizien—as an important and valuable act. They knew that the whole undertaking appeared to be risky and threatened to tarnish the reputation of the Ukrainian national movement by associating it, at this late and inopportune moment, with the Third Reich and everything that it stood for. On the other hand, giving Ukrainian youth an opportunity to bear arms would be advantageous for its own self-esteem.[99] Moreover, should Germany lose the war, a Ukrainian division could, with agreement from the western powers, become the nucleus of a Ukrainian national army[100] or at least defend the Ukrainian population of Galicia against the Polish underground in the ensuing chaos.[101]

Sheptyts'kyi is reported to have observed as early as the summer of 1941 that no price was too high to pay for having a Ukrainian army.[102] In any case, there can be no doubt that the Metropolitan did give the Division Galizien his wholehearted endorsement and moral support. Its formation was duly celebrated with a service in St. George's Cathedral conducted by Archbishop-Coadjutor Iosyf Slipyi. A number of clergymen, including one of Sheptyts'kyi's closest associates, the Reverend Vasyl' Laba, were appointed as chaplains, thus giving the whole venture the official sanction of the church.[103] At the same time, the Metropolitan's attitude toward the nascent Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was definitely cool and reserved. A one-time soldier who was used to discipline and order, Sheptyts'kyi could hardly be expected to identify or sympathize with an irregular military force whose activities could, in his opinion, easily lead to abuse and crime, thus further aggravating the general state of chaos and anarchy.[104]

Meanwhile, the military situation on the eastern front grew even more ominous, and to make the matters worse, Soviet partisan units in the summer of 1943 succeeded in penetrating deeply into Galicia itself. In addition, conditions in the country were exacerbated when Polish-Ukrainian antagonisms and animosities exploded into an orgy of mutual annihilation, while the feud between the two factions of the OUN resulted in another outbreak of fratricidal frenzy. Indeed, one could legitimately ask precisely who and what represented the Ukrainian national movement during that period of internecine warfare, when horror piled upon horror and all remaining restraints imposed by religion and national solidarity were simply swept away.

This was undoubtedly the most trying, painful, and tragic period of Sheptyts'kyi's life, full as it had been of both physical and moral sufferings. Together with other Greek Catholic hierarchs of Galicia, in November 1943 he issued a pastoral letter to all the clergy and faithful of his church province which warned them that utter darkness was descending upon the country, that the whole social order was about to collapse, and that the very question of the continued existence of the Ukrainian people was at stake.[105] In that same month, in his closing remarks to a council of priests of his archeparchy, the Metropolitan referred to the great historical catastrophe "never before experienced by our people" that was inexorably approaching, "not only as a result of external events but also because of our own actions."[106]

Sheptyts'kyi and his brother bishops did realize, however, that the outbreak of mass violence had created a climate in which their appeals to reason and tolerance had no chance to succeed. Theirs were largely a few voices crying in the wilderness.[107] It is not surprising, therefore, that in a letter dated 22 March 1944, the Metropolitan expressed the unpopular opinion that the return of the Soviet regime "will, perhaps, have a positive side in that it will put an end to the anarchy which is now rampant all over the country."[108] However, although Sheptyts'kyi was deeply concerned about the preservation of the moral integrity and the physical substance of his people, he was opposed to the mass exodus of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that was occurring in the wake of the German retreat, and he expressly forbade his clergy to leave their posts without his permission.[109]

It was at this inauspicious moment that the Metropolitan began a series of conversations with the president of the Ukrainian National Council in Kiev, Mykola Velychkivs'kyi, and the former premier of the Carpatho-Ukrainian government, Iuliian Revai. The result of these discussions was the creation of a united All-Ukrainian National Council in which Sheptyts'kyi occupied the position of the first vice-chairman.[110] A declaration issued by the National Council on 22 April 1944 stated that the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people would continue until the time when the principle of its self-determination was realized through the creation of a sovereign and united Ukrainian state.[111] Obviously, such a statement, signed by refugees from Kiev and Uzhhorod in the Nazi-occupied L'viv, less than a hundred miles from the Soviet-German battle line, had a rather hollow sound and could have had only a purely symbolic significance.

In fact, Sheptyts'kyi's world was slowly crumbling around him. The war was obviously drawing to a close, but its results were quite different from those anticipated by Ukrainian nationalist leaders. The Division Galizien was routed in the battle of Brody and the victorious Soviet armies were hammering at the gates of L'viv, so the remnants of the panic-stricken Ukrainian intelligentsia scurried to safety. For all practical purposes, Sheptyts'kyi's last formal contact with the local Ukrainian establishment was 19 July 1944, when Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, head of the L'viv branch of the Ukrainian Central Committee, paid a farewell visit to the Metropolitan."[112] Nine days later L'viv was in Soviet hands.

According to Soviet sources, soon after the Red Army completed its summer offensive, Sheptyts'kyi wrote a letter to Stalin, in which he expressed the gratitude of the Ukrainian people for having "again reunited, after a victorious march from the Volga to the San and beyond, western Ukrainian lands with the Greater Ukraine," thus "fulfilling the cherished desires and aspirations of Ukrainians, who had for centuries regarded themselves as one people and wanted to be united in one state."[113] If this letter was indeed written by Sheptyts'kyi, then the whole irony of the situation could not have escaped the aged Metropolitan. The unity of all Ukrainian lands, the major objective of the Ukrainian national movement of which he was the patron, had finally been achieved under the auspices of the Soviet government.

Whatever the case, Moscow failed to respond to these overtures, although a news bulletin about Sheptyts'kyi's death on 1 November 1944, describing him as "the head of the Greek Catholic Church in the USSR," was duly carried by the Soviet press.[114] In addition, the Soviet authorities permitted a solemn procession through the city on the occasion of the Metropolitan's funeral,[115] which, in the words of a leading historian of the Eastern Church, "has remained until this day [1950] the last public manifestation of the

Uniate Church."[116] In fact, the denouement of the great drama—the imprisonment of the Greek Catholic hierarchy and the formal liquidation of that church—had been anticipated by Sheptyts'kyi, who could see the handwriting on the wall more clearly than most of his contemporaries.[117] It is both fitting and symbolic that the Metropolitan's own death practically coincided with the demise of the Ukrainian establishment in Galicia.

Sheptyts'kyi's public career spans one of the most eventful and tragic periods in the history of the Ukrainian people, and seen against the background of his epoch, he looms as a towering yet at the same time lonely and even pathetic figure. His role as a political leader is equally controversial. Although strong links between the Ukrainian nationality in Galicia and the Orthodox and later, Greek Catholic, churches had existed for centuries in Galicia, and although some of his predecessors had stood in the forefront of the political struggle for the rights of the Ukrainian majority in the region,[118] it was Sheptyts'kyi who formed what amounted to a virtual partnership, that is, an informal but nevertheless very real alliance between his church and the Ukrainian national movement. He also transcended the narrow confines of his native province to become the foremost champion of the Ukrainian cause in general. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the contemporary Ukrainian Galician press the Metropolitan was credited with having imbued the Greek Catholic Church with a Ukrainian national spirit and with having become a symbol of unity between the Ukrainian church and the Ukrainian nation. In the words of an editorial in *Dilo*: ". . . the questions with which doctrinaires are so gladly busying themselves: who should serve whom, where does religious ideology end and the national interest begin... do not exist for Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. . . . They have been rendered inconsequential by the fact that the church and the nation have no divergent interests, and that... the Ukrainian nation is bound by unbreakable ties to Christianity and to Christian civilization."[119]

The simplistic philosophy behind this statement was, of course, based more on wishful thinking than on the real situation in interwar Galicia. However, even some non-Ukrainians have noted that the Galician Ruthenians, having discovered their Ukrainian identity, proceeded to make the Greek Catholic Church their chief national and political institution, the repository of their cherished traditions as well as of their cultural and spiritual values.[120] Under these circumstances, the members of the church hierarchy had sometimes, in Sheptyts'kyi's words, "to take up the duties and wield an influence which elsewhere belongs to secular leaders of the nation."[121] Thus, as the most representative personality among his people, Sheptyts'kyi had to play the role of "ethnarch" of Galicia—the supreme arbiter of Ukrainian national life—which he never particularly desired or cherished, but which became his almost by default. However, he was often frustrated in his unceasing efforts on behalf of his people, while his frequent appeals and warnings to his flock remained largely futile and ineffective.

The close cooperation between Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian national leadership, which began to develop on the eve of World War I and continued well into the closing years of World War II, helped to launch, with the Metropolitan's active support and personal blessing, a number of useful political initiatives. It also strengthened the hand of moderate Ukrainian parties which tried to mitigate the excesses of the nationalist underground. Yet at the same time, Sheptyts'kyi's total commitment to Ukrainianism alienated those (mostly Old Ruthenians and Poles of the Eastern rite) who did not share his conception of the Greek Catholic Church as a Ukrainian national church. Moreover, the excessive emphasis placed on the church's particularity rather than its universality—which was not a purely Ukrainian phenemenon but was rather widespread in that part of Europe—contained some inherent dangers. It narrowed the church's purely religious mission and played into the hands of those political leaders who wanted to use it as a tool to achieve their purely secular objectives.[122] During the period of German occupation, this "symbiotic relationship"[123] of two disparate partners tended occasionally to involve the church in some risky situations which threatened to compromise its moral power and prestige. Thus, the connection of the Greek Catholic Church with the Ukrainian national movement, which was brought to fruition under the Metropolitan's auspices, proved to be both its strength and a source of weakness.

Sheptyts'kyi died knowing that his dreams had been in vain. At the same time he realized that the concepts of success and failure in human affairs are very relative and that the ashes of defeat often contain the seeds of revival. As he once put it, "in the Catholic Church, pessimism must be ruled out on principle. . . . It is, moreover, a very human characteristic not to give in to pessimism."[124] Thus, while he foresaw the imminent destruction of his church, he also believed in its ultimate resurgence in a peculiarly national form.[125] In spite of innumerable setbacks which he suffered in the course of his long career, he was confident that his policy of making the Greek Catholic Church (a potent force deeply rooted in the masses, a veritable church of the people) a bulwark of Ukrainianism would be eventually vindicated.

This hope, judging from the perspective of the last four decades, does not seem entirely unrealistic, especially in view of the fact that his church, suppressed in its country of origin, has proved its vitality and viability in the New World, where it had been transplanted under his personal auspices. Moreover, Sheptyts'kyi's immediate successor, Archbishop Major Iosyf Slipyi (1944-1984), whose self-proclamation as patriarch in 1975 reverberated through the Universal Church, reestablished the intimate ties between the former Greek Catholic (now officially known as Ukrainian Catholic) Church and the Ukrainian national movement in the diaspora. Slipyi has made the integration or fusion of national and religious elements in that church practically irreversible by instituting certain reforms such as the change of the church's name from Greek Catholic to Ukrainian Catholic and the introduction of the vernacular into church services. Under Sheptyts'kyi these were still in the planning stage. Whether this thorough "nationalization" of one of the branches of the Catholic Church will be beneficial is, of course, open to question. While it would be futile for a historian to speculate about the future, it is only fair to say that history's verdict on Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi is not yet in.

Notes

1. For the original German text, see Theofil Hornykiewicz, ed., *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914-1922, deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe,* vol. I (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 8-11. An English translation is given is Osyp Kravcheniuk, *Veleten' zo Sviatoiurs'koï hory: prychynky do biohrafiï Sluhy Bozhoho Andreia Sheptyts'koho na pidstavi chuzhomovnykh dzherel*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1963), pp. 121-4. The most detailed analysis of this controversial document has been provided by Petro Isaïv in his article, "Memorandum mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho do uriadiv tsentral'nykh derzhav," *Bohosloviia*, XXXII (Rome, 1968), pp. 30-76.
2. Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse*, vol. I, p. 9.
3. Urbas also discussed with Sheptyts'kyi and other Ukrainian leaders a plan to create and equip a separate Ukrainian legion to be attached to the XI Corps of the Austro-Hungarian imperial army stationed in L'viv (subsequently known as the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen). See his report, dated 6 August 1914, in Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse*, vol. I, pp. 4-7; and Osyp Dumin, *Istoriia legionu Ukraïns'kykh Sichovykh Stril'tsiv 1914-1918* (L'viv, 1936), pp. 33-5.
4. Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse*, vol. I, p. 9. While Sheptyts'kyi's proposal to revive the antiquated trappings of the Cossack epoch may strike the modern reader as anachronistic, it should be pointed out that his suggestion to appoint the most outstanding commander of the Austrian army as hetman was subsequently resurrected, in a somewhat modified form, after the collapse of the eastern front and the occupation of Ukraine by the Central Powers in 1918. A group of Ukrainian politicians in Odessa suggested as a candidate for the Ukrainian throne Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg, the commander of an Austrian army group in Ukraine popularly known among Ukrainians under his nickname, "Vasyl' Vyshyvanyi." See Nykyfor Hirniak, *Polk. Vasyl' Vyshyvanyi* (Winnipeg, 1956), p. 17; and Wolfdieter Bihl, "Beiträge zur Ukraine-Politik Österreich-Ungarns 1918," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F., XIV (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 51-7.
5. Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse*, vol. I, pp. 10-11.
6. On Sheptyts'kyi's pro-Austrian orientation, subsequently reaffirmed in a manifesto (3 August 1914) of the Supreme Ukrainian Council in L'viv, see Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947), pp. 87-8.

   On the attitude of the Austrian government toward the Metropolitan, see the statements of the influential Max Hussarek (minister of religion and education, 1911-1917, and prime minister, 1918), who wrote to the Austrian foreign minister (12 March 1914) about Sheptyts'kyi's "exceptional merit . . . in church and state affairs," suggesting he be nominated as one of Austria's leading candidates to the College of Cardinals. Later, after the metropolitan's deportation to the Russian empire, Hussarek referred (14 November 1916) to Sheptyts'kyi's "undaunted patriotic conduct." Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse*, vol. II, pp. 410, 417.

7. On this period in Sheptyts'kyi's life, see Dmytro Doroshenko, "Arest i ssylka mitropolita A. Sheptitskago (iz nedavniago proshlago)," *Na chuzhoi storonie*, XIII (Berlin, 1925), pp. 160-6; "Perepiska o grafie Sheptitskom," *Analecta OSBM*, Ser. II, vol. II (VIII), 3-4 (Rome, 1953), pp. 484-99; and the collective volume *Tsars'kyi viazen'* (L'viv, 1918).
8. See R. P. Browder and A. F. Kerensky, eds., *The Russian Provisional Government 1917: Documents*, vol. II (Stanford, 1961), p. 838.
9. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj 1865-1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), p. 141.
10. For the text of the letter, see Oleksander Lotots'kyi, *Storinky mynuloho*, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Instytutu, vol. XXI (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 379-80.
11. Serhii T. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady: istorychna khronika* (Kiev, 1970), pp. 56-9.
12. Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse*, vol. II (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 447. See also Irynei Hotra, "Povorot Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptys'koho iz zaslannia (1917 r.)," in Pavlo Sentysia, ed., *Svityl'nyk istyny: dzherela do istoriï Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï u L'vovi 1928/29-1944*, vol. II (Toronto, 1976), pp. 156-63.
13. See Hotra, "Povorot," p. 161; Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 74-5; and Kravcheniuk, *Veleten'*, p. 63.
14. Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia vyzol'nykh zmahan' halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv z chasu svitovoï viiny 1914-1918* (L'viv, 1928), pp. 595-6; Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 76.
15. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 22-3.
16. *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Herrenhauses des Reichsrates*, XXII Session, 28 Sitzung: 28.II.1918 (Vienna, 1918), pp. 809-12.
17. *Pravda pro uniiu: dokumenty i materialy*, 2nd rev. ed. (L'viv, 1968), pp. 147-8. See also L'onhyn Tsehel's'kyi, *Vid legend do pravdy: spomyny pro podiï v Ukraïni zv'iazani z Pershym Lystopadom 1918* (New York and Philadelphia, 1960), p. 194.
18. Ivan Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï Pravoslavnoï Tserkvy*, vol. IV, pt. 1 (New York and Bound Brook, N.J., 1961), pp. 45-7. The whole idea was apparently revived after the Directory formally proclaimed the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church on 1 January 1919 (ibid., p. 62). It was at that time that the head of the Directory, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, outlined his abortive plan to make Sheptyts'kyi the metropolitan and eventually the patriarch of the whole Ukraine (Tsehel's'kyi, *Vid legend do pravdy*, pp. 193-4).
19. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 90. As an *ex officio* member of the Austrian House of Lords and Galician Diet, Sheptyts'kyi became a member of the Ukrainian National Council, created on 18 October 1918, that was constituted of members from both houses of the Austrian parliament and from the Galician and Bukovinian Diets.
20. For the text of Rozwadowski's and Sheptyts'kyi's letters, see Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 407-11.
21. Taras Hunczak, ed., *Ukraine and Poland in Documents 1918-1922*, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Sources for the History of Rus'-Ukraine, vol. XII, part 1 (New York, 1983), p. 66.
22. See Sheptyts'kyi's two letters to Piłsudski in ibid., pp. 209, 211.
23. Ibid., pp. 209-10.
24. Iosafat Zhan [Josaphat Jean] and Bohdan Kazymyra, *Velykyi Mytropolyt* (Edmonton, 1954), pp. 7-8.
25. According to Soviet sources, during Sheptyts'kyi's meeting with Petliura and a group of the latter's advisers, which allegedly took place in December 1919, the Metropolitan approved the impending deal with Poland as a timely and realistic step (Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, pp. 84–88). Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 92, claims,

however, that Sheptyts'kyi was "embittered" by the agreement which ran counter to the aspirations of Galician Ukrainians. A report from the director of the Polish police in L'viv to the Ministry of the Interior, dated 8 May 1920, mentions rumors that the Metropolitan signed a protest against the treaty which was to be submitted to the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris. See Hunczak, *Ukraine and Poland*, vol. II, pp. 115-6.

26. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 93.
27. Zhan, *Velykyi Mytropolyt*, pp. 11-12. This proposal seems to have been revived later by the Petrushevych government with Sheptyts'kyi's active support. See Hunczak, *Poland and Ukraine*, vol. II, p. 266. In January 1921, Polish military intelligence obtained copies of documents outlining Ukrainian plans, allegedly supported by Great Britain, to create a buffer state under the protectorate of the League of Nations and possibly mandated by Czechoslovakia. This state would include Subcarpathian Rus', Volhynia, and Polissia, in addition to East Galicia. Ibid., pp. 311-12.
28. According to Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 94-5, this meeting took place in October 1921, but this is impossible, since at the time Sheptyts'kyi was touring Canada.
29. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 95.
30. The most detailed account of Sheptyts'kyi's travels is given by Mykhailo H. Marunchak in *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi na Zakhodi 1920-1923* (Winnipeg and Edmonton, 1981).
31. See Jarosław Jurkiewicz, ed., *Watykan a stosunki polsko-niemieckie w latach 1918–1939: wybór materiałów* (Warsaw, 1960), p. 29; Marunchak, *Mytropolyt*, p. 27.
32. Marunchak, *Mytropolyt*, p. 36.
33. Zhan, *Velykyi Mytropolyt*, pp. 14-15.
34. For details, see Osyp Mel'nykovych, "Do istoriï UVO v Chekho-Slovachchyni," in *Ievhen Konovalets' ta ioho doba* (Munich, 1974), pp. 337-8.
35. Details are in *Dilo* (L'viv), 26 August 1923, p. 1; 30 August, p. 1; 1 September, p. 1; 2 September, p. 1; 9 September, p. 2; 13 September, p. 1; 20 September, p. 1; 7 October, p. 1; 9 October, p. 1; 11 October, p. 1; and Marunchak, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 39-45.
36. "1914-1923... Aresht Mytropolyta," *Dilo*, 26 August 1923, p. 1.
37. Marunchak, *Mytropolyt*, p. 41.
38. Andrii Nikovs'kyi, as quoted by Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, p. 86.
39. See Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 22-3.
40. Ibid., pp. 25-6.
41. Bishop Khomyshyn of the Eparchy of Stanyslaviv felt that by becoming too deeply involved in work for "purely temporal objectives" the church ran the risk of becoming a handmaiden of politics. Although Khomyshyn made no direct reference to Sheptyts'kyi, Andrzej Chojnowski, the Polish historian, contrasted Khomyshyn's attitude with that of the Metropolitan, on the basis of the bishop's writings published in the booklet *Problem ukraiński* (Warsaw, 1933). Cf. Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939* (Wrocław, 1979), pp. 188-9; and Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek, *Sprawa ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1922-1926* (Cracow, 1979), pp. 94-9.
42. Sheptyts'kyi's contacts with Ukrainian political leadership had existed even before 1914, although at that time matters were complicated by the presence within its ranks of some anticlerical elements. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 23; Ivan Kedryn, *Zhyttia—podii—liudy: spomyny i komentari* (New York, 1976), p. 334.
43. See Jurkiewicz, *Watykan*, p. 29; Hunczak, *Ukraine and Poland*, vol. II, p. 335; Osyp Hubchak, "Het'man Bohdan Velykyi i het'man Pavlo Vidnovytel'," in *U 60-*

richchia vidnovlennia Het'mans'koï Ukraïns'koï Derzhavy 29 kvitnia R. B. 1918 (Toronto, 1978), p. 22.

Sheptyts'kyi's monarchist sympathies are expressed most clearly in a memorandum dated 15 August 1914, in which he urged the Austrian government to revive the historical traditions of Ukraine, and specifically suggested restoration of the office of hetman. Despite the Metropolitan's subsequent cordial relations with Hetman Skoropads'kyi, he probably would have preferred the Habsburg Archduke Wilhelm (Vasyl' Vyshyvanyi) as the future monarch of a Ukrainian state.

44. An interview with Sheptyts'kyi, ostensibly published in *Dilo*, 10 April 1931, as quoted by Vladimir Dobrychev, *V teni sviatogo Iura* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 105-6.
45. Sheptyts'kyi's confidant, Volodymyr Kuz'movych, usually acted as the liaison between the Metropolitan and the leadership of the party, of which Kuz'movych was a prominent member. See Matvii Stakhiv, "Patsyfikatsiia Zakhidn'oï Ukraïny i moia spivpratsia z polk. Mel'nykom," in *Nepohasnyi ohon' viry: zbirnyk na poshanu polkovnyka Andriia Mel'nyka, Holovy Provodu Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv* (Paris, 1974), p. 163; and Ivan Makukh, *Na narodnii sluzhbi* (Detroit, 1958), pp. 469-70.
46. Bohdan Luchakovs'kyi, "Polkovnyk Andrii Mel'nyk-lisivnyk," in *Nepohasnyi ohon' viry*, pp. 155, 158. See also Zynovii Knysh, "Ochyma druhykh (do kharakterystyky polk. Andriia Mel'nyka)," in ibid., p. 471.
47. See Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 96-7; Stakhiv, "Patsyfikatsiia Zakhidn'oï Ukraïny," p. 163; Kedryn, *Zhyttia*, p. 147.
48. For details see *Dilo*, 1 October 1930, p. 5; 2 October, p. 4; 3 October, p. 4; 4 October, p. 4; 5 October, p. 1; 7 October, p. 1; 10 October, p. 4; 11 October, p. 3; 14 October, p. 4. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 97, and Makukh, *Na narodnii sluzhbi*, p. 400, claim erroneously that none of the Polish leaders agreed to receive Sheptyts'kyi.
49. Actually, Sheptyts'kyi made two separate trips to Warsaw (29 September-3 October and 6-11 October 1930), ostensibly to participate in a meeting of the legal commission of the Polish episcopate and to attend the International Anti-White Slave Traffic Conference.
50. "Rozmova z Vysokopreosviashchennym Mytropolytom Andreiem," *Dilo*, 7 October 1930, p. 1.
51. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 97.
52. See "Pislia konfiskaty pastyrs'koho lysta," *Dilo*, 21 October 1930, p. 4; and "Konfiskata pastyrs'koho lysta hreko-katolyts'koho epyskopatu," ibid., p. 5.
53. For details see Bohdan Budurowycz, "Poland and the Ukrainian Problem, 1921-1939," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXV, 4 (Toronto, 1983), pp. 489-90.
54. "Slovo do ukraïns'koï molodi," *Dilo*, 22 May 1932, p. 1. It is interesting that even the commander of the OUN, Ievhen Konovalets', mentioned in a private letter that Sheptyts'kyi saw more positive qualities in Ukrainian youth than did his addressee, a prominent member of the underground. See Ievhen Onats'kyi, "Konovalets' i PUN pered problemoiu rozbudovy OUN v Ukraïni," in *Ievhen Konovalets' ta ioho doba*, p. 688.
55. *Dilo*, 9 May 1933, p. 2. The Polish daily *Wiek Nowy* (L'viv) estimated the number of participants at 50,000; the Jewish daily *Chwila* (L'viv) at 40,000; and the official Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT) at 26,000. See *Dilo*, 11 May 1933, p. 4.
56. Kedryn, *Zhyttia*, p. 150.
57. See the editorial, "Zhertvy naïvnosty chy provokatsiï?: shche z pryvodu protyreligiinoï demonstratsiï chastyny ukraïns'koï molodi," *Dilo*, 8 May 1933, p. 1.
58. Actually, the order to kill Babii, who was sentenced to death by the "revolutionary tribunal" of the OUN, was given by Stepan Bandera, then the local commander (*kraiovyi providnyk*) of the Ukrainian underground in Galicia. See Petro Mirchuk,

Narys istoriï Orhanizatsiï Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv, vol. I (Munich, 1968), pp. 368-71.

59. "Holos Mytropolyta," *Dilo*, 5 August 1934, p. 3.
60. For details see Makukh, *Na narodnii sluzhbi*, pp. 458, 469-70.
61. Published in *Dilo*, 27 July 1933, p. 1 and 28 October 1933, p. 1.
62. "Pastyrs'kyi lyst Mytropolyta Sheptyts'koho proty komunizmu," *Dilo*, 8 August 1936, pp. 3-4. A similar pastoral letter was issued by the Polish episcopate on 25 August 1936. See Eduard Winter, *Die Sowjetunion und der Vatikan*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, vol. VI (Berlin, 1972), p. 147.
63. "Istorychnyi dokument napasty na Mytropolyta," *Dilo*, 6 February 1938, p. 7.
64. See a series of reports in *Dilo* for February and March 1938, under the heading "V oboroni Tserkvy ta ïï Holovy."
65. "Manifestatsiia virnosty Tserkvi ta Mytropolytovi," *Dilo*, 8 February 1938, p. 1. See also Bohdan Budurowycz, "Vatykan, Pol'shcha i Ukraïns'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva naperedodni druhoï svitovoï viiny," *Suchasnist'*, XXIII, 12 (Munich, 1983), pp. 94-5.
66. See Wiesław Mysłek, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918-1939* (Warsaw, 1966), p. 113; "Ostannii akt: dohovir mizh Pol'shcheiu ta Vatykanom u spravi pouniiats'kykh tserkovnykh zemel'," *Dilo*, 9 July 1938, pp. 1-2; Józef Beck, *Final Report* (New York, 1957), p. 129.
67. Specifically his speech of 28 February 1918, in which he commented on the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
68. Sheptyts'kyi's letter, dated 2 August 1938, and published in *Dilo*'s issue of 23 August, was confiscated by the Polish authorities, but it circulated widely in illegal copies and leaflets. Its full text appears in Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 108-110.
69. *Słowo Narodowe* (L'viv) and *Goniec Warszawski* (Warsaw), 25 August 1938, as quoted in *Dilo*, 26 August 1938, in the section "Z pol's'koï presy," pp. 3-4.
70. "Poklyk Mytropolyta," *Dilo*, 5 November 1938, p. 1.
71. See "Zaiava," *Dilo*, 20 November 1938, p. 1.
72. *Dilo*, 16 December 1938, p. 4.
73. "Pastyrs'kyi lyst Mytropolyta Sheptyts'koho u zviazku z ostannimy podiiamy," *Dilo*, 25 March 1939, p. 4.
74. See Jan Szembek, *Diariusz i teki (1935-1945)*, vol. IV (London, 1972), pp. 530-1 and 536. Slipyi was then rector of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in L'viv.
75. Kedryn, *Zhyttia*, p. 318.
76. Ivan Nimchuk, *595 dniv soviets'kym viaznem* (Toronto, 1950), p. 12.
77. Kedryn, *Zhyttia*, p. 342.
78. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia: z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï, 1939-1940*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1961), p. 1.
79. Very revealing in this connection is Sheptyts'kyi's decision to appoint some of his closest collaborators as exarchs over the whole territory of the Soviet Union. See *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les pays baltes*, pt. 2: *1942-1945*, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale, vol. III (Vatican City, 1967), pp. 565-6.
80. Presumably he hoped to earn the distinction of a martyr's death by openly denouncing the Soviet authorities and thus provoking them into taking some kind of action against him. Ibid., pt. 1: *1939-1941*, p. 172 and pt. 2, p. 629. See also Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 359-60. Reports emanating at that time from the Vatican claimed that Sheptyts'kyi had been either "deported to Russia" (*New York Times*, 6 October 1939, p. 6) or "killed by the Russians" (ibid., 3 November 1939,

p. 1). See also Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Red Murder of Archbishop a Symbol of Poland's Fate," ibid., 4 November 1939, p. 14.

81. Iaroslav Stets'ko, *30 chervnia 1941: proholoshennia vidnovlennia derzhavnosty Ukraïny* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 186-7.
82. The full text of Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter "to the Ukrainian people" of 1 July 1941 is given in Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu* (New York and Toronto, 1957), pp. 112-13. On the controversy surrounding that letter, see ibid., pp. 50-2; Stets'ko, *30 chervnia 1941*, pp. 184-6, 188-90, 218-9; and Kedryn, *Zhyttia*, p. 366. The Metropolitan voiced similar sentiments in a letter of 5 July 1941, addressed to the clergy and the faithful of his archeparchy, in which he urged all Ukrainians to forget their party differences and to work in unity and mutual understanding to rebuild their country. See Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy*, p. 120.
83. Stella Alexander, *Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 19.
84. Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy*, p. 42.
85. *Pravda pro uniiu*, pp. 301-2.
86. Sheptyts'kyi took strong exception to this step in a letter to Ribbentrop. Dobrychev, *V teni*, p. 124.
87. Germany, Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, Microcopy No. T-454, Roll No. 92, Doc. EAP 99/434. A Ukrainian translation is in Taras Hunczak and Roman Solchanyk, eds., *Ukraïns'ka suspil'no-politychna dumka v 20 stolitti: dokumenty i materiialy*, vol. III (n.p., 1983), pp. 44-7.
88. Other signatories of the letter included Andrii Livyts'kyi, the president of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian People's Republic, General M. M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, and Andrii Mel'nyk.
89. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2, p. 628; Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koï okupatsiï* (New York and Toronto, 1965), pp. 29-30. While Sheptyts'kyi mentions the letter to Himmler in his report to Pius XII (dated 29-31 August 1942) and Pan'kivs'kyi gives its contents, the actual text is not available.
90. Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koï okupatsiï*, pp. 29-31.
91. Cited in ibid., pp. 32-3. For a detailed discussion of the letter, see Ivan Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei—blahovisnyk iednosty* (Munich, 1961), pp. 35-56.
92. Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Ilarion and the latter's reply, dated 14 November 1941, are quoted by Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 123-7.
93. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 339-40; Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 127-8.
94. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 339-42; Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 130-1.
95. In this connection, see Sheptyts'kyi's report of 29-31 August 1942 to Pope Pius XII in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2, pp. 625-9.
96. Ibid., p. 628.
97. Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koï okupatsiï*, pp. 31-2.
98. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 222-31. On another occasion, the Metropolitan spoke about some kind of "moral hemophilia" from which the Ukrainian people seemed to be suffering. Consequently, even the smallest wound in the nation's organism became incurable and misunderstandings which could easily have been settled evolved instead into chronic antagonisms and endless quarrels (ibid., p. 410).
99. Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koï okupatsiï*, p. 224.
100. See Wolf-Dietrich Heike, *Sie wollten Freiheit: die Geschichte der Ukrainischen Division 1943-1945* (Dornheim/H., n.d.), p. 16.
101. John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1963), p. 173.

102. This statement is often associated specifically with the creation of the Division Galizien. See Roman Krokhmaliuk, *Zahrava na Skhodi: spohady i dokumenty z pratsi u Viis'kovii Upravi "Halychyna" v 1943-1945 rokakh* (Toronto and New York, 1978), pp. 24, 278; Ievhen Pobihushchyi, "Druzhyny Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv na Bilorusi," in *Druzhyny Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistv v 1941-42 rokakh* (n.p., 1953), p. 39; and Heike, *Sie wollten Freiheit*, p. 16. While he was aware that the German side could renege on its promises, Sheptyts'kyi nevertheless felt that that risk had to be taken. This conclusion is the result of my interview with Professor Volodymyr Kubiiovych, the head of the Ukrainian Central Committee and one of the organizers of the Division, in Toronto, 26 October 1984.
103. It also should be noted that the commander of the Division, Major General Fritz Freitag, stated after Sheptyts'kyi's death that it lost, in the person of the Metropolitan, "one of its sincerest friends and oldest supporters" (14. Waffen-Gren. Div. der SS [Galiz. Nr. 1], Kommandeur, Div. St. Qu., order of the day of 10 November 1944—from the personal archives of Wasyl Veryha, Toronto).
104. In this connection, see Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi*, pp. 23-4; and Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Cardinal Tisserant of 8 May 1943 (*Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2, pp. 790-1).
105. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 417-25.
106. Ibid., pp. 440-3.
107. See Baran, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 116-17.
108. Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi*, p. 22. See also Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, p. 173.
109. Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi*, pp. 22-3; "Obov'iazok dushpastyriv lyshatysia v parokhiï i v naitiazhchykh khvylynakh," in Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 433-5.
110. For details, see Zenon Horodys'kyi, "Do istoriï povstannia Vseukraïns'koï Natsional'noï Rady," *Svoboda* (Jersey City), 29 August 1984, p. 2; 30 August, p. 2; 31 August, p. 2; 1 September, p. 2; 5 September, p. 2; 6 September, pp. 2-3; 7 September, pp. 2, 5.
111. Text in Hunczak and Solchanyk, *Ukraïns'ka suspil'no-politychna dumka*, vol. III, pp. 95-6.
112. Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koï okupatsiï*, p. 428.
113. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, p. 5; Dobrychev, *V teni*, pp. 132-3.
114. See *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*, 4 November 1944, p. 4.
115. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2, pp. 889-90.
116. Albert M. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna, 1950), p. 665.
117. See *Artykuly dlia zapochatkuvannia protsesu dlia informatyvnoho protsesu beatyfikatsiï i kanonizatsiï Sluhy Bozhoho Andreia Sheptys'koho, Arkhiiepiskopa L'vivs'koho ukraïntsiv, Mytropolyta Halyts'koho, Iepiskopa Kamiantsia-Podil's'koho* (Rome, 1958), p. 64.
118. Notably Hryhorii Iakhmovych, the leader of the Galician Ukrainians during the "Spring of Nations" in 1848.
119. "Mytropolytovi," *Dilo,* 28 July 1935, p. 2.
120. Bohdan Cywiński, *Korzenie tożsamości* (Rome, 1982), pp. 225, 314.
121. Korolevskij, *Métropolite,* p. 62; *Artykuly,* p. 32.
122. In this connection see Cywiński, *Korzenie,* p. 131.
123. The phrase is used in *Dilo,* 28 July 1935, p. 2, and 18, June 1939, p. 2.
124. Cited in Julius Tyciak, Georg Wunderle, and Peter Werhun, eds., *Der christliche Osten: Geist und Gestalt* (Regensburg, 1939), pp. 15–16; and in Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion Graf Andreas Scheptytzkyj,* 2nd rev. ed. (Munich, 1967), p. 184.
125. *Artykuly,* p. 64.

Chapter 4

Sheptyts'kyi and Polish Society

Ryszard Torzecki

Historiography on Polish-Ukrainian relations in the last decade of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century is by no means plentiful. There are many controversial issues. One of them is to assess or even simply describe the activities of the most outstanding figures in the Ukrainian national movement, whether politicians, cultural and educational workers, clergy, or people engaged in economic activity. Neighborly quarrels or antagonisms between the two brotherly societies, which have lived for centuries on the territory of western Ukraine, were revived from time to time, particularly during the national rebirth of Ukrainians. This has made an objective, sober analysis of the situation, events, and their participants rather difficult. Even in retrospect, each side is inclined to offer extreme opinions and is seldom willing to verify its views. ''Opposing sides'' also include the clergy of the same religion, although they belong to distinct rites by virtue of cultural differences.

Perception of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi has never been free from controversy, especially since he came from an aristocratic Polish-Ukrainian family that had become Polonized (in the male line of descent) at least a century before his birth. His mother was the daughter of a well-known Polish playwright, Count Aleksander Fredro. They were Catholics of the Roman rite. So Sheptyts'kyi's decision in favor of the nationality of his forefathers and his transfer to the Greek Catholic rite came as a shock, first to his family, then to Polish society.

Sheptyts'kyi's activities spanned the stormy years of the first half of the twentieth century of East Central European, including Polish and Ukrainian, history. While he was engaged in these often turbulent events, he found no approval or understanding among the Poles for his efforts to extend the scope of the Eastern rite outside Galicia and to enlarge the rights of Ukrainians. In particular, his support for the independence of a western Ukrainian state was not appreciated. Generally speaking, his failures were caused by a collision of the state interests of the Second Polish Republic and the Polish people who lived on its territories with the interests of Ukrainian society.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was in the center of this Polish-Ukrainian conflict for the first time when he assumed the office of bishop of the Stanyslaviv eparchy. When he resolved to be an Eastern-rite priest, he determined his position according to the principle that "a priest takes the side of his congregation." A modest and humble servant of the church, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi resisted the invitation to become bishop, although, of course, later he had to consider that possibility since he was the most outstanding candidate in the Greek Catholic Church.

Sheptyts'kyi assumed the leadership of the Greek Catholic Church during the most difficult period of Polish-Ukrainian relations. By 1894, the agreement between Count Casimir Badeni and the representatives of Ukrainian society had practically expired. In 1899, the Ukrainian National-Democratic party, moderately nationalistic in character, was established. After various organizational rearrangements it emerged as UNDO (Ukraïns'ke Natsional'no-Demokratychne Obiednannia) which survived until 1939.

It was also during the last decade of the twentieth century that tension between Polish circles in the provincial government of Galicia and the central government of Vienna became more pronounced. The Polish gentry felt that its estates were endangered, chiefly because of the blatant discrepancy between Polish-influenced courts at the local level and the overpopulated, notoriously poor Ukrainian villages. In these circumstances, the Polish gentry in the eastern part of Galicia, who came to be known as "Podolians," stood up for the region's Polish character and for their Polish possessions. They remained on good terms with the local Ruthenians, only as long as the latter did not bring up their Ukrainian nationality. Not all the gentry reasoned and acted in such a manner, but staunch opponents of the Ukrainian national revival clearly constituted the majority. For its part, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, lower-middle classes, and workers were forced to compete with the Polish and Jewish urban majority, so that gradually there arose a tide of ill will and even hostility that was backed by rural Podolians and Polish nationalists. Such were the conditions in which the new Metropolitan had to perform his duties.

Initially, Sheptyts'kyi was welcomed with some enthusiasm by the Polish people, who believed that he would support the Russophile tendency rather than the Ukrainian orientation. However, Sheptyts'kyi continued and developed further the process initiated in the 1880s by Metropolitan Syl'vester

Sembratovych (1885-1898) of giving support and granting posts to priests who considered themselves Ukrainians. As a result, he alienated the Podolians and became the object of attacks by Polish nationalists. This does not necessarily mean, however, that Sheptyts'kyi "was continually losing their [the Polish people's] sympathy because of his partiality towards Ukrainianism."[1]

It is indeed true that from the very beginning of his clerical career Sheptyts'kyi had shown a positive attitude towards Ukrainianism, and only those who did not really know him could have entertained any doubts as to his affection for the Ukrainian people. Nonetheless, the Metropolitan's attitude towards Ukrainians did not prevent him from maintaining friendly relations with Poles which means the statement of Elżbieta Dębicka that, "in 1907 only two Poles, Brother Albert [Chmielewski] and my father, used to attend St. George's Cathedral," is clearly a gross exaggeration.[2]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the relatively small group of Polish Greek Catholics began to reveal a certain apprehension towards the Metropolitan, he wrote in a pastoral letter:

> I am very worried by the thought that there are in my congregation people who might feel deserted by their spiritual leaders if their bishop never addressed them in their own, native language. I am very much aware of such a danger, for it could lead to an unjustified belief that their Ruthenian bishop has no friendly feelings, no love for the Polish people. . . . such a conclusion would always be unfair to a Catholic, whose first and only duty [is] to work for the salvation of our souls. . . . [3]

In a further attempt to console Polish Greek Catholics, the Metropolitan addressed them directly: "I want you to know that I respect your beliefs and I am far from wanting to impose on you Ruthenian patriotism."[4] He even went so far as to say that,

> a bishop cannot in his apostolic work mix Christian gospel with even the most sound political or national principles. . . . He should never allow any one of this congregation to consider him a political or national enemy. He can be an enemy to those who are enemies of Christ, but only to the extent to which they are Christ's enemies and only in order to reconcile them with Christ.[5]

The pastoral letter also referred to ideas and ideals which were most difficult to carry out in life. As Sheptyts'kyi learned, "neither a bishop nor any other Catholic priest may let politics into the shrine of his missionary work, for the priesthood of Christ is his only duty."[6] With regard to the road that seemed so strewn with insurmountable difficulties, he argued that "a bright future lies in the Christianization of nations, the reconciliation of enemies in unity with Christ, and the sanctification of the family. . . . "[7] The text also makes it clear that the Metropolitan was addressing not only his congregation, but all Galicians:

> Any hatred is vicious, for it is against God's and Christ's teaching; it is against man's nature. Any hate is wrong, whether it is social, national, or political. Social and national hate is even worse than personal hate, for it easily spreads in the guise of virtue and infatuates men. The same is true for injustice and wrongdoing, which are particularly negative when they are of a national or social character, for then they are more universal, more dangerous, and more difficult to change. . . .
>
> It is a Christian's duty to love his country and to keep in mind the welfare of the people. But there is one thing a Christian should not do even for the sake of patriotism; that is, he should not hate or harm others. . . . [8]

Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral went on to call for fundamental moral reform, that is, the development of the individual personality, which should be carried out within the family. "Is it not true," he asked, "that the very notion and sense of justice of what one deserves—the fundamental rule of societal life which is as large and difficult as life itself—can flourish and best be consolidated within the family circle?"[9] This recommendation was at the time one of the most important, but, alas, it was heeded by only a few people. Nonetheless, the whole text of the pastoral was permeated with a spirit of hope, and even confidence, that there was a chance for all people in East Galicia to solve the problem of social unrest at the very time that it was becoming more intense.

While it is never too late for noble-minded appeals, what Galicia needed most was social and political reform. However, the central (Austrian) and local (Polish) authorities could not or would not allow any reforms. The gentry, Podolians favorably disposed towards Polish nationalism, were mainly concerned with preserving their possessions. The Cracow conservatives wanted to defend all Polish possessions (land-estates) in Galicia at the expense of moderate concessions in favor of Ukrainians. The Austrians, however, who were defending the wholeness of the monarchy, more or less openly followed the principle of divide and conquer. When Polish national ideology was brought over from the Russian-ruled Congress Kingdom of Poland and was supported by Podolians and local politically-minded youth, the result was a radicalized nationalism that entered into the schools and spread to the streets of towns. This, in turn, resulted in clashes with liberated Ukrainian nationalism, a state of affairs that outlasted both world wars.

Such was the charged political atmosphere that prevailed when, on 12 April 1908, the viceroy of Galicia, Count Andrzej Potocki, was killed. His successor, Michał Bobrzyński, a leading conservative from Cracow, tried to avert open conflict by means of an agreement with the Ukrainians at the expense of granting them certain concessions. This is how the situation remained until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

At the time of Potocki's murder, the Metropolitan was away from L'viv. The situation was very complicated and he realized that the incident was by no means an accident and that terrorism should be opposed. In a sermon delivered on 24 April 1908 at the Cathedral of St. George in L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi spoke out forcefully:

> The man who called himself a Christian has committed a horrible murder . . . inconceivable fanaticism has made him trample divine law and the most important of the commandments: 'Thou shalt not kill'. . . . Our duty is even greater because we must condemn the crime, for the one who has committed the crime believed that in his fanaticism he was serving the national cause. For God's sake, this is not so! One does not serve one's country by committing crimes. A crime committed in the name of patriotism is a crime not only against God but also against one's own people; it is a crime against the country. For, setting side by side murder and deeds, which are done to serve the sacred and noble national cause, we are blemishing that cause and covering it with mud. . . . For God's sake, to see crime in a crown of glory, is something no Christian, no man of culture can bear; for God's sake, it causes us all unbearable pain! And such danger is imminent. It is imminent because in our times, alas, there are more and more people who would like to divorce politics and Christian ethics, and in casting aside Christian ethics and any other moral principle there is only one step, a step leading to an abyss. People fear to condemn evil wherever it occurs out of fear that by condemning evil they would be reproached for a lack of patriotism . . . as if it was not the most elementary and important duty of any citizen to condemn openly any evil for the very reason that it harms the national cause.[10]

While the spirit of this sermon is not at all surprising given the principles of the speaker in matters of Christian morality and his position within the church, it is still worth pointing out the outspoken manner in which he condemned terrorism as a means of political struggle. This man, whose main aim in life was to carry out the idea of religious unification of the nation of his forefathers, to foster the social and political revival of the country, and to make Greek Catholic East Galicia a bridge for the transition of elements of eastern and western cultures, understood from the very beginning that hatred, chauvinism, and terror would only widen the gap between Ukrainians and Poles and make their endeavors more difficult. Making more enemies was against the interests of people who struggled for new and better laws and forms of organizing political, cultural, and economic life. Sheptyts'kyi remained faithful to these ideas until the end of his days. Unfortunately, he had to voice his protest against terrorism many more times.

At the beginning of World War I, Poles and Ukrainians in East Galicia (with the exception of the Russophiles) declared their allegiance to Austria and raised their own legionary troops, although their number and armament did not present a major force. Relevant political organizations were formed. The Metropolitan, naturally, declared himself in favor of the Habsburg monarchy and was interned (14-18 September 1914). Later he was deported to Russia via Kiev after the surrender of Galicia to the Russians. Subsequently, when the front had moved to the East, Ukrainians attempted to regain their autonomy under Austria, and they even gained a certain influence in formerly Russian-controlled Volhynia, the Chełm region, and Podlachia. After the act of the German and Austrian emperors was issued on 5 November 1916, proposing the possibility of forming a new Congress Kingdom of Poland, based on territories annexed from Russia, developments took a different turn and the Ukrainians demanded the partition of Galicia.

The future of Galicia remained unresolved, and the province itself was ruined by the 1916 Russian offensive. Such was the state of affairs when the Metropolitan returned, in September 1917, from internment and exile in Russia after the February Revolution. While he was welcomed with enthusiasm by Ukrainians, Poles greeted him with obvious anxiety. They saw him not only as the tsar's former prisoner, but also as a priest-politician who was engaged in general Ukrainian matters. It had become clear that his missionary task directed at religious unification of the Ukrainian nation had an obvious political aspect. Moreover, he made such goals clear at the first opportunity after his return.

When the Brest-Litovsk agreement was signed in February 1918 and the Chełm region was incorporated into the new Ukrainian National Republic, Sheptyts'kyi praised the Austrian government in the Vienna parliament's House of Lords. However, the Brest-Litovsk agreement, as well as the Metropolitan's support for it, met with strong protests from the Polish Club in the Austrian parliament, from Roman Catholic Bishop Pelczar of Przemyśl, and from all Polish people. To defend Polish interests along the eastern border and, particularly to retain the Chełm region as part of Poland, a Borderland Guard was organized, mainly by former activists in the Union of Polish Youth (Związek Młodzieży Polskiej—ZET).[11] This resulted in the first major clash between Polish public opinion and the position of the Metropolitan. At the same time, the Metropolitan's brother Stanisław, then an Austrian and later a Polish general, resigned from his post as governor of Lublin.

In the years which followed, Ukrainian advocates of independence experienced periods of mounting hope as well as disappointments and failures. These years left Ukrainians with a persistent feeling of uneasiness. Polish-Ukrainian relations entered a particularly difficult stage when the outgoing Austrians handed over their control of East Galicia to the deputy governor, Detsykevych. This was followed immediately by the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and a period of armed confrontation between Poles and Ukrainians that never really subsided until the Entente's Ambassadorial Council decision of 14-15 March 1923. This tragic period cast a shadow on the possibility of establishing peaceful coexistence in that region.

By force of arms, the Poles overthrew the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, and the Entente helped to restore a new political status quo in the region. This prompted the Ukrainians to join those states which were aiming at a revision of the Versailles Treaty. This was also a time of great personal and national trauma for Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. The Polish-Ukrainian war had left the two brotherly nations with no likelihood of reconciliation because the war, at times, had been conducted with great brutality and terror against civilians. It was especially painful for ethnically mixed families. Moreover, it ruined an already poor country, and many of the participants in the war emigrated. As a result, both sides were left with destruction, casualties, hatred in their hearts and minds, and a fighting legend, which had some positive impact but was dangerous for the future.

Tallying the gains and losses of these years, it is clear that while Poland did win temporary political benefits, this resulted in Ukrainian hatred towards the Polish state and often towards the Polish people, for the country was poisoned by nationalism. What was the Metropolitan's frame of mind? He had once said to his mother, a Pole: "We [are] a Polish-Ruthenian family, and we must set an example how to live in harmony and love."[12] Everything, his whole noble idea, had crumbled, and he grieved deeply over such developments. When he was asked before World War I by a Polish relative whether he considered himself to be of Polish or Ruthenian nationality, he said: "I love Poland, Polish history, and Polish literature, but the tongue of the people I have lived among since childhood has become my tongue, their song has become my song. I am like St. Paul, who was a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks, and to all he was all to redeem all."[13]

These lines suffice to illustrate the extent of the tragedy, which was more than a personal tragedy. Sheptyts'kyi knew from prewar developments that a tragedy was likely to happen. He had warned against it and he had condemned terrorism as a means of struggle. He did not confine himself, however, to pastorals and sermons but also tried on different occasions (and long before the war) to bring about mutual agreement. However, there were not enough broad-minded people, and all his endeavors were in vain.[14] At first, his endeavors were interpreted by Ukrainians as a preference towards Poland, but that was nonsense. Ukrainian advocates of independence, too, soon understood that they had misinterpreted the Metropolitan's speeches. Then, when Sheptyts'kyi proclaimed himself in favor of the independence movement, that put an end to any further doubts. The Metropolitan simply could not accept the decline of Ukrainian statehood and the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. He always had the Ukrainian problem in East Galicia at heart, and he hoped that a solution could be found if the international situation happened to be favorable. Finally, an opportunity did present itself.

Not since the pre-World War I years had Sheptyts'kyi been to Rome to report, in person, on the activites of the Greek Catholic Church. Moreover, the ruined country needed foreign help, the agencies in exile of the Greek Catholic Church needed to be visited, and their local problems needed to be settled. A visit abroad would give the Metropolitan a chance to learn about the international political situation, as well as to analyze different opportunities and to intervene in certain cases based on his authority as head of the church.

When war operations in Europe and Poland came to an end and both Ukrainian republics fell, the Metropolitan left for Rome to report personally on the situation of the Greek Catholic Church. Political and administrative changes in post-war Europe had prompted changes in the administration of the church. It was also necessary to settle the affairs of Greek Catholics on the American continent. All these tasks gave the Metropolitan a chance to pay visits and to carry on talks which gave him a better grasp of the extent of Ukrainian problems in general, and East Galician ones in particular. It also enabled him to undertake some limited intervention towards a solution of the Ukrainian issue within the new international situation.

Sheptyts'kyi left for Rome on 16 December 1920 and stayed away until March 1921. His trip was a source of great interest to the Polish foreign service.[15] According to their reports, Sheptyts'kyi made many demands regarding missionary work among the Orthodox. His goal was the religious unification of Ukrainians, a process which would require Greek Catholic missionary activity among Russians and Belorussians, and, in order to facilitate such activity, the restriction of certain monastic duties to the Greek Catholic rite. In short, Sheptyts'kyi was requesting the reaffirmation of rights that had been granted to him in 1907 by Pope Pius X (1903-1914). However, the Metropolitan's jurisdiction over Russia was suspended, which meant that he could act only "pro foro interno."

The Metropolitan presented a critical, if not altogether negative, attitude towards Polish policy in East Galicia. In particular he referred to Poland's economic and agricultural policy (the introduction of colonization to an already overpopulated country) and the policy of imposing restrictions on the missionary work of Greek Catholic priests. He also voiced scepticism regarding the possibility of the survival of the Polish state between Russia and Germany and of Polish rule in East Galicia which, he believed, the Ukrainians would not tolerate. Moreover, the Metropolitan confirmed his loyalty to the Western Ukrainian government of Ievhen Petrushevych, then in exile. He firmly believed that the religious and political disruption of the nation was responsible for the state of affairs in Ukraine. Although he expressed sympathy for Hetman Skoropads'kyi who had led the short-lived Hetmanate government in Kiev in 1918, he was at the same time critical of the hetman's activities. Finally, Sheptyts'kyi believed that Petliura, who headed the Ukrainian government that succeeded Skoropads'kyi in late 1918, had subsequently lost popularity because of his alliance with Poland.[16]

Nonetheless, despite his sometimes extremely exaggerated criticisms of the Poles (for instance, the unwarranted accusation of wide-scale Polish colonization of East Galicia as early as 1920-1921), Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi continued to deny that he harbored hostile or unfriendly attitudes towards Poland. According to one Polish diplomatic report, "he [Sheptyts'kyi] maintained that it was his most ardent wish to help Poles and Ukrainians become reconciled."[17] He is said to have proposed an initiative which would lead to this reconciliation, although on certain conditions which he would personally present in Warsaw. In my research, I have not come across these proposals, nevertheless, I have reached the conclusion, based on other statements the Metropolitan made, that he had formed several distinctions in his own mind between the conflict of the Polish and Ukrainian states and its authorities; between the social groups which had an impact on mutual relations of the two brotherly nations; and between his attitude towards Poles. In that sense, the Metropolitan was obviously not, nor could he be, hostile towards the Polish people in general.

His opinion of the vast masses of patriotically-minded Poles living in the eastern border lands, in particular L'viv, who would not hear of the land of their forefathers being left outside Polish state borders is still open to question. This was no longer Polish nationalism, it was deep-rooted patriotism. Probably that is why Sheptyts'kyi was sceptical about the possibility of reaching any Polish-Ukrainian accommodation. Problems connected with state security made the matter of solving the Ukrainian issue seem as difficult as the proverbial "squaring of the circle." Nevertheless, the Metropolitan believed all these problems could have been resolved had the Western Ukrainian People's Republic survived and remained on friendly terms with Poland.[18] Few, however, believed in this possibility. Nor did the Vatican believe in it, after having probed both parties involved in the conflict in an effort to help them.

The Polish legate to the Apostolic See reported that the Vatican was strongly affected by the uncompromising political standpoint of the Metropolitan on the issue of East Galicia. The legate was asked whether a possible agreement between Ukrainians and Poles would be easier if Sheptyts'kyi were transferred from L'viv. The legate felt that would depend on the kind of post offered to the Metropolitan. In any case, he said Sheptyts'kyi should not be given any opportunity to interfere in the domestic and religious affairs of Poland. "I have only said that," wrote the legate, "because some circles would welcome Sheptyts'kyi as a Curia Cardinal and Prefect of the Oriental Congregation. This would, naturally, be very harmful to our cause."[19]

However, the Vatican had also to consider the welfare of the church in the future. While it could not ignore Russia, it certainly did not want to lose

Poland, because of its strategic position. Russian emigrants were strengthening their relations with the Vatican, and the possibility of winning Russia over by means of a Union seemed to be another consideration. Protection of the Greek Catholic Church was, according to the legates, absolutely guaranteed. The same opinion was presented by the Polish clergy. Both parties, Polish and Ukrainian, had advocates for their cause in the Vatican, and the matter must have been of great importance because the legates were helped by clergy of very high rank, such as the Roman Catholic bishop of Cracow, Adam Stefan Sapieha (1912-1951), and the L'viv archbishop for Catholics of the Armenian rite, Józef Teodorowicz (1902-1938).[20]

Between April and June 1921, Sheptyts'kyi travelled to Belgium, Holland, France, and England, not only to settle matters of his church but also for political and economic reasons. In his letters home, the content of which was known to the Polish police, the Metropolitan was tentatively optimistic. In particular, he concentrated on the activities of political circles in England where he stayed longer than planned, because, as Polish authorities reported, "that is where a very important matter is to be resolved."[21] Then, in July 1921, he went to Canada and the United States, where he visited and inspected Greek Catholic Church centers and held talks with men of politics and business. While the reports of Polish consuls from Canada stress that the Metropolitan denied his visit there had a political character (which in the Canadian case was true), the reports from Washington, D.C. did mention certain meetings. The papal legate to the United States was eager to set the Polish foreign office in Warsaw at rest. He reported that the Metropolitan had contributed to an improvement of the situation in the Greek Catholic Church and had managed to obtain "humanitarian help."[22]

From the end of March 1922, the Metropolitan visited Ukrainian centers in Brazil and Argentina, but by the end of the year he was back in Europe on another visit to Rome, Belgium, Holland, and France. According to the report of the papal legate in France, until the very last minutes of his visit the Metropolitan had pleaded with leading French politicians for a successful settlement of the Ukrainian political demands.

These were his last endeavors in the West, and the comprehensive report by the Polish Legation at the Quirinal shows Sheptyts'kyi was quite aware of the situation. The report on his pronouncements, which was based on information from various unnamed people who spoke with the Metropolitan, indicated that:

(1) In talks with strangers, the Metropolitan *pro foro externo* still recognized the Petrushevych government as the Ukrainian national government;
(2) For this reason, no Ukrainians were to negotiate with Poles;
(3) The Entente powers were, at the time, the only authorities in East Galicia;

(4) If the Entente decided to turn over Ukrainians to Poland, they were obliged to surrender;
(5) Although the Metropolitan saw no possibility of a direct Polish-Ruthenian agreement, he believed that a solution could be found with the help of an Entente resolution which would oblige the Ukrainians to live within the borders of the Polish state, but under certain guarantees;
(6) The solution which would be accepted as *malum necessarium* would only be temporary, for the war for independence would continue;
(7) Another possible solution was the establishment of an independent East Galicia, which for its own interests would maintain peaceful relations with Poland;
(8) A union of Galicia with a "Greater Ukraine" would be a logical solution;
(9) The Metropolitan was not, at that moment, optimistic about a decision of the Entente in favor of the Ukrainians, but in any case guarantees would be necessary;
(10) Any political instability in Europe could be of advantage to the Ukrainians.[23]

After the decision reached by the Entente's Council of Ambassadors on 14-15 March 1923, the international legal status of East Galicia was settled, at least until the outbreak of World War II. However, the various governments of the restored Polish Second Republic did not meet their obligations towards Ukrainians mainly because of the arrangement of political forces in the country and the unfavorable international situation which threatened Poland's security.

This situation resulted in social and political tension in the borderlands and in lively parliamentary debates from which Ukrainian concerns could reach the whole world. Thus, the Metropolitan's apprehensions proved to be justified. Among the first sources of conflict were the so-called *Lex Grabski*, a series of three laws introduced in 1924 by the government at the initiative of minister Stanisław Grabski. These laws which unified Ukrainian and Polish schools into bilingual institutions—many of which later became exclusively Polish—were a serious blow to both the Ukrainian educational system and to the status of the Ukrainian language as a medium for public and legal discourse. The result was to widen the gap between Ukrainians and Poles. Whereas it was obvious that Sheptyts'kyi did not approve of the Grabski laws, it was not he but the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, together with Ukrainian political, economic, cultural, and educational organizations, which launched a struggle against them.[24]

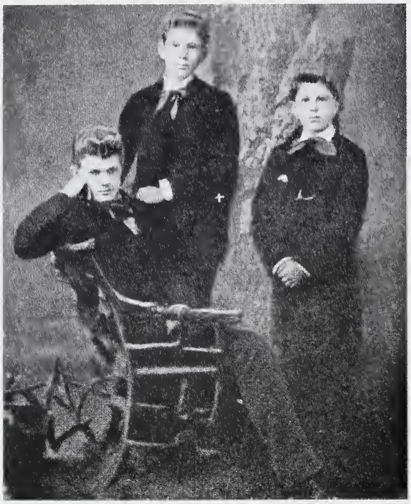
As for the Metropolitan himself, his entry into postwar Poland was fraught with difficulty. On his way back from Vienna, he was detained at the border crossing in Cieszyń, and in spite of a previous guarantee for a safe return issued by deputy minister A. Skrzyński, he was sent to Poznań. Only after a week of negotiations and a declaration of loyalty to the state made in the presence of President Wojciechowski was the Metropolitan allowed to return to L'viv, albeit to the disappointment of Polish nationalists.[25]

After his return to L'viv, the Metropolitan sponsored all aspects of Ukrainian cultural, educational, and economic life. Whereas the non-nationalistic groups within Polish society tolerated such activity, Sheptyts'kyi was in a state of "confrontation" with the Polish clergy. The problem was that missionary work among Eastern-rite churchgoers was being carried out with the help of Polish priests led by local Roman Catholic bishops. Among the most active were Bishop Henryk Przeździecki from Siedlce (1918–1939), Archbishop Edward Ropp from Mahiloŭ (1917–1919), Bishop Adolf Szelążek from Luts'k (1926), Bishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski from Vilnius (1926–1942), and Bishop Marian Fulman from Lublin (1918–1939).

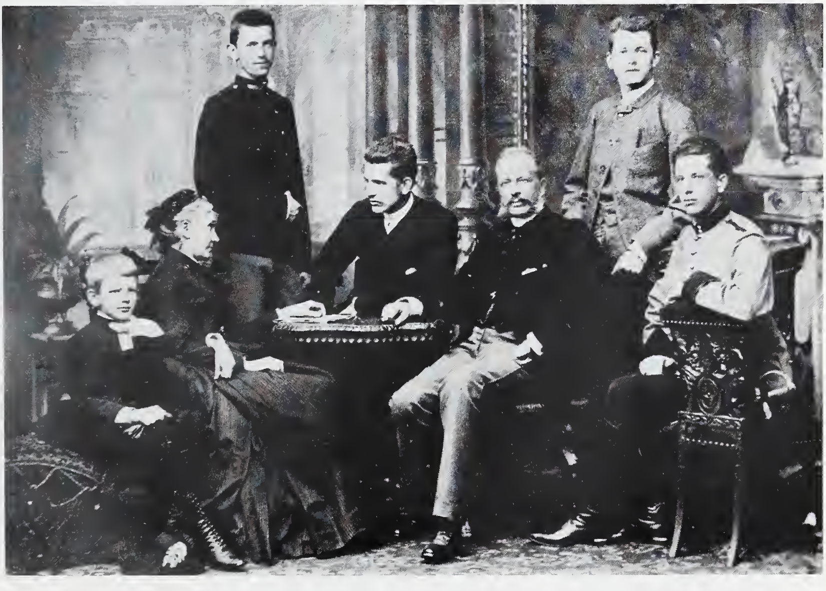
In 1924, the Vatican endowed Bishop Przeździecki with full powers to begin the so-called Neo-Union action.[26] This movement did not arouse much interest among the Greek Catholics or Polish society and authorities. It was, therefore, never supported on a large scale. On the other hand, administrative restrictions on the activity of the Greek Catholic Church in the three Ukrainian-inhabited provinces of southeastern Poland, in particular the Lemko Region, continued, and the church's missionary work there was curtailed, despite the Polish-Vatican Concordat of 1925. Finally, the problem was resolved by the Apostolic See, when Bishop Mykola Charnets'kyi (1931-1959) was appointed apostolic visitor of the Neo-Union in 1931 under the proviso that priests and adherents of the new rite were to be under the jurisdiction of their local Roman Catholic bishops. This proviso, however, was only a half solution, since Bishop Charnets'kyi, himself a Greek Catholic, was trusted by Sheptyts'kyi.[27]

The year 1930 was a turning point in Polish-Ukrainian relations. The activity of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and later the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), both of which were anti-Polish underground military groups, led inevitably to a showdown of strength. In the face of ignored Ukrainian demands, continued granting of land allotments to Polish settlers, and an expanding economic crisis with resultant unemployment, the UVO and the OUN organized a sabotage-terrorist campaign. In response, many districts were "pacified" by Polish police, the gendarmerie, and even the army. The resultant destruction of property, beatings, and deaths had unavoidably negative repercussions. These developments affected Ukrainian, Polish, and international opinion and all parties, even the Polish National-Democratic party, which was responsible for the formation of anti-Ukrainian tendencies, were negatively influenced by the political fall-out from pacification.

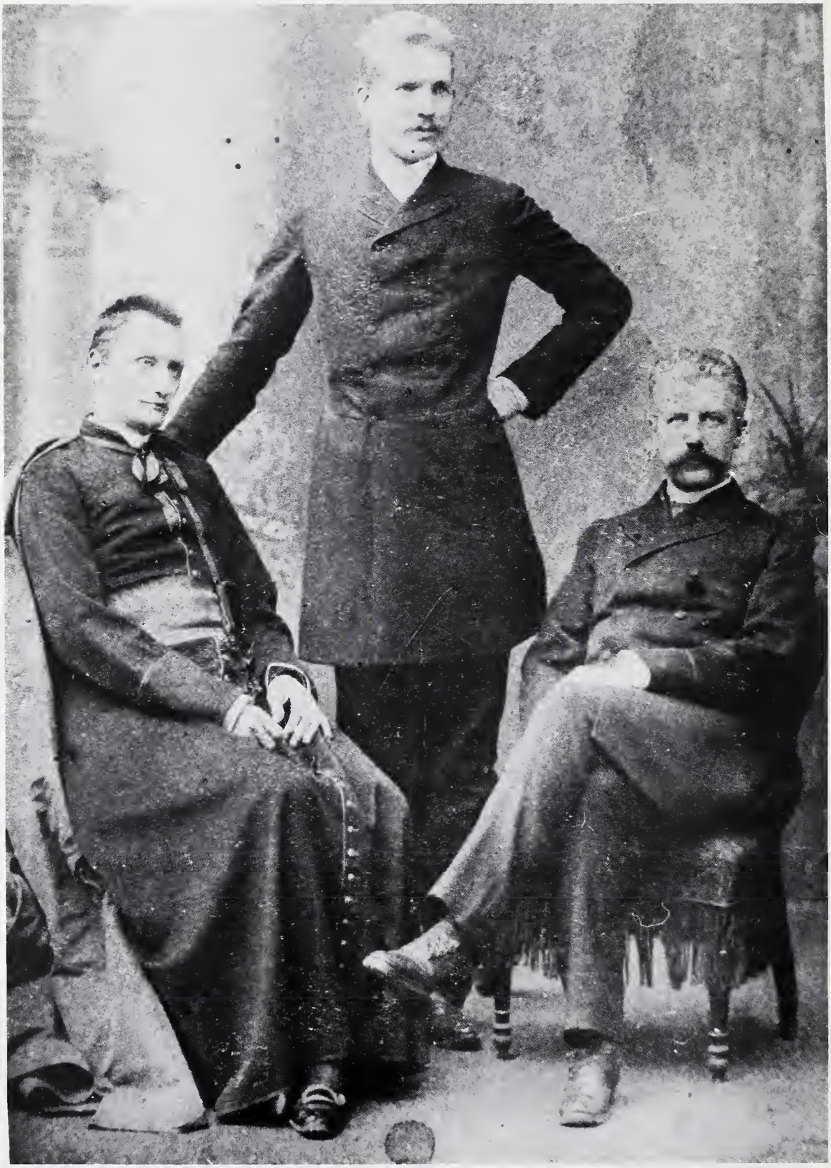
Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi wrote a pastoral letter on these tragic events, but it was confiscated.[28] He did not limit himself to the pastoral letter, however. In spite of his illness, he went to Warsaw to meet in person with the



1. The brothers Jerzy (seated), Roman, and Aleksander Szeptycki at the time of their gymnasium studies in Cracow. Photographed circa 1880. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 56.



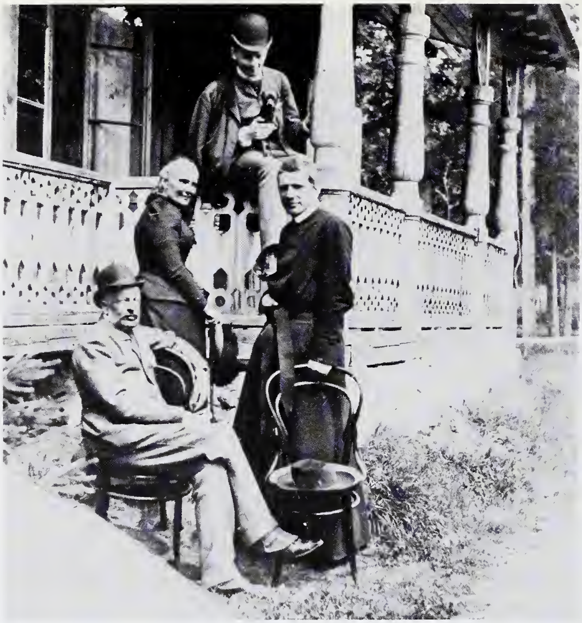
2. The Szeptycki family: Leon, Zofia (mother), Stanisław (standing), Roman, Jan (father), Kazimierz (standing), and Aleksander. Photographed in Cracow, 1887. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.



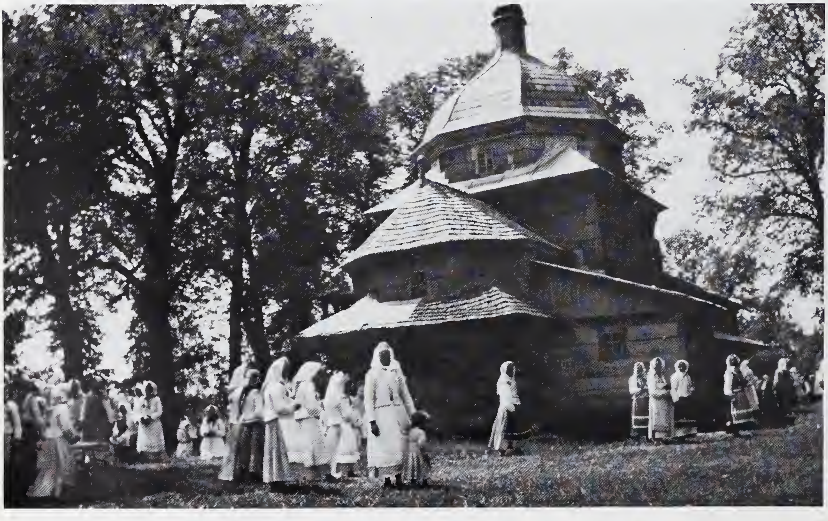
3. Reverend Władysław Zaleski (later Latin-rite Patriarch of Antioch), Roman Sheptyts'kyi (standing), and Jerzy Szembek (later Latin-rite Metropolitan of Mahilëŭ, Belorussia) during Sheptyts'kyi's second visit to Rome. Photographed February 1888. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

4. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as a Basilian novice during a visit to the family home in Prylbychi. Photographed 1889. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

5. Basilian Monastery in Dobromyl' where Andrei Sheptyts'kyi prepared to take his monastic vows. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 65.

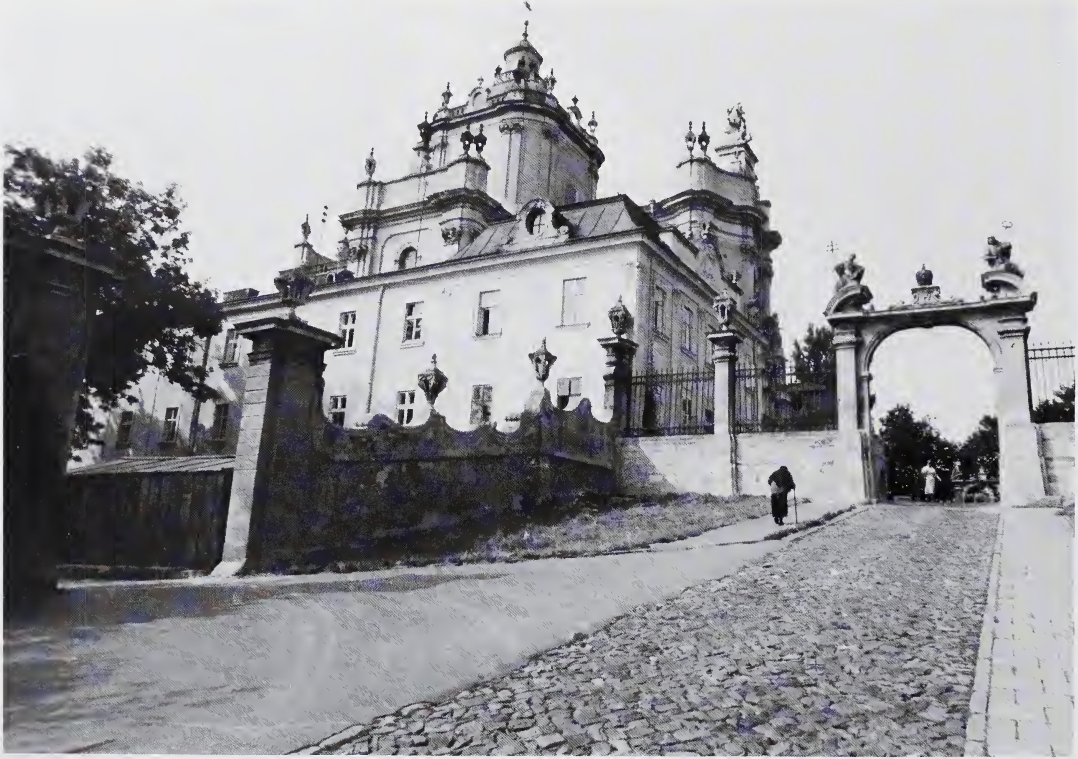


6. The Szeptyckis at a mountain resort in Zakopane in the Polish Carpathians toward the end of Andrei's convalescence (August 1891–May 1892) during a recovery from typhus. Jan (father, seated), Zofia (mother), Kazimierz (seated on the veranda), Andrei. Photographed April 1892. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

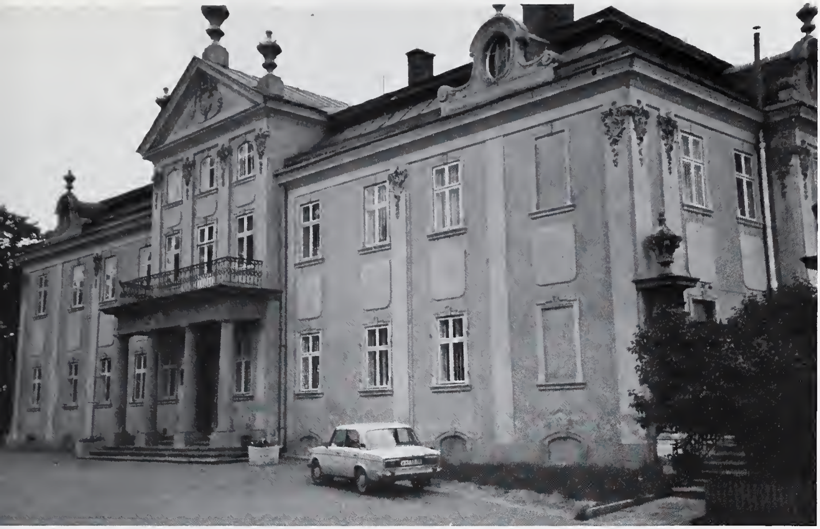


7. Greek Catholic Church in Prylbychi, Sheptyts'kyi's native village where he served his first mass, September 1892. Photographed circa 1925. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

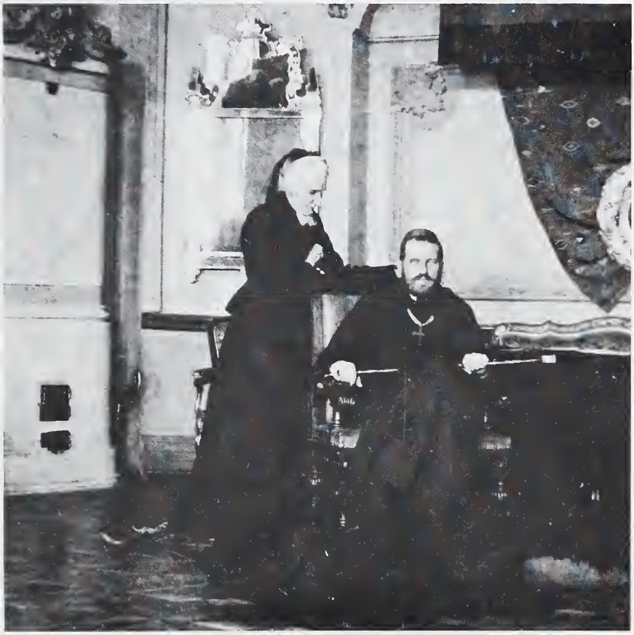
8. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as Bishop of the Eparchy of Stanyslaviv. Photographed 1899. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 72.



9. The entry to St. George's Hill (*Sviatyi Iur*) and the cathedral church of the Greek Catholic Metropolia of L'viv-Halych. Photographed 1984. Courtesy of Andrew Gregorovich, Toronto.



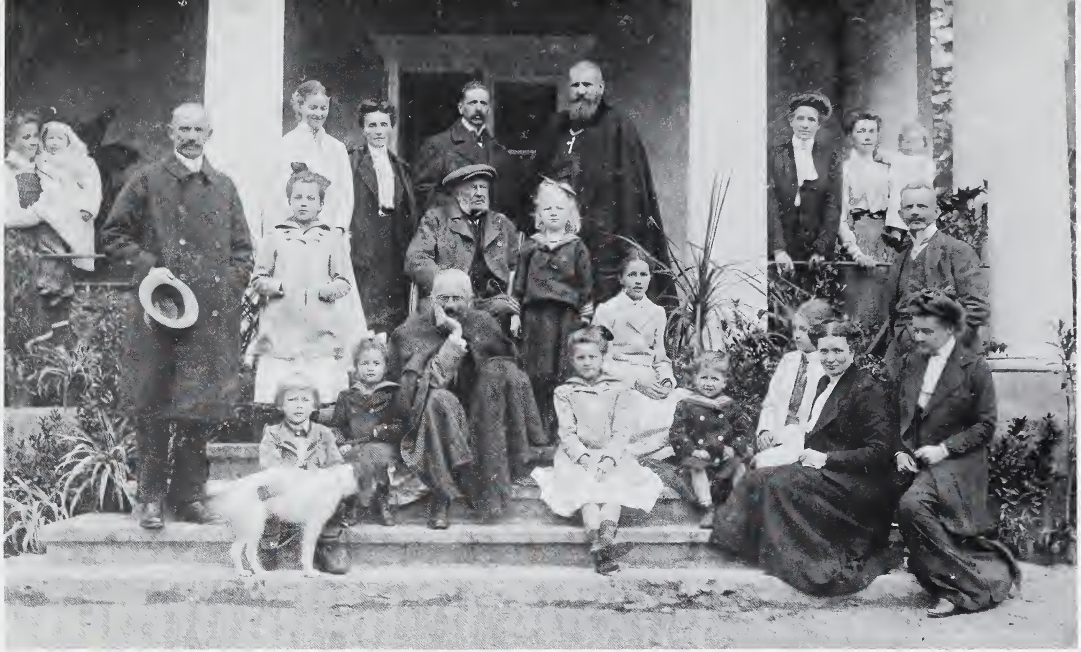
10. Metropolitan's residence on St. George's Hill opposite the cathedral church. Photographed 1988. Courtesy of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto.



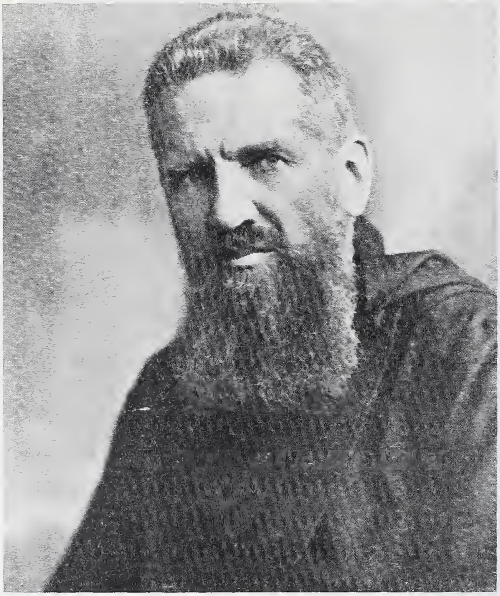
11. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, following a difficult illness, with his mother in the Metropolitan's residence on St. George's Hill in L'viv. Photographed 1903. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

12. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. Photographed 1904. Courtesy of the Reverend Ivan Muzyczka, Rome.

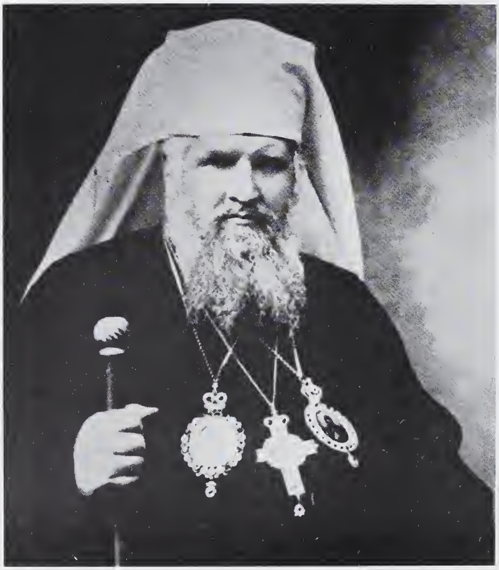
13. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi during a visit to the Holy Land. Photographed 1906. Source: Cyrille Charon [Cyril Korolevsky], *Le Quinzième centenaire de S. Jean Chrysostome* (Rome, 1909), plate opposite p. 306.



14. The Szeptycki clan before the family home in Prylbychi. Standing (from the left): Olga Frydrychowa (nurse) holding Marianna, daughter of Leon Szeptycki; Stanisław Szeptycki; Róża and (behind her) Maria Teresa, daughters of Aleksander Szeptycki; Izabella Sobańska Szeptycka, wife of Aleksander; Aleksander Szeptycki; the Metropolitan; Zofia (standing in front of the Metropolitan), daughter of Leon; Teresa Sanguszko Saphieha (standing to right of the right column); Jadwiga Szembek Szeptycka, wife of Leon (holding their daughter Wanda); and Leon Szeptycki. Seated (from the left): Jan, son of Leon; Katarzyna, daughter of Aleksander; Kazimierz (Klymentii) Szeptycki and (behind him) the father, Jan Kanty Szeptycki; Jadwiga and Teresa, daughters of Aleksander; Jan Kazimierz, son of Aleksander; Zofia Trąmpczyńska. Photographed October 1911. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

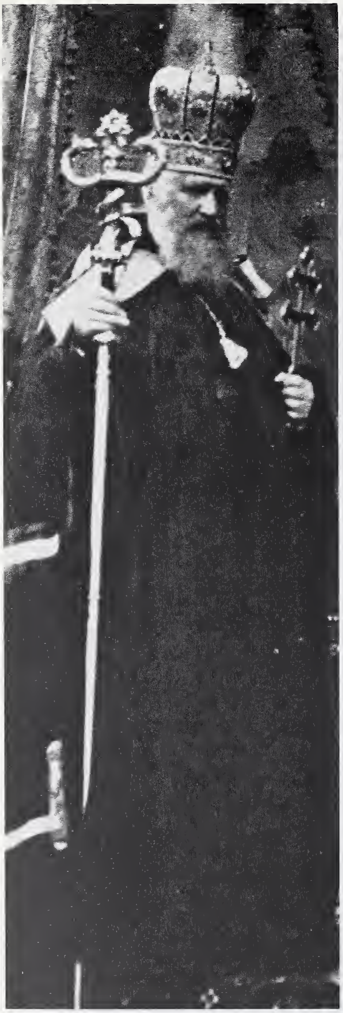


15. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Photographed 1914. Source: Ursula Maria Schuver, *De reus op de Sint-Jorisberg* (Rotterdam, 1959), plate opposite p. 65.

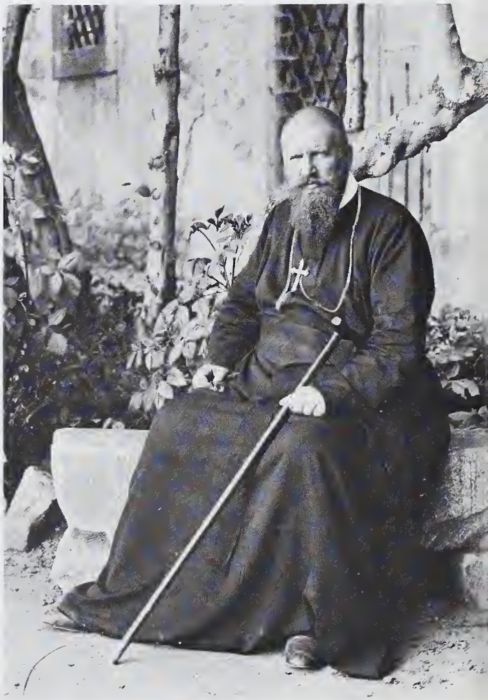


16. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Photographed in Rome, circa 1921. Source: Diakon Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov* (Rome, 1966), plate opposite p. 24.

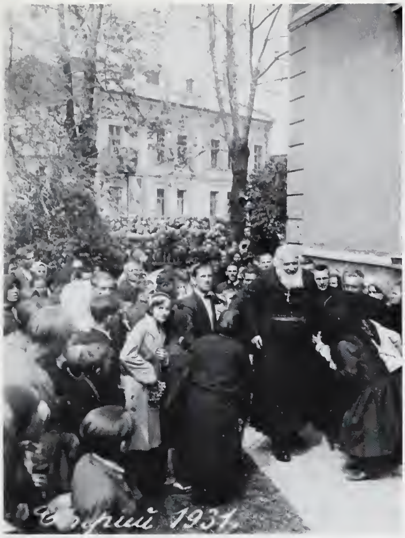
17. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Photographed during the Velehrad Congress in Moravia, 1927. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 134.



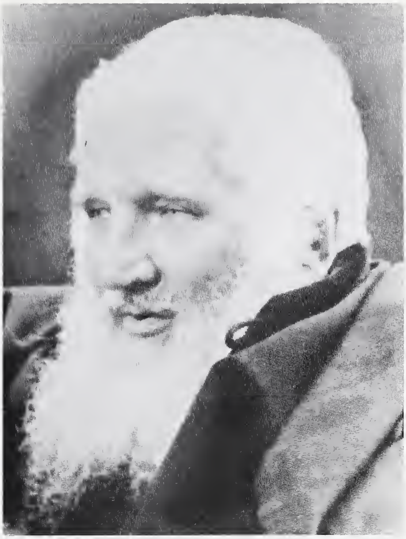
18. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Photographed circa 1928. Source: Ursula Maria Schuver, *De reus op de Sint-Jorisberg* (Rotterdam, 1959), p. 3.



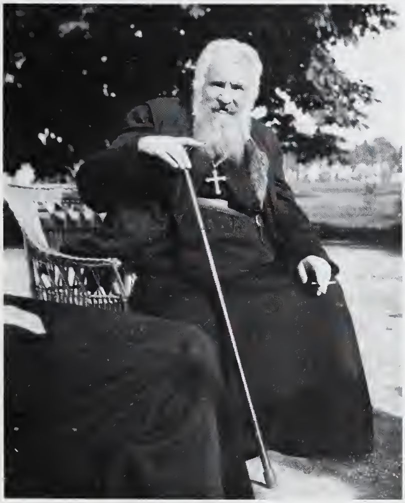
19. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi during a visit to Rome. Photographed circa 1929. Courtesy of Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn, Vincennes, France.



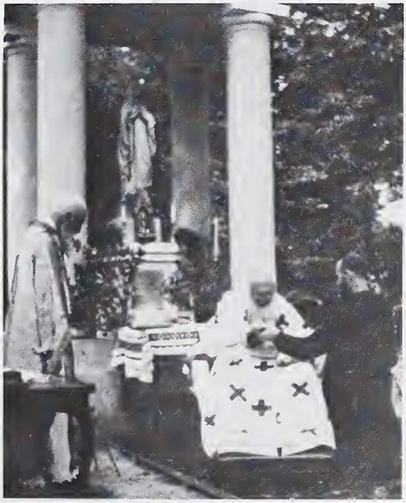
20. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi among the faithful outside the Greek Catholic Church in Stryi. Photographed 1931. Courtesy of Joyce Chyrski.



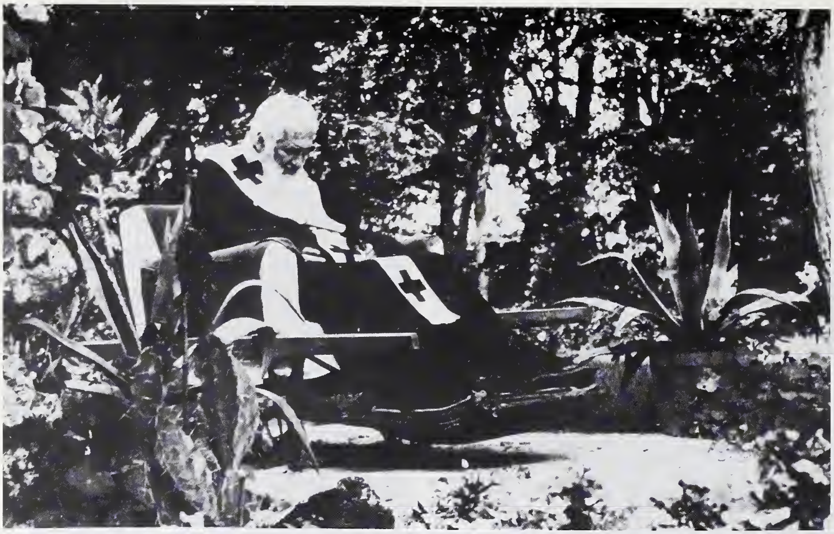
21. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi during a visit to St. Andrew's College, Munich. Photographed 1934. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 202.



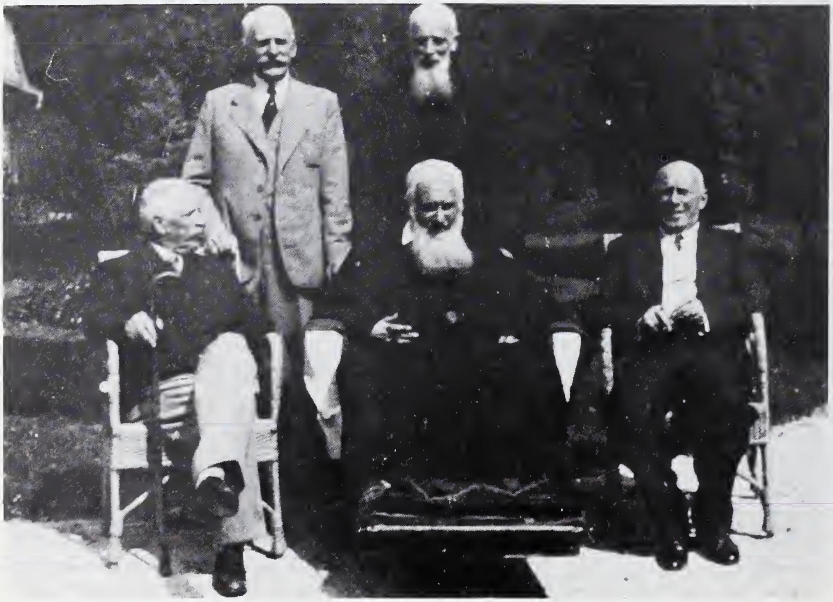
22. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi during a visit to his home at Prylbychi. Photographed 1936. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.



23. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi during mass at a chapel in the ruins of the old family house in Prylbychi. Standing: Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi; kneeling: Brother Atanazy Kolbenko. Photographed 1937. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

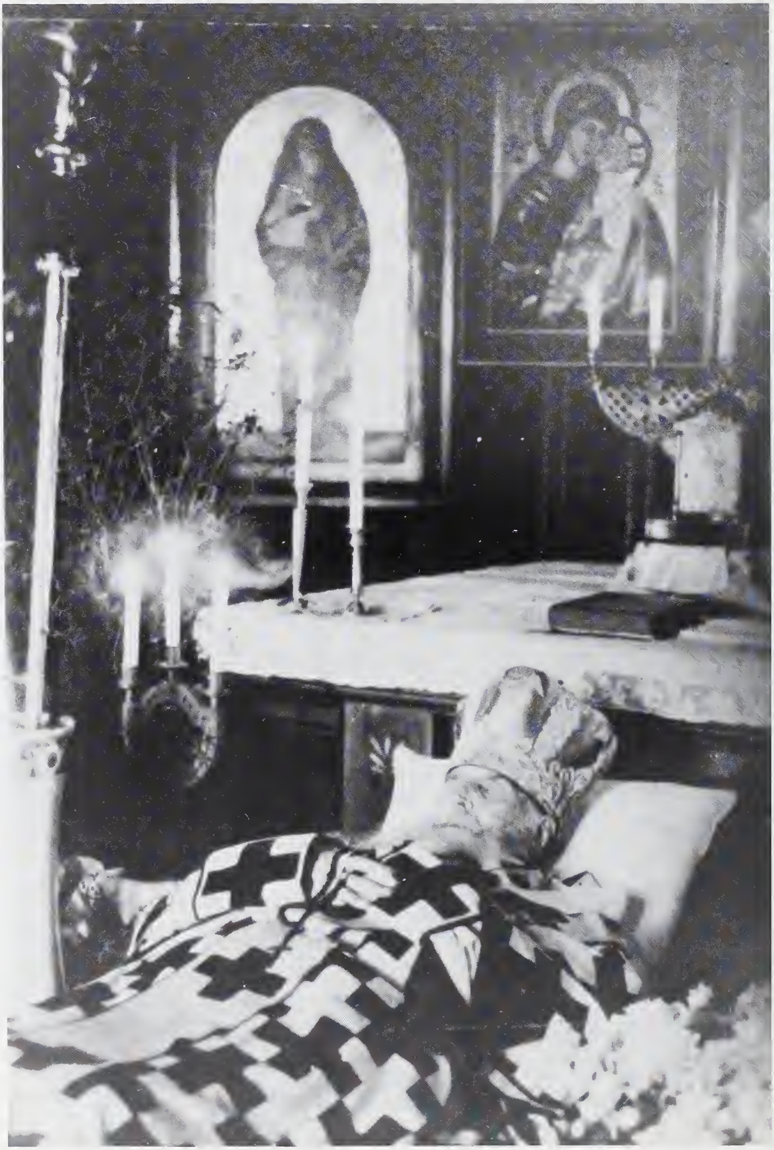


24. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in prayer following mass in his native village of Prylbychi. Photographed 1937. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.



25. Last photograph of Sheptyts'kyi/Szeptycki brothers together at the family home in Prylbychi. Seated: Aleksander, Metropolitan Andrei, and Stanisław. Standing: Leon and Archimandrite Klymentii. Photographed July 1939. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

26. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi in the garden of the metropolitan's residence, St. George's Hill, L'viv. Photographed circa 1943. Source: Diakon Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov* (Rome, 1966), plate opposite p. 688.



27. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi after his death. Photographed November 4, 1944. Courtesy of the Reverend Ivan Muzyczka, Rome.

head of state, Marshal Piłsudski, but was not granted an appointment. The situation was complicated further by the arrests of Ukrainian members of parliament (mainly on 30 October 1930). These arrests were neither a starting nor a finishing point of the pacification action. They were simply another step in a systematically-led campaign against any opposition to Poland's "Sanacja" regime. The situation remained complicated, and although negotiations were postponed until the decision of the "Committee of the Three" (1932), the course of events was pressing both parties to negotiate a settlement and thus avoid putting mutual interests at risk. While the Metropolitan did take part in preliminary talks before the turbulent events of the second half of the 1930s, he did not participate in further negotiations.

Following discussions in conservative circles among the higher clergy and with followers of fellow Greek Catholic Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv (1904-1945), and in the wake of the events of 1930, the pragmatic approach of the conservatives led to an attempt to improve Polish-Ukrainian relations.[29] However, these efforts were not recognized. Although Sheptyts'kyi understood Bishop Khomyshyn's motives, the Metropolitan followed another course which became evident in a communiqué dated 10 October 1930. Among other matters, the communiqué stated:

> Hard times and the gathering black clouds force us to consolidate closer than ever and, relying more than ever on God's truth, to defend in our strong unity the cause we consider most dear and sacred.
>
> We, therefore, call upon all Ukrainian-Catholics and encourage them to organize a Catholic Union based on the following principles:
> (1) We shall loyally abide by and defend Catholic faith and also morality in political life;
>
> . . . .
>
> (4) We shall demand and fight for social justice, for the development of social protection not only for workers but for all working people, most especially for the victims of social injustice;
> (5) With the unity, concord, and discipline of an organized action and on the basis of loyalty to the state of which we are citizens, we shall devote our strength to improve legally all aspects of the national and political life of our nation in order to secure for it better education, culture, welfare, and rights. The general well-being of Ukrainians—in the Christian meaning of the word—is our aim in political life.[30]

In this way, the Metropolitan wanted to insure the social and political development of his own society and to settle relations with Poles, but without recourse to terror or political pressure. Yet by taking such an approach, was it possible that he overestimated his own abilities, or that he lacked political realism, or that he underestimated the activity of the OUN? For it is hard to believe that such a declaration was dictated by anxiety for the future of the moderate UNDO, which, according to rumors, was to be liquidated by Polish authorities. This church dignitary, by then very ill, tried with all his might and with the full force of his authority to oppose (not for the first and, unfortunately, not for the last time) all forms of terror and totalitarian power. He set against them instead the struggle for Christian ideals in Ukrainian thought and in social and political life. However, in that particular epoch and in a country which found itself in a very difficult geographic and political situation, he was bound to encounter various barriers. He was, after all, involved in all the contradictions of his era. For that reason, he tried to provide a national character to religious holidays, which was not to the liking of the Polish public opinion.

While on the one hand, socialists, liberal democrats, some conservatives, and even the Peasant party members understood Sheptyts'kyi and appreciated his endeavors to curb aggressive nationalism, on the other, the nationalistically-disposed Polish clergy, particularly in East Galicia, were very hostile towards him. That is, unfortunately, a common feature of territories inhabited by people of more than one nationality. It is nonetheless also true that more outstanding members of the clergy, not blinded by the national issue, appreciated the Metropolitan as much as he appreciated them. Sheptyts'kyi had no national bias, not only because that would have put him in conflict with his own family and threatened their mutual respect and understanding, but mostly because it would contradict his own deep faith. It was that same faith that led him to take part in the Eucharistic Congress in Poznań and, despite his advanced rheumatism and great pain, to walk on crutches in the great procession there in June 1930. Great dedication to the common faith, full of sacrifice and mutual friendship, also prompted him to record his recollections of Brother Albert.[31] For these same reasons, Sheptyts'kyi later helped Poles during World War II.

In the end, all the efforts of the Metropolitan were in vain because of the accumulating difficulties mentioned above. In the first half of the 1930s, the OUN undertook armed actions not only against Polish authorities of different rank but also against Ukrainians who were openly against involving school children in armed diversion. Once again, Sheptyts'kyi came out with words full of warning and condemnation. Again the Polish authorities struck back, this time hitting directly at the national executive of OUN whose activists were destroyed. The whole leadership of the youth group, later referred to as Banderites, was imprisoned.

After the death of Marshal Piłsudski, his political camp underwent considerable reorganization and gradually shifted towards the nationally-radical right. By 1936-1937, W. Sławek and a group of Piłsudski's closest associates had to withdraw, and all persons, who on the late marshal's orders were responsible for Polish policy in the eastern borderlands, either resigned or by the beginning of 1938 were made to withdraw. They were replaced by supporters of Marshal E. Rydz-Śmigły and the minister for military affairs, General T. Kasprzycki. Because of the internal political situation which meant that Rydz-Śmigły could now only count on the support of the radically-nationalistic elements in the country, the problem of state security in the difficult international situation, as well as personal views near to or identical with Polish nationalism (which Kasprzycki had never revealed to Piłsudski), the government assumed an attitude, as it was phrased, of strengthening the Polish character in the East. This meant that towards Ukrainians the government adopted a policy of modified Polish nationalism which included state and national assimilation.

Piłsudski had always assumed the superiority of Polish culture over Ukrainian and a higher national consciousness among Poles. Relying on such assumptions, and on the transition of elements of culture, he had hoped to win over for the state the majority of the Ukrainian population living in Poland. This was to be achieved through a long-lasting (as in the pre-partition Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) almost natural process, which would eventually lead to national assimilation.[32] On the other hand, the new decision makers, pressed from within and without, not only tried to accelerate the assimilative process, they also deformed it to such an extent that it simply became another reason for the failure of Polish state policy, thereby causing great harm to the country as a whole. In effect, the gap in Polish-Ukrainian relations became much wider.

During the first few years of the new government, the organizational changes did not suggest any radical shift in national policy. This was the period of so-called normalization and seemingly good relations were maintained, but on 23 November 1935 a Coordinating Secretariat of Polish Social Organizations was established in Ukrainian-inhabited Eastern Little Poland. This body's first conference was attended by brigadier-general Głuchowski and by all commanders of corps areas (from Przemyśl, L'viv, and Lublin), which proved that this action was being carried out under military patronage. A notice from the conference stated that "war security conditions were discussed," and the summary of the conference stated that military security could not be achieved by political means, that Polish possessions of all kinds should be extended, and that the "ideological depression" of Polish society should be halted and a cultural and economic program put in place to create conditions for the growth of Polish power.[33]

In conjunction with these moves, a governmental program for the gradual introduction of a new eastern policy was being worked out. In 1937, plans for parcelling land were ready which were to be carried out in 1938. The burden of the reform was to be on the western, not eastern provinces. The introduction of the governmental program, officially represented by the Coordinating Secretariat of Polish Social Organizations (although in practice by the military subordinates of Rydz-Śmigły and Kasprzycki), then began on a larger scale. A coordinating committee under the ministry of military affairs and several territorial committees under corps headquarters were formed.

They were to coordinate the activities of different organizations, such as the Union of Gentry.

Among these activities, the committees launched an intensive propaganda campaign for the conversion of the Orthodox to the Roman Catholic rite. With the help of armed forces, they closed down or expropriated deserted or old Orthodox churches and any other churches that were said to have belonged to the Greek or Roman Catholics. Moreover, Ukrainians were deprived of state jobs or removed from territories said to be of strategic importance. Volhynia and the Chełm region, in particular, became the main targets of attacks. Prime Minister J. Jędrzejewicz later wrote about these developments:

> Time went by, external and internal dangers accumulated, and 'Poland' waited for the full presidential term of office to expire and for the next one to begin; in the meantime, it was frightening Jews, burning down Orthodox churches, and trying to reclaim by force Catholic souls led astray by schismatics, and to bring them to the paths of redemption, which were to lead the peasants back to the forsaken faith of their forefathers . . . [34]

Jędrzejewicz's sarcasm was quite justified. Analogously, H. Józewski, who under these circumstances was compelled to leave Volhynia, in his last memorial accused Rydz-Śmigły and the army of following a policy which was contrary to the principles laid down by Marshal Piłsudski.

Such activity by the Polish authorities only prompted further national consolidation of Ukrainians in Poland, including protests on the part of activists within churches and the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation. To a certain extent, Sheptyts'kyi became a victim of these developments, so he was the one who protested most vigorously. For instance, during a budget committee session in the Polish parliament (5 February 1938), a parliamentary reporter, Dr. B. Wojciechowski, accused Sheptyts'kyi of anti-Polish activity. In response, Adolf Bocheński published an article in *Polityka*, and a plenary debate on the matter followed in parliament. Although Bocheński represented only a small portion of public opinion, his views were shared by socialists, democratic liberals, and partly by Piłsudski's followers, particularly when he said that Wojciechowski and the government he was representing "has no idea about the very fundamental political elements of Ukrainian society if he [Wojciechowski] imputes anti-Polish activity to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. . . . St. George's Cathedral is the very center of anti-terrorism, and that is most beneficial for Polish state propaganda."[35] Bocheński, like the vast part of Polish society, was aware of the Metropolitan's authority among Ukrainians, which led him to suggest that "Sheptyts'kyi is the mainstay of the cultural and western European legal [orientation in] Ukrainian nationalism." Therefore, he called Wojciechowski's speech "a monument to the lack of political culture."[36]

Sheptyts'kyi criticized the Polish government's overemphasis on security concerns in its eastern borderlands and the Lublin district. In a pastoral letter of 20 July 1938, he focused instead on other issues as the cause of difficulties in the region. Although not all of his views can be considered correct, they are nonetheless of great interest. According to Sheptyts'kyi:

> The developments in the Chełm region destroy in the souls of our non-united Orthodox brothers the very thought of any possibility for reunion, and they present the Universal Church as hostile and dangerous to the Orthodox people. In the eyes of several million of people of Poland, the Apostolic See is being presented as the source of destructive work. A new abyss has been created between the Eastern Church and the Universal Church. . . .
>
> Who, therefore, in a Catholic state, while under the eyes of several Catholic bishops and a nuncio representing the Apostolic See, has the audacity to deal such a cruel blow to the Universal Church? Who, there fore, has the audacity to oppose the interests of the state, trampling Marshal Jozef Piłsudski's legacy, and committing this unprecedented act?[37]

The Metropolitan believed all this was the doing of the church's enemies, and in particular he suspected the freemasons. In this, he was completely wrong. The pastoral letter was finally confiscated, but not before it had reached many addresses.

If Sheptyts'kyi was right that security matters were not of primary importance within Poland's eastern regions, it nonetheless must be admitted that state security was being endangered by the growing tension in Europe. The destruction of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis followed by Germany's occupation of that country raised the problem to serious proportions. Moreover, the new common Polish-Hungarian border in Subcarpathian Rus' (Carpatho-Ukraine) was of little help when attempts to establish an independent Carpatho-Ukrainian state were suppressed. The Metropolitan favored an independent Carpatho-Ukraine, but Poland backed Hungary's desire to acquire the region and thereby to prevent the basis for a Ukrainian Piedmont. The conflict of interests was obvious.

The biggest blow came to those Ukrainian nationalists who had hoped to advance their interests with the help of the Third Reich. In August 1939, Germany signed a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union, and in the face of a call to action by the OUN, Sheptyts'kyi advised the Ukrainian people to remain calm even in very difficult conditions. The attempts of the underground to "usurp the leadership of the nation" were referred to in a resolution of the People's Committee of UNDO as "an instance of anarchy and behavior reminiscent of the Ukrainian revolutionary era [*otamanshchyna*]."[38] This open declaration of UNDO and the Metropolitan (for UNDO obviously consulted with him) against any agitation that tried to take advantage of the external danger to Poland was also motivated by Galician Ukrainian fear of Soviet intervention. The Metropolitan recommended active neutrality towards Poland, thereby paralyzing the OUN's plans for an insurrection. Even though the OUN executive did call for an insurrection, that decision did not reach all concerned, hence the underground behaved differently during the war. UNDO, on the other hand, stated that Ukrainians would fulfil their duty towards the Polish state.

As the events of September 1939 and the destruction of Poland were a tragedy for the Polish people, so too did they affect Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. First of all, his health noticeably deteriorated. He could not leave a special wheelchair because he suffered from advanced rheumatism and he was thus forced to rely completely on the information of outsiders. All this had an impact on the Metropolitan and his activity. Yet, in spite of everything, he remained staunchly opposed to terrorism of any kind, while at the same time he rendered help to those who were in need of it.

He tried to mitigate the differences between Ukrainians and Poles on the territories of former Poland, by suggesting that talks between the two parties could be held in the underground. He also helped to initiate such talks. For instance, a representative of the Union for Armed Struggle (Związek Walki Zbrojnej—ZWZ), Władysława Piechowska, met with the Metropolitan twice, first in April and then again in June or July 1940.[39] Piechowska reported that the meetings lasted several hours and were held in a friendly and very civilized atmosphere. Their aim was to discuss means of suppressing the hostile attitudes between Ukrainians and Poles. The point was to make the Greek Catholic clergy exert its influence on the nationalists and to stop denunciations to the ruling Soviet authorities which caused numerous arrests of Poles. On the other hand, the Poles were to influence Catholic priests and their own organizations in order to mitigate anti-Ukrainian feelings. Sheptyts'kyi deplored the fact that before the war nobody had really wanted to mediate. He argued that Polish governmental circles had showed no understanding for a real normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations. The Metropolitan admitted he was helping some Polish priests. Also, he did not make any definite demands upon the Poles.[40]

Sheptyts'kyi continued contacts with the Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa) during World War II, and General S. Grot-Rowecki notified the Polish government-in-exile in London about these relations. With regard to the eastern borderlands of prewar Poland, both the government-in-exile and the Polish underground accepted the concept of the *status quo ante bellum*, which made it necessary to win over the Ukrainians. The solution to this problem, however, depended on Soviet views and on Moscow's attitude toward Poland's prewar eastern lands. In fact, the Soviet Union after 1941 became more negative towards Polish goals, and the other allies were also beginning to show reluctance to defend the old Polish-Soviet border established in 1920 at the Treaty of Riga.

Finally, the self-determination of Ukrainians in this matter could no longer be ignored. Neither Ukrainian nationalists nor national-democrats knew the Allied plans; they were simply making certain assumptions. Hence, after 1942 the problem of reaching a possible agreement with the Polish underground emerged. The Poles hoped that Ukrainian nationalists would change their attitude as soon as they understood that Germany would lose the war and that the Red Army would reach as far as the Third Reich. They also hoped Ukrainians would be inclined to remain within Polish borders. The Poles simply ignored the fact that Ukrainians were not only striving for independence (from the Soviet Union) but also for unification (*sobornost'*).

Faced with such conflicting political goals, only Sheptyts'kyi and a group of his most devoted followers insisted on calling for a Polish-Ukrainian commission to work out the legal status of the territories with a nationally-mixed population. Even in 1942 the Metropolitan took into account the possibility of a Soviet victory, and he was aware of the very slim chances for Ukrainian independence. The Ukrainian nationalists came to this conclusion only at the end of 1943. Nevertheless, this did not exclude further attempts to call world attention to the Ukrainian view on the territories of prewar Poland.

Was Sheptyts'kyi inclined to give up on the idea of Ukrainian unification? We can only guess, but we do know that the Polish-Ukrainian talks were initiated by Ukrainians at the request of the Metropolitan. Accounts and reports indicate that he was being informed about the progress of the talks. For instance, Greek Catholic priests helped in the organization of the meetings and they acted as "contact points" and mediators between Poles and Ukrainians.[41]

In the end, however, the most important part of the Metropolitan's activity concerned the protection of people, opposition to terrorism in the political struggle, and opposition to Nazi ways of behavior and to the participation of Ukrainians in the inhuman actions organized by Nazi police and security forces. Although his pastorals were in defence of human life in general, they first of all referred to Jews and Poles as well as to Orthodox Ukrainians and Communists.

In Poland, the best known of all Sheptyts'kyi's pastorals was the one concerning the Wehrmacht's entrance into L'viv. On the other hand, few knew about other pastorals in which he opposed and condemned political and racial crimes. Whereas the political reports of the Union for Armed Struggle (ZWZ) and later the Home Army (AK) noted with approval all the pastorals, the underground press only mentioned them in short notices. Based on reports of the Polish government-in-exile as well as of the Home Army, the underground was in possession of the texts of the pastorals, although I have never seen any publication of these. To my knowledge, the only exception is the pastoral letter of 14 August 1943, which was printed in full in *Prawda*, the underground organ of the Catholic Front for Rebirth of Poland.[42]

A number of people from the underground, in particular from the central leadership and Region III, were familiar with such pastorals, including the one of 27 March 1942; "Thou Shalt not Kill" of November 1942; a pastoral on killing of priests (date unknown, perhaps 1943 or 1944); and one of 1944 with a dramatic appeal to stop the fighting. Perhaps the word "dramatic" should not be limited only to the last pastoral, because all of them were dramatic in tone. Throughout, the Metropolitan appealed for self-control and reason. He threatened offenders with ecclesiastical penalties and excommunication. Moreover, he did not restrict himself to anathema, but also demanded that people avoid the company of murderers. The notion of anathema was obviously meant to be frightening. People were to proceed in such way as to make all those who could be threatened with excommunication leave the evil path of participation or cooperation in crime. He appealed to all priests to "intensify their preaching of love of one's neighbor and to launch a decisive fight against transgressing the fifth commandment. . . . Those who believe that political murder is not a sin are oddly misleading themselves and others."[43]

Of course, the Metropolitan was too intelligent and astute an observer not to see the factors which were releasing the most vicious instincts of humanity. On that account, Sheptyts'kyi wrote to the pope:

> All this is a very insufficient counterweight in the face of unprecedented demoralization to which simple and weak people surrender. They learn how to steal and how to commit murder; they lose the sense of justice and human dignity. In my pastoral letters . . . I protested against genocide. I declared murder was subject to excommunication within the competence of the Ordinary. I voiced my protest in a letter to Himmler and I warned young people against joining the militia where they were likely to become demoralized.
>
> But all this is nothing in comparison with the growing wave of moral filth which is overflowing our country. We all expect that terror will grow further and finally turn against Ukrainian and Polish Christianity with greater force. The slaughterers have become accustomed to the sight of blood; and they are thirsting for blood. . . . We foresee the whole country being drowned in torrents of innocent blood.[44]

Here the Metropolitan was right. He perhaps only underestimated the ability of the Nazis to alienate completely the already hostile Ukrainian and Polish people. He was completely right when he said that the example set by the criminal Nazis would spread like an epidemic. That is why he continued to protest. Moreover, it is not true that he did so on condition that similar protests would be made by Polish priests. He might have, at the very least, recommended similar conduct in the name of common Christian or humanitarian principles. After all, crimes were committed on both sides, no matter who initiated them.

The Metropolitan was aware of the fact that he could not stop a civil war:

"On murder I have written two pastorals and a decree for the Synod, but I do not have the impression that these pastorals and resolutions, and decrees or laws, have changed anything."[45] A relative of his, Sister Krysta, wrote that in 1942-1943 the Metropolitan was very ill and isolated, and she maintained that "his associates were keeping secret the facts about crimes."[46] This is quite possible. Maybe they were afraid such news would kill him, even though in the summer of 1944 there seemed for a time to be some improvement in his health.

However, there is a fundamental and important question to ask. Why did the Metropolitan not command obedience from larger numbers of Ukrainians? While the answer to this question is still open to debate, I would suggest that the Ukrainian national underground had developed in a war-like atmosphere during the interwar years and it was still engaged in a fierce struggle during World War II. Any process of reorientation was bound to be very slow. Moreover, the underground was reluctant to give up fighting because of its unrealistic interpretation of international conditions. It was very difficult, even for many priests, to appeal successfully to such nationalistically-enthusiastic hearts and minds. The priest, after all, came from the same peasant stock and constituted the mainstay of the national and often nationalistic movement which had grown out of social and national injustices towards Ukrainians. They believed that with its armed might the Third Reich would sooner or later have to take into consideration Ukrainian demands. They also thought that it, for the common good, would eventually have to renounce its otherwise rapacious policy towards Ukraine. Armed with such expectations, the pent-up frenzy of hatred among Ukrainians brought in its wake the need for revenge. The Metropolitan tried to warn them against this feeling of revenge, but the actual experience of a frightful, criminal, and total war proved to be stronger.

However strange it may appear, there is the issue of the Metropolitan's ostensible approval of the formation of the SS Division Galizien and of other statements which suggest he advocated the formation of Ukrainian units in the German Army as a starting point for Ukrainian armed forces.[47] In light of a previously mentioned letter to the pope, this seems highly improbable. However, how does one explain the presence of chaplains in these units or the participation of high-ranking priests in various German-Ukrainian celebrations, which were attended by members of the Division Galizien or of other units? These are matters which historians still need to examine.

Another question concerns the Metropolitan's attitude towards the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Future access to documents may help clarify many problems, but for the time being it is certain that Sheptyts'kyi was against the participation of Ukrainians in groups used for criminal purposes. It should also be said that although the Metropolitan was an outstanding personality appreciated by many Poles, he might have committed mistakes, for he was only a man.

Moreover, this great priest was a very sick man. The events of World War

II dealt a final blow to a body worn away by rheumatism. When the Metropolitan died on 1 November 1944, his funeral was attended by Polish priests, even those who disagreed with him during his lifetime. They came to pay homage to an outstanding Son of the Church.

Notes

1. The daughter of the editor of the Cracow newspaper *Czas* wrote those words some years later. Elżbieta Dębicka, "Sprawa ruska," typescript of memoirs in the Szeptycki Family Archive of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Warsaw.
2. Ibid. It is also worth noting that the relationship between the Polish monk Albert and the Metropolitan was deeply rooted and based on Christian mysticism. It was such a relationship that prompted Sheptyts'kyi to publish memoirs in the 1930s about Brother Albert that stressed his human qualities.
3. *Do Polaków obrządku grecko-katolickiego* (Zhovkva, 1904), pp. 3-4.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
6. Ibid., p. 7.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., pp. 7-8
9. Ibid., p. 23.
10. *Przegląd* (L'viv), no. 97, 26 April 1908, based on a typescript in the Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.
11. The Union of Polish Youth (popularly known by the Polish acronym *Zetowcy*) were at the time close to Marshal Piłsudski. Generally speaking, they expected the incorporation of large tracts of eastern territory, whose Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian inhabitants they hoped to win over to work for the benefit of the state. This meant they were concerned with implementing state and not national assimilation. They were not discouraged by the possibility of having to fight for these lands, because such a cause was being idealized. Ostensibly, the *Zetowcy* thought that commonly shed blood would unite these various national groups in the eastern borderlands in the name of a supreme, common cause.
12. Cited in the memoirs about Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi by Sister Krysta (née Zofia) Szembek, typescript, pp. 20-1, in the Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw, hereinafter cited as the Sister Krysta Szembek memoirs.
13. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
14. Ibid., p. 37.
15. I was unable to make use of information included in documents sent through diplomatic channels in foreign archives. Those that I have used are one-sided (Polish), although some of them are worthy of consideration.
16. Archiwum Akt Nowych, Zespół Ambasady Polskiej w Londynie (hereinafter AAN/ZAP-L), classification no. 855, especially p. 37, a letter from the Polish Legation to the Apostolic See (27.XII.1920); pp. 47-51, a letter from the Polish Legation to the Apostolic See (17.III.1921); pp. 52-3, a letter from the Polish Legation to the Apostolic See (17.IV.1921); and p. 75, a letter from the Polish Legation to the Apostolic See (3.VII.1921).
17. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 855, p. 39, report of Dr. Bolesław Poray-Madeyski, a Polish army major on a semiofficial mission for the Foreign Propaganda Office at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. Pages 86-95 of this report provide further

information and comments on the subject.

18. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 855, pp. 159-63, report of the Polish Legation at the Quirinal (6.II.1923).
19. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 855, pp. 60-5, a letter from the legate of the Polish Republic to the Apostolic See (9.VI.1921). The comments in part three that deal with Madeyski's activity are not quite right.
20. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 855, p. 75, a letter from the Polish Legation at the Apostolic See (3.VII.1921). The preparatory activities and unofficial talks in Rome with Sheptyts'kyi were joined by Dr. Bolesław Madeyski (see above note 17).
21. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 879, a letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (19.V.1921); a letter from the Presidium of the State Police Directorship in L'viv to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (14.VI.1921).
22. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 903, a letter from the Consul of the Polish Republic in Winnipeg (8.IX.1921); and classification no. 855, p. 108, a letter from the Polish Legation in Washington (23.II.1922).
23. AAN/ZAP-L, classification no. 855, p. 15, report of the Polish Legation at the Quirinal (6.II.1923).
24. For further details, see Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939* (Wrocław, 1979); Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek, *Sprawa ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1922-1926* (Cracow, 1979); and Ryszard Torzecki, "Sprawa ukraińska w Polsce w latach 1923-1929)" (unpublished habilitation thesis, Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute, 1983).
25. There is a difference of opinion on the precise duration of the Metropolitan's internment in Poznań (see chapter 3). In any case, this incident was but the last phase of a three-year odyssey which in its entirety deserves closer study than it has yet received.
26. The Neo-Union action was a Roman Catholic initiative aimed at catholicizing Russia. To that end, it attempted to establish in eastern Poland a Russian Catholic Church which could later be extended to Russia proper. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi expressed some of his views on the Neo-Union and on the appointment of Bishop Mykola Charnets'kyi as apostolic visitor in his 1931 pastoral, "Pro obriadovi spravy," which has been reprinted in Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory moral'no-pastoral'ni*, Pratsi Hreko-katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï, vol. XLVIII (Rome, 1983), pp. 97–103.
27. *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskej* (Warsaw, 1925), no. 72, item 501; and the essays by H. Wyczawski in Bolesław Kumor and Zdzisław Obertyński, eds., *Historia kościoła w Polsce*, vol. II, pt. 2 (Poznań and Warsaw, 1979), pp. 15-18, 85-7.
28. Despite confiscation, some periodicals in Galicia were able to print portions of the censored text: cf. *Nyva*, XXV, 10 (L'viv, 1930), pp. 365-7. The entire text was printed abroad: *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*, no. 48 (Salzburg, 1930).
29. See, for example, the pastoral letter of Bishop Khomyshyn, *Pastyrs'kyi lyst do liudyi dobroï voli: pro politychne polozhenie ukraïns'koho narodu vo pol'skii derzhavi* (Stanyslaviv, 1931).
30. Of the other items, two and three dealt with the authority of the Greek Catholic Church in matters of faith, morality, and with what was called "fundamental work," that is, family upbringing. Item six, the last one in the communiqué, granted future members of the Ukrainian Catholic Union full liberty in political matters on the condition that it would not violate the organization's principles. This communiqué was issued 22 October 1930 and is based on a note recorded at the end of 1930 by Sister Krysta Szembek in her memoirs.
31. I hold a facsimile of a pamphlet in Polish (which also appeared in Ukrainian) by Sheptyts'kyi, *Ze wspomnień o Bracie Albercie* (Cracow, 1934), which was published by the Jesuits. The spiritual ties and close friendly relations of Brother Albert Chmielewski with the Metropolitan are also discussed by Elżbieta Dębicka and Sister

Krysta Szembek (see above, notes 1 and 12). The pamphlet itself clearly shows the spiritual relationship of these two churchmen.

32. This problem is discussed in Torzecki, "Sprawa ukraińska." See also Czesław Madajczyk, ed., "Dokumenty w sprawie polityki narodowościowej władz polskich po przewrocie majowym," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, IV, 3 (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 137-69, although it was incorrectly reported that the guiding principles discussed there were not approved.
33. AAN, documents of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, collective files 64-17, pp. 46-60. These documents deal with the Coordinating Secretariat of Polish Social Organizations in Eastern Little Poland. The Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe, file 3 D.P., folder I, 313.3/2, deals with the actions of the Coordinating Committee in the years 1937-1938.
34. Janusz Jędrzejewicz, *W służbie idei* (London, 1972), pp. 252-3. H. Józewski criticized this policy in April-May 1938. This problem is dealt with in more detail in Torzecki, "Sprawa ukraińska."
35. Adolf Bocheński, "Sejm contra Szeptycki," *Polityka*, IX, 3 (Warsaw, 1938). I consider the title of this article unfortunate, because only some members of parliament shared the opinions of the reporter Wojciechowski. This is evident in a speech by a member of parliament, Wanda Pełczyńska, who pointed to the improper policy of the government towards Ukrainians.
36. Ibid. The epilogue to this affair is found in the February plenary debate of the Polish parliament.
37. From the full text of the pastoral letter, given as document IV in Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944* (Rome, 1964), pp. 412-14.
38. The resolution of the UNDO National Committee (24.VIII.1939) was published in *Nova zoria* (L'viv), no. 66, 31 August 1939, p. 6. The Metropolitan is not mentioned as the co-author of the resolution, although there are 110 names of the most prominent activists in East Galicia, including many who were close associates of the Metropolitan. The resolution was probably published also in *Dilo*.
39. Just after the outbreak of the war, in October 1939, an underground military organization called the Polish Victory Service (Służba Zwycięstwu Polski) appeared on the territory of the Polish state. From January 1940 until February 1942, this organization assumed the name Union for Armed Struggle (Związek Walki Zbrojnej). Finally, on 14 February 1942, it was reorganized and acted thereafter under the name Home Army (Armia Krajowa). During the merging process the Home Army absorbed a considerable number of independent military organizations.
40. An authorized report of an oral account by Władysława Piechowska to the author on 28 April 1972.
41. These were the so-called official, not private talks, for example, with Vasyl' Mudryi or Volodymyr Kubiiovych. Ryszard Torzecki, "Kontakty polsko-ukraińske na tle problemu ukraińskiego w polityce polskiego rządu emigracyjnego i podziemia (1939-1944)," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XIII, 1-2 (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 330-4. Cf. *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach, 1939-1945*, vol. II (London, 1973), document 399, p. 474.
42. *Prawda* (Warsaw), August-September 1943, pp. 22-4.
43. Cited from the pastoral letter, "Thou Shalt Not Kill" (*Ne ubyi*), *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LV, 11 (L'viv, 1942), p. 179.
44. *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les pays baltes*, pt. 2: *1942-1945*, Actes et documents relatifs à la Seconde guerre mondiale, vol. III (Vatican City, 1967), doc. 406 (with facsimile), pp. 625-9.
45. Cited in the memoirs of Sister Krysta Szembek, p. 69.
46. Ibid., p. 71.
47. *L'vivs'ki visti*, 9 August 1943.

Sheptyts'kyi During World War II

Chapter 5

Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church Under the Soviet Occupation of 1939-1941

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw

When the Soviets occupied western Ukrainian lands in September 1939, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Galicia comprised the archeparchy of L'viv and the suffragan sees of Stanyslaviv and Przemyśl (Peremyshl'). In the territories occupied by the Red Army, there were, according to official sources (1938), approximately 2,190 parishes with about the same number of priests serving some 3.5 million faithful. The three eparchies maintained a theological academy and three theological seminaries with 475 students. There were also 29 monasteries with 141 regular clergy and 307 brothers, and 120 convents with 824 nuns.[1]

The demarcation line along the San River that the German and Soviet occupation powers agreed upon left several hundred thousand Ukrainians in the so-called Generalgouvernement set up by the Nazis in central Poland. This included the entire Greek Catholic Apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region, which before the war embraced 129 parishes (with 198 churches), 128 priests, and some 128,000 faithful,[2] as well as that part of the Przemyśl eparchy west of the San River which, by December 1939, comprised 136 parishes, 161 priests, and 216,910 faithful.[3]

In the Soviet-ruled area east of the San, initial concessions to national sentiments, particularly in such areas as education, scholarship, culture, and fine arts, gave rise, among sections of the Ukrainian population, to some illusions about the intentions and the future political course of the occupation authorities. No false hopes were nursed, however, by the hierarchy and clergy of the Greek Catholic Church, which now found itself to be virtually the only major surviving national institution in Galicia after other Ukrainian structures and organizations were dissolved or absorbed into the Soviet institutional framework. Outspokenly anti-communist in the past and closely identified with Ukrainian national aspirations, the Greek Catholic Church was perceived by communist rulers as a formidable obstacle to the sovietization of Galicia and the last major bastion of Ukrainian nationalist resistance.

The Soviet press left no doubt about its official evaluation of the political and social role of the Greek Catholic Church. Symptomatic of the regime's attitude was a sweeping indictment which appeared in the Kiev Communist party daily, *Komunist*, on 9 October 1939:

> During the entire history of the Uniate Church right down to our times, the Uniate clergy... assisted in the realization of a policy of brutal exploitation and inhuman national oppression of the people of western Ukraine. The Uniate metropolitan, the bishop, the priest, [and] the monk were faithful servants of the counter-revolution, were traitors to the interests of the people, and were its enemies. . . . [4]

However grotesque these charges, which were echoed in other Soviet periodicals,[5] they were apparently designed to intimidate the clergy and to undermine its lay support. Yet, mindful of the immense popularity the church's primate, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, enjoyed among western Ukrainians and careful not to enrage the masses of Greek Catholic believers at this time, Soviet authorities were prudent enough not to initiate a frontal attack upon the church. Nor were they in any hurry to apply to the occupied territories some of the most crippling provisions of Soviet legislation on religious cults, such as the prohibition of private religious instruction of minors, nationalization of church buildings and their contents, or licencing (registration) of congregations and the clergy.[6] Nevertheless, they did proceed at once to deprive the church of its means for societal influence and material subsistence.

Immediately upon the Soviet arrival in East Galicia, communist officials took over all mass media, including the publication and printing facilities of the Greek Catholic Church. This led to the demise of twenty Greek Catholic newspapers, journals, and other serial publications.[7] Religious literature was removed from bookstores and from public and school libraries, and generally was destroyed.[8] The nationalization of all educational institutions deprived the church and monastic orders of their network of private *gymnasia*, teachers' seminaries, trade schools, public schools, boarding and foster homes, kindergartens, nurseries, and shelters.[9] The seizure by the authorities of the buildings housing the Theological Academy and major and minor seminaries at L'viv, Stanyslaviv, and Przemyśl brought to a halt regular training of candidates for the priesthood.[10] The same fate befell monastic centers of philosophical and theological studies, novitiates, and juniorates. All religious education, ceremonies, and symbols were banned from schools, although not without opposition from parents, students, and priests' organizations. As well, all secular Ukrainian Catholic institutions, organizations, and sodalities ceased existing, legally. In line with the declared separation of church and state, the registration of births, marriages, and deaths was now transferred from the parish priests to government agencies.

Without waiting for a mandate from the so-called People's Assembly (*Narodni zbory*) of western Ukraine, the authorities seized all capital and commercial property held by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the church, and monastic institutions,[11] and it proceeded to confiscate buildings housing monasteries and convents. Before long, the monasteries were seriously reduced in numbers and facilities. Similarly, all convents were liquidated, and the dispersed nuns were compelled to assume formally secular occupations.[12] In the process, the Bolsheviks confiscated valuable monastic libraries and archives.[13]

On 22 October 1939, the People's Assembly was elected, from a single, regime-compiled list, and four days later it requested the formal annexation of western Ukraine to the Ukrainian S.S.R. The next day it voted to nationalize large landed property, including all lands owned by the church and the monastic orders. The L'viv Archeparchy alone (not counting the monastic and parish lands) was thus deprived of some 36,083 hectares of land.[14] Since all state payments for support of the clergy were discontinued,[15] the priests found themselves dependent on the generosity of the faithful as they tried to cope with huge, discriminatory taxes levied on their churches and on them as a "socially unproductive" stratum.

On 9 October 1939, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his eparchy:

> Our program of work is as follows: we will obey the authorities and comply with the laws insofar as they are in conformity with God's law; we will not interfere in political and secular matters and will not cease to work devotedly for Christ's cause among our people. The first and most important of our duties is to teach young people the catechism. . . . [16]

A few months later, the Metropolitan instructed his clergy that the church was to maintain an apolitical position. No flags of any kind were to be displayed on church buildings and no lay persons were to be honored with the traditional *Mnohaia lita*.[17] In December 1940, Sheptyts'kyi reminded the clergy of the "danger and harm to their pastoral work that would result from their interference in politics, which would create for the pastor political opponents among the faithful."[18] The clergy could feel free to vote or not to vote in Soviet elections but should not attempt in any way to influence the people. At the same time, however, the clergy should feel free to utilize all rights guaranteed them by the Soviet constitution.

One of the primary concerns of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was to assure the continuity of church leadership in the event of his arrest or deportation by Soviet authorities. He prepared for the worst and, of course, recalled what had happened to him twenty-five years earlier when tsarist Russian forces had occupied L'viv. He was also well aware of the fate that had befallen Catholic bishops in the Soviet Union during the interwar years.[19] Accordingly, on 10 October 1939, the Metropolitan wrote a letter to Pope Pius XII (1939-1958), which was dispatched to Rome through a secret courier, the Reverend Iosyf Kladochnyi.[20] In that letter, the Metropolitan recognized the breakdown of regular contacts with the Vatican and hence asked Pius XII both to confirm the special powers given to him previously by Pius X (1903-1914) and to extend those powers to Galicia.[21] He also requested the authority to consecrate, with the right of succession, his coadjutor, the Most Reverend Josyf Slipyi, rector of the L'viv Theological Academy. Sheptyts'kyi also reported on the first Bolshevik measures against the church:

> The parishes are still left alone in peace, but [they are] exposed to the action by the local committees which are dominated by revolutionary elements. The monasteries seem to be heading towards inevitable suppression: they are deprived of all means of existence; they are [being] confiscated [and] occupied together with the houses of the religious and nuns; they are dispersed without suffering any wrong, except for the confiscation of all their possessions, real as well as personal property. Catholic schools are suppressed or converted into atheist schools.[22]

Sheptyts'kyi then concluded with a personal request:

> I humbly request the Holy Father to give me His Apostolic and Fatherly blessing and to designate, delegate, and appoint me to die for the Faith and the Church. The Vicar of Christ can look confidently to the future of Catholicism in Russia. May He give us all His blessings. We will accomplish our task and the Goliath of Soviet Communism will be turned back.[23]

On 25 November 1939, Pope Pius XII nominated the Reverend Iosyf Slipyi as archbishop of Serre and Coadjutor for the L'viv Archeparchy with the right of succession. Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary of the Congregation for Eastern Churches, wrote on behalf of the pope on 27 November.[24] The letter was brought to L'viv by the Reverend Kladochnyi, and on 22 December 1939, the Reverend Slipyi was ordained by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Bishops Nykyta Budka (1912-1945) and Mykola Charnets'kyi (1931-1945). This secret ceremony was held in the Metropolitan's chapel and witnessed only by members of the metropolitan chapter. Symbolically, in place of the crosier, the new bishop was given the same simple wooden staff, ring, and missal which Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi—at the time in Russian captivity—

had presented to the Reverend Iosyf Botsian when he had secretly ordained Botsian as bishop of Luts'k in September 1914.[25] The consecration of Archbishop Slipyi was not officially announced by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi until 13 January 1942,[26] although Soviet authorities likely learned about this event earlier, at least by early autumn 1940.[27]

During the twenty-two months of Soviet occupation, and despite the extensive paralysis of his limbs, Sheptyts'kyi proved to be a tower of strength and a source of inspiration both to his pastors and to his flock in meeting the challenge of state atheism. While he protested to the authorities against violations of the rights of the church and of believers, he also took measures to strengthen the morale of the clergy, to reinvigorate ecclesiastical life, and, in particular, to turn the attention of the church from the hardships of Soviet rule to the prospects that territorial unification had opened for missionary work to the rest of Ukraine and the Soviet Union.

In a succession of pastoral letters and directives, Sheptyts'kyi reminded the clergy not to leave their parishes without his express authorization.[28] In fact, during the first Soviet occupation of Galicia only 100 priests left their posts, most of them escaping to the German-occupied territories west of the San.[29] With only 807 pastors to serve the archeparchy's 1267 parishes, the Metropolitan relied on regular clergy who had been expelled from monasteries to fill those vacant parishes which were most threatened by the new regime.[30]

During these trying times for the church, Sheptyts'kyi urged the clergy to intensify its preaching and catechistic activities, especially among children and youth, in order to compensate for the church's exclusion from schools, mass media, and public life. "Instances multiply," announced the Metropolitan early in 1940, "of believers accusing the priest of neglecting sermons. I must, therefore, emphasize again and again that I consider the priest who neglects preaching and catechization to be bad and unworthy to work as pastor."[31] On that same theme, he declared: "Due to the general danger of atheism which increases every day, a sermon in our times must above all aim at the strengthening of the faith. . . . our preaching should offer our believers a weapon for combatting atheism."[32]

In order to overcome restrictions imposed by the new authorities on religious practices, Sheptyts'kyi relaxed certain ecclesiastical rules. This allowed religious services in private homes and out-of-doors and secret offering of sacraments to the sick and dying in the nationalized hospitals.[33] Priests were instructed to prepare laymen to undertake, whenever necessary, the religious instruction of children.[34] Believers were also called upon to help maintain the dispossessed pastors and to assist each other in need. To provide for greater participation in religious services, the Metropolitan urged the clergy and psalmists to introduce popular singing of the masses and prayers, and to use vernacular Ukrainian for the reading of the gospels and epistles as well as for certain liturgical prayers.[35] The priests were also allowed to serve evening masses on Sundays and on religious feasts in order to accommodate believers who had to work on those days.[36]

In order to replenish the ranks of the clergy which had been depleted by emigration, arrests, and death, in February 1940 the Metropolitan invited former theological students and other qualified individuals, especially Studite monks, to enroll in theological courses which were to be held in the evenings at the Metropolitan's residence.[37] To his disappointment, however, only twelve students signed up for these courses.[38]

The Metropolitan gave special powers to the superiors of monasteries and convents to release from vows brothers and nuns who desired to return to secular life, and to allow others to reside outside monastic communities and to wear civilian clothes. In making such proposals for monastics, Sheptyts'kyi was careful to point out:

> They do not cease being members of their monastic family. Where communal life is impossible, they must maintain themselves by working [in secular jobs], but let them combine labor with prayer and service to their neighbor; let them instruct children in catechism; let them give to the faithful all that which is offered by such a center of existence as the monastic home.[39]

Later, in March 1940, Sheptyts'kyi addressed special messages to superiors of monasteries and convents, in which he condemned the dispossession and suppression of monastic institutions and the continuing persecution of monastics:

> The monasteries have suffered grave injustice, which is a major insult to the church. To be sure . . . the delegates [to the People's Assembly], fearing for [their] life, did not realize that they have become a blind instrument of our enemies and that by their decision, though probably hardly conscious or voluntary, they rendered a heavy blow to our church and our people. . . . Wartime conditions have forced us to keep silent until now and have not allowed us to rise resolutely in your defence against violence—[which was] the most painful as it was falsely presented as the will of the people. Let no one interpret this involuntary silence of ours until now as a consent to violence. We not only disagree but resolutely protest against the injustice and the heavy blow struck against our church and our people.[40]

Further, the Metropolitan warned that "those who deprive the church of the means to maintain the priest . . . are harming the parish and all Christians who depend on the work of the priest." Those who appropriated church lands were "guilty of sacrilege and fall under excommunication which can be lifted only after the committed injustice has been corrected."[41]

Because of traditional loyalty to the church, or in response to the

Metropolitan's call, or because of an elementary sense of fairness, the peasants, even the poorest, were often reluctant to accept parish lands offered to them by the authorities.[42] As late as May 1940, some village soviets had not yet expropriated church land, while others allowed the priests to retain a good share of parish holdings.[43]

Because the church was banned from schools and students were being increasingly exposed to anti-religious propaganda, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi laid special stress on the religious upbringing and catechization of children and youth, which he called "the most important matter for the church, people, and families."[44] He called upon parents to demand religious instruction in schools, and he directed the clergy to organize catechism classes in churches and private homes, to set up religious circles (brotherhoods) for students, and to seek out people who were capable and willing to prepare for religious vocations or lay proselytizing.[45] In December 1939, in a special message to Ukrainian youth, the Metropolitan urged students to continue common prayers in schools, to take communion frequently, to study catechism, and to teach it to other children. At the same time, he warned: "Protect yourselves from sin against the Holy Faith, stay with the Holy Church. Just as treason against the Fatherland is an abominable crime, so is the betrayal of the Holy Church, our Mother. . . . "[46]

In the early spring of 1940, Sheptyts'kyi protested to the head of the L'viv oblast Department of Education against the "corruption of [children's] consciences" by teachers who were "turning schools into instruments of atheist propaganda."

> The constitution safeguards freedom of conscience for all citizens, including children, and it follows that schools should also ensure children this . . . freedom of religious practice in the confession to which they belong and in which they were raised by their parents.
>
> This article [of the constitution] also grants parents the liberty to bring up children in their faith and gives parents the right to demand that the school respect their will with regard to children's education; i.e., that the school educate children according to the desire of their parents and in their faith, or at least that the school not interfere in religious questions and not attack the religion of children and of their parents.[47]

The Metropolitan followed this protest with an outspoken pastoral letter, "To the People About Atheism," dated 1 April 1940.[48] This provoked a sharply-worded reply from *Bezbozhnik*, the organ of the League of the Militant Godless, which accused "the old politician" Sheptyts'kyi of anti-Communist agitation.[49]

Despite all the difficulties his church faced, the Soviet occupation of East Galicia appeared to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi—the most prominent promoter of the cause of church union in his time—to provide a new opportunity to achieve what he considered the ultimate historical mission of the Greek Catholic Church. That was the christianization of the godless in the Soviet Union and the re-unification of the Orthodox and Catholic churches.[50] Hence, from the very outset of Soviet rule, Sheptyts'kyi sought to infuse his clergy and flock with a missionary spirit, while at the same time he attempted to devise the means to break out of the Greek Catholic "Piedmont" in Galicia to the east. To remove any doubts about his authority to undertake pro-Union work outside Galicia, in his letter to the Vatican dated 10 October 1939, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi requested a confirmation from Pope Pius XII of his special powers in the Russian Empire.[51] In an unpublished letter, the Metropolitan also asked for more authority, including the extension of these powers to Galicia.[52]

While the Metropolitan never relinquished the authority granted to him in 1907 and 1908, and while that authority was never explicitly annulled by the papacy, during the early years of the pontificate of Pius XI, Sheptyts'kyi's special powers were placed in doubt by several Vatican moves.[53] Pius XII considered it inadvisable to renew the special powers in the East which had been delegated to Sheptyts'kyi by Pius X. This was not made clear, however, in the Vatican's reply sent to L'viv with the Reverend Kladochnyi on 27 November 1939. Instead, it listed the powers which had been granted to all Catholic bishops under Soviet rule and made provision for the renewal of ordinary powers in the event of a prolonged break in contacts with the Vatican, but then the letter concluded simply that "there does not seem to be any need at the moment for other ordinary or extraordinary powers."[54] It appears that the Vatican's vague response left the Metropolitan with the impression that his special powers were left intact, if not expanded.[55]

Meanwhile, without waiting for papal confirmation of the special powers, on 9 October 1939 Sheptyts'kyi established four new Greek Catholic exarchates for the Soviet Union. He appointed Bishop Mykola Charnets'kyi as Exarch for Volynia, Polissia, and Podlachia; the Reverend Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi (the Metropolitan's brother and Superior of the Studite Order) as Exarch for Greater Russia and Siberia (to succeed the late Exarch Leonid Fëdorov);[56] and the Reverend Iosyf Slipyi as Exarch for Greater Ukraine (that is, east of the pre-1939 Polish-Soviet border). In addition, Bishop Charnets'kyi was temporarily entrusted with the Exarchate of Belorussia, which was later assigned to the Belorussian Bishop Anton Nemantsevich on 17 September 1940.[57]

The first Synod of the Exarchs, convened by Sheptyts'kyi in L'viv on 18-19 September 1940, produced a lengthy series of resolutions concerning future pro-Union activities in the East, and it elected Bishop Charnets'kyi as senior exarch (*Protos*).[58] However, on 26 September the Metropolitan received a letter dated 30 May from the Vatican Secretary of State, Aloisius Cardinal Maglione, who, on behalf of Pope Pius XII, annulled the special powers of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. They were replaced with a narrower authority which related only to the internal affairs of the church and the rights of clergy.[59] The papal decision was communicated to the exarchs at a meeting on 12 October, at which time the Metropolitan stated that as a result of the Vatican decision, he had even lost the power to accept their resignations. He left the exarchs to react according to their own consciences to the Vatican's refusal to sanction the Greek Catholic Church's pro-Union activity in the East.[60] The exarchs met again on 24 January 1941, and communicated their resolution to Cardinal Tisserant:

> Until a new decision [is taken] by the Apostolic See, we, faithful servants of God, will continue to adhere to our obligations with respect to the union of churches within the indicated exarchates, according to the rules of the Synod of Exarchs (18-19 September 1940), as far as the situation in Soviet Russia will allow this.[61]

In conditions most inhospitable to church union work, the exarchs held their second synod in May 1941,[62] but their activities were, in effect, restricted to planning for the future, to preparing appropriate guidelines and literature for pastoral and catechetical work among the Orthodox East, and to training candidates for missionary work in the East. The conflict with the Vatican over Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's authority over pro-Union activities outside Galicia remained unresolved until after the Soviet withdrawal from western Ukraine. Then, on 22 November 1941, Pius XII finally confirmed the appointments of the exarchs, subordinating them to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi as a delegate of the Apostolic See.[63]

Initially, church union activities had to be restricted to Galicia, considering the Soviet ban on any Greek Catholic expansion to the East. The large number of "Easterners" (*skhidniaky*) dispatched by Soviet authorities to western Ukraine provided an obvious target for Greek Catholic proselytizing activities. For instance, there were many Soviet citizens from all walks of life, including Red Army soldiers, who secretly sought out Greek Catholic clergy to request baptisms and other sacraments, and to search for religious literature and articles.[64] At least two priests temporarily managed to carry on missionary activities while volunteering in 1940 for work in the Soviet Union.[65]

Nonetheless, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi did not lose hope about the mission to the East. In February 1940, he called upon the clergy to volunteer for parishes he hoped to establish in Kiev, Odessa, Vinnytsia, Kharkiv, and Poltava. He said: "What is required is constant readiness for any sacrifices which may be needed, or at least be useful, for the cause of our faithful non-united Orthodox and baptized or non-baptized atheists."[66] Two months later, the Metropolitan announced, in an eparchial circular, that he would request permission from the Soviet government to undertake pastoral work with ten priests among "those Greek Catholic believers who have been resettled beyond the eastern borders of our land."[67] He called for volunteers to join him in this undertaking:

> . . . surely God will grant this grace to many of us—to preach in churches of Greater Ukraine, on both banks of the Dnieper River up to the Kuban and Caucasus, to Moscow and Tobolsk. . . . Therefore, we must prepare . . . for this moment, for this mission, for this great task which undoubtedly awaits us.[68]

The Metropolitan also urged his clergy and flock to pray for the atheists' conversion and to treat the Orthodox believers from the East with brotherly love. At the same time, he relaxed church rules to allow for the administration of sacraments to the Orthodox.[69]

Despite his missionary idealism, Sheptyts'kyi did not lose sight of current realities. "It is undoubtedly difficult to foresee," he wrote in April 1940, "whether our Church could expand through the entire Soviet Union."

> As long as the Soviet government recognizes the privileged status of atheism—which is the greatest and most persistent enemy not only of the Catholic and Orthodox churches but of any religion in general—supporters of the union of churches will not be able to do more than to prepare themselves through prayer and self-improvement for the moment when the Almighty God will be pleased to approve and bless this work . . . [70]

In order to maintain links with the clergy of his archeparchy, to deepen their theological and missionary orientation, to involve them in the restructuring of ecclesiastical activities, and thereby to meet the demands of the political situation, beginning in the autumn of 1939 the Metropolitan instituted weekly conferences of the clergy at his residence. Held each Thursday, these sessions were attended by sixty to eighty priests who lived in the L'viv area or who were visiting from other centers and the countryside.[71] After the Soviet police raided the eparchial offices early in 1940 and confiscated the mimeograph machine that had been used to produce the monthly eparchy newsletter, that publication had to be copied by hand along with other materials prepared for distribution to the clergy and faithful. These chores fell to the participants in the Thursday conferences.[72]

In February 1940, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi announced to the clergy his plans to transform the weekly gatherings into a regular archeparchial synod, the first since 1905.[73] The synod, which convened on 2 May 1940, combined weekly working sessions to which all clergy of the archeparchy who happened to be in L'viv were invited with several formal sessions held in St. George's Cathedral.[74] The gatherings dealt with such questions as church organization, religious cult and rite, preaching and catechization, missionary and church union activities, clerical duties (especially pastoral work), rules and obligations of the displaced monastics, and family prayer. A total of thirty-one decrees and seventy-two rules were adopted before the synod adjourned on 20 December 1940.[75]

One of the main thrusts of the 1940 synod was preparation for work towards a reunion of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. This was recognized as the "special [task] conferred by Divine Providence" upon the Greek Catholic Church,

> because such a large part of our people belongs to the non-united church and bears all the consequences of the unfortunate schism which separated all churches of the East from the ecumenical church. . . . the union of Churches is, as it were, the need of our people and its only salvation. United with the ecumenical Church, Ukrainian piety, separating us from neighbors in the West and East, is, in our opinion—based on historical experience—the only form of religious existence which can assure us free development of religious and national culture and protect us from internal dissensions and domestic, fratricidal war.[76]

Pro-Union work, decreed the synod, was one of the

> most important constituent elements of our Christian patriotism. Such Christian patriotism does not and cannot manifest itself in our case in any politics and cannot contain any hatred towards our brethren from another people. . . Our Christian patriotism [consists] in one thing alone, that our own people, the Ukrainian people, we love with Christian love more than other peoples and are prepared to give for it our life work and life itself. . . . [77]

In the end, the synod instructed all clergy to "prepare themselves for work towards the union of churches, which sooner or later will become possible."[78]

Despite growing police harassment of its participants, the 1940 synod continued until 20 December. At the closing session, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi recounted the difficult circumstances:

> . . . two of our fellow priests died as victims of the present conditions in L'viv. Four [of its] closest collaborators were arrested as were ten other synod participants. If one adds to this the extraordinary difficulties with regard to travel and correspondence; the ban on [the church's] publications; light [power] cuts every day, sometimes lasting for long hours; the impossibility of using our archives and libraries, hence the lack of most needed scholarly books; as well as [receiving] shocking and most painful news—one has to consider it as an unusual grace from the Almighty that we completed this task, so important for eparchial life, for our work, and for the people.[79]

In order to continue the work commenced by the 1940 synod, Sheptyts'kyi convened a second war-time synod in the spring of 1941. This synod focused on questions of church doctrine, worship, liturgical rite, and discipline.[80] Special attention was paid to the need to introduce ritual uniformity and to remove Latin borrowings and innovations in order to bring the rite closer to its Byzantine-Slav prototype and hence lower one of the main barriers separating the Greek Catholic from Orthodox churches.[81] However, the outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities interrupted the proceedings of the 1941 synod.

Meanwhile, from the very outset of Soviet rule, there was a gradual but steady increase in governmental pressure on East Galicia's Greek Catholic church. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi described this situation in a letter to the Vatican dated as early as 26 December 1939:

> From the first moment, all the schools were declared state schools, and forbidden to teach religion. . . . All the monasteries [were] dispersed. . . . The central authorities pretend not to want to touch the parish land holdings, but in many cases they encourage people to divide up these holdings. The people, however, in a great majority of cases, defend the property of the church and do not want to touch it. Thanks be to God that the people of these regions react with great tenacity against atheist propaganda. . . . Thanks to the deportment of our people, the clergy can still work in all the parishes and churches. A certain number of priests . . . have left our territory, going over to the regions occupied by the Germans. In this manner, the eparchy lost thirty-odd priests; . . . of the 400 parishes called filial parishes, twenty-eight are for the moment exposed to more intense attacks than others. Many of them are requesting priests, and I have granted twenty-six. The monastic priests—Basilians, Redemptorists and Studites—who are no longer occupied in the service of their monasteries, are serving in the parishes with good results for the whole region.[82]

The new authorities hastened to undermine the church's material base in order to erode the morale of the clergy and its will to resist the encroachments of the state. Extremely heavy, discriminatory taxes were imposed on priests and parishes which averaged 10,000 rubles but sometimes reached as high as 15,000 rubles per annum.[83] Rural pastors were also subjected to taxes in kind (usually agricultural products) and to various public works levies. Were it not for the generosity and solidarity of the faithful these taxes could not have been paid by the impoverished clergy. Some village priests, whose homes were confiscated by the authorities, were accommodated by parishioners. Farm produce was regularly brought to bishops' residences from villages to ease the shortage of food in larger cities.[84] Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi protested directly to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev, against the exorbitant and destructive taxes imposed upon churches and priests. His protest reportedly resulted in the lowering of taxes for some priests.[85]

In order to undermine the church's social and cultural base, the regime launched anti-religious propaganda among the masses of believers. Cautious and indirect at first, the atheist indoctrination in time became increasingly blunt and vulgar, and substituted insults and intimidation for persuasion, as in the "old" Soviet Union. Orchestrated by the party *agitprop* apparatus, this campaign relied primarily on public lectures and popular talks by communist activists in schools, communist youth organizations (Young Pioneers and the Komsomol), the Red Army's political agitation cadres, as well as the mass communication media.

In contrast to past Soviet practice, little emphasis was placed in East Galicia on mass recruitment for the League of the Militant Godless.[86] To be sure, Sunday was retained as a day of rest in western Ukraine (in contrast to the "old" Soviet Union, where it was reinstated as such only in 1940), but other religious holidays (including Christmas) became ordinary working days. Instead of Christmas, the New Year was to be celebrated as a major winter holiday, complete with ersatz "New Year's trees" and "Grandpa Frosts" distributing gifts. In fact, such anti-religious indoctrination was more effective as a way of insulating the numerous civilian and military personnel sent to Galicia from religious influence, than as a means of "converting" local believers to atheism. In practice, Soviet attacks on religion may have provoked the very opposite of what they were intended to achieve. According to contemporary accounts:

> Never were the churches so full as during Bolshevik rule. People sought strength and consolation in prayer. . . . Long waiting lines formed in front of confessional booths every Sunday and holiday; in them one could see not only older and middle-aged people, but also youth. People who had not been to confession for years were now seeking it. . . . All this suggested that people began to respect and value religious culture as a great treasure precisely at a time when it found itself in mortal danger.[87]

In early 1941 the official anti-religious campaign was largely discontinued in East Galicia. According to one source, this reversal came after the Central Committee of the Communist party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine received a memorandum from one prominent figure about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, its historical past and its role in the national life of the population and the people's attachment to [the church]. The memorandum recommended that the Godless propaganda against [the church] be discontinued. The Central Committee forwarded this memorandum for consideration to party oblast committees in Galicia; the latter, after consultations with the leading Bolshevik officials, accepted the arguments of the memorandum and ordered appropriate organs, especially newspaper editors, to desist from anti-religious activities.[88]

There was no respite, however, from the multiple psychological, economic, and administrative pressures applied against the Greek Catholic clergy. These pressures were all aimed at producing some renunciations among priests and the faithful or, at the very least, at making them leave their parishes for better-paying secular jobs. Very few clergymen, however, succumbed to these pressures. Out of 500 priests in the Stanyslaviv eparchy, only three had left the church by June 1941.[89]

Besides such concerns, Soviet authorities were also carefully watching the activities of the Greek Catholic episcopate and the clergy, probing the internal defences of the church, and looking, in particular, for suspected Greek Catholic links with the nationalist underground and anti-Soviet elements abroad. Constant secret police surveillance of the episcopate and the clergy was instituted.[90] As early as the autumn of 1939, the communist writer Vladimir Beliaiev was dispatched to L'viv "in order to acquaint himself with the machinations of the Greek Catholic Church headed by Metropolitan Andrei Count Sheptyts'kyi."[91] Later, the authorities entrusted the rector of L'viv University with the confidential task of compiling documentation on the "harmful activity" of the Greek Catholic Church.[92]

Another form of Soviet pressure was the sowing of dissension within the ranks of the Greek Catholic hierarchy. In Stanyslaviv, they tried unsuccessfully to persuade Bishops Khomyshyn and Liatyshevs'kyi to challenge Sheptyts'kyi's jurisdiction over the adjoining ancient Halych see.[93] Intense pressure as well was put on a prominent L'viv priest, Havriïl Kostel'nyk, the leading Greek Catholic critic of the Vatican's Latinization policies and the chief spokesman for the "Easternizing" tendency within the church. An attempt was made to have him organize, with the regime's support, a "National" Greek Catholic Church, separate from Rome, that would split the faithful on the long-painful question of the Vatican's policies toward Greek Catholics.[94] Despite the arrest of Kostel'nyk's youngest son in the autumn of 1940 and efforts to blackmail him with his son's fate, he refused to cooperate.[95]

Simultaneously, the Moscow Patriarchate, which had received a new lease on life with the Soviet annexation of the Orthodox eparchies in western Ukraine, Belorussia, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the Baltic states, began preparations for a "reunion" of Greek Catholics with the Russian Orthodox Church. The Patriarchate did this with the Kremlin's help. On 28 October 1940, a new Orthodox eparchy was established for Galicia, with the Kremianets' *raion* and its Pochaïv Lavra monastery (which had been earlier annexed to the Ternopil' oblast) intended to act as the base for the planned "conversion" campaign.[96] It was not until 26 March 1941, however, that a Galician Russophile, Archimandrite Panteleimon Rudyk of the Pochaïv

Lavra, was appointed bishop of L'viv.[97] The German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 prevented Bishop Rudyk's move to L'viv and delayed the realization of Moscow's "reunion" plans for the Ukrainian Greek Catholics.[98]

In the meantime, the NKVD continued its efforts to collect incriminating evidence against Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the other Greek Catholic bishops. The police attempted to recruit informers among clergy and laymen who had access to the bishops, by employing such means as intimidating interviews, blackmail, arrests, and physical and psychological terror. In L'viv, a prominent lawyer-politician and former deputy of the Polish parliament, Stepan Biliak, was forced after several months of imprisonment to report on the activities of the Metropolitan and his closest associates. His information was supposed to support police efforts which sought to establish the church's links with foreign powers. This unlikely NKVD spy candidate resolved his own tragic conflict of conscience by feeding his persecutors with meaningless "data" previously agreed upon with the bishops.[99] In another case, the superior of the Studite Convent in L'viv, Iosyfa (Olena) Viter, was arrested in June 1940 and subjected to forty-seven interrogations at NKVD headquarters, during which she was tortured. Her interrogators demanded she "confess" that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was a member of the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and that she was bringing him weapons.[100]

In 1940, the police stepped up arrests of clergy and laymen so that by the early summer of 1941 (before the NKVD fled well in advance of the German invasion), the toll for the L'viv archeparchy alone was eleven or twelve Greek Catholic priests murdered or missing, thirty-three imprisoned and/or deported to the East (plus another twenty from the Przemyśl eparchy) and some 200,000 laymen deported.[101] Recalling those months, Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv (1904-1945) wrote in August 1941:

> I am still suffocating with terror and fear... In my eparchy eight priests were imprisoned and deported, three were killed. The same fate would have befallen many other priests... at the time of the retreat of the Bolsheviks had they not fled to the forests or disguised themselves and hidden in private homes. ... I and my auxiliary bishop awaited imprisonment and deportation any night. Since the Communists did not dare to do this, immediately before their retreat they attempted to kill us in a more treacherous fashion, namely with a powerful poison which they gave to my servant... This servant of mine was coerced by threats to report to the Communists all my movements throughout the entire occupation. But this faithful and honest servant of mine answered cautiously and prudently to all inquiries. He did not carry out their nefarious order but gave me the poison which I keep as a souvenir.[102]

Just before the Soviet withdrawal, thousands of laymen were massacred in the NKVD prisons in L'viv, Stanyslaviv, Sambir, Stryi, Zolochiv, Zhovkva, Komarno, Peremyshliany, Busk, Chortkiv, Nadvirna, Dobromyl', and other localities.[103] Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's closest associates (including Bishops Slipyi and Budka, as well as the Studite Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi) and other inhabitants of and visitors to the Metropolitan's residence and the adjoining capitular residences escaped a similar fate, even though they were lined up against a wall and threatened by retreating Soviet troops.[104]

Summing up the church's experience during the twenty-two months of Soviet occupation, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi wrote in August 1941:

> It is quite certain that under the Bolsheviks all of us were as if sentenced to death; they did not conceal their desire to ruin and suppress Christianity, to [erase] its last traces. They advanced slowly so as not to prompt too great an opposition from the entire population. They also feared public opinion in Europe, which they perhaps supposed to be better informed of what was happening among us than it was in reality.[105]

There is little doubt that the relatively cautious Soviet policy toward the Greek Catholic Church in western Ukraine was dictated by the uncertain international situation and the strategically exposed character of this newly-annexed territory, as well as by the strong popular base and internal cohesiveness of the church which was led by a renowned figure who commanded the unique loyalty of both the clergy and the population of Galicia as a whole. The costs of a massive, frontal attack on the Greek Catholic Church were apparently considered too high by Stalin at a time when his highest priority was the postponement of conflict with Hitler's Third Reich.

Nevertheless, with hindsight, it is possible to discern during the 1939-1941 period the outlines of future Soviet strategy vis-à-vis the Greek Catholic Church that occurred after western Ukraine was reoccupied by the Red Army in 1944. That earlier strategy included attempts to split the church from within by manipulating the old anti-Roman resentments among the eparchial clergy; blackmailing the most outspoken critic of Latinization, the Reverend Kostel'nyk, to lead an "Away from Rome" movement; and employing the tested device of a "reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church as a weapon to break the symbiotic relationship between religion and nationalism in western Ukraine.

The subsequent Soviet reoccupation of western Ukraine in 1944 placed the Greek Catholic Church in a much more vulnerable position than in its first encounter with Stalin's regime. The mass exodus of Ukrainian intelligentsia in the face of the returning Red Army not only seriously weakened the church's social base, it also swept along 10 percent of the Greek Catholic clergy. The strategic position of Galicia that may have restrained the Kremlin in 1939-1941 was now fundamentally changed. The defeat of Germany was in sight, and with the Soviet armies storming their way across eastern Europe toward Berlin, the western powers had accepted that western Ukraine would become part of the Soviet Union. The open moral support given by the Greek Catholic Church to the Ukrainian nationalist movement during the three-year German occupation exposed the church to charges of "treason to the Soviet Fatherland," while the widespread armed Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) resistance continuing in western Ukraine made impossible any lasting "normalization" of relations between the Greek Catholic Church and a Soviet regime that was waging a ruthless war against Ukrainian nationalism. Moreover, the Greek Catholic Church had to face a powerful and aggressive rival in the revitalized Orthodox Moscow Patriarchate, which was officially praised for its contribution to the Soviet war effort and which enjoyed the support of Stalin's government.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was not deluded by the unexpectedly tolerant attitude toward the Greek Catholic Church that the Soviet authorities displayed during the initial months following their reoccupation of East Galicia in July 1944. He was undoubtedly concerned about the church's chances of survival after the final Soviet victory over Germany. According to some sources, the Metropolitan reconvened the archeparchial synod to prepare the church for its new conditions of existence. At the same time, he instructed the clergy to contribute to the Soviet Red Cross through the Metropolitan consistory in an effort to demonstrate the church's good will towards the new authorities.[106]

However, the ethnarch of Galicia, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, did not live to see the outcome of Soviet policy, which was the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church. Sometime in October, the Metropolitan fell ill with influenza, which caused serious complications that ultimately led to his death in the early afternoon of 1 November 1944.[107] His coadjutor, Archbishop Iosyf Slipyi (1944-1984), immediately assumed the duties of metropolitan, and four days later he led masses of the faithful in a solemn funeral procession that wound its way through the streets of L'viv and ended with the burial of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi in the crypt of St. George's Cathedral.[108] With this event, the era which the great Metropolitan helped to shape during his forty-four years in the Galician metropolitan see had come to an end.

Notes

1. These figures, which exclude that part of the Przemyśl eparchy west of the Soviet-German demarcation line, are derived from the official schematisms for the three Galician dioceses: *Shematyzm dukhovenstva Lvivs'koï arkhieparkhiï, 1938* (L'viv, 1938); *Shematyzm vseho klyra Hreko-katolyts'koho dukhovenstva zluchenykh eparkhiï Peremys'koï, Sambirs'koï i Sianits'koï na rik bozhyi 1938-39* (Przemyśl, 1938).
2. Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, *Oriente Cattolico: Cenni storici e sta-*

tistiche, 4th ed. (Vatican City, 1974), p. 341.

3. The number of priests includes thirty-four who fled from Soviet-occupied East Galicia. See the Report of the Auxiliary Bishop of Przemyśl, H. Lakota, to Nuncio Orsenigo in Berlin, dated 9 December 1939, reproduced in *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les Pays baltes*, pt. 1: *1939-1941*, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, vol. III (Vatican City, 1967), document 64, pp. 145-6.
4. F. Iastrebov, "Uniats'ke duknovenstvo na sluzhbi u pol's'koho panstva," *Komunist* (Kiev), 9 October 1939.
5. See, for instance, D. Efimov, "Kak podavlialas' svoboda sovesti v panskoi Pol'she," *Bezbozhnik*, XVI [September-October issue] (Moscow, 1939), pp. 7-8; I. Elvin, "Tserkov' na sluzhbe polskikh panov," *Antireligioznik*, XIV, 11 (Moscow, 1939), pp. 21-6; and V. Rozhitsyn, "Uniia," ibid., XIV, 10, pp. 56-7.
6. For the Soviet Ukrainian legislation and administrative regulations on religion, see Ivan Sukhopliuev, *Vidokremlennia tserkvy vid derzhavy: zbirnyk zakonopolozhen' S.R.S.R. i U.R.S.R., instruktsiï, obizhnykiv i poiasnen' Narkomvnusprav U.R.S.R.* (Kharkiv, 1930); and a more recent collection, K. Z. Lytvyn and A. I. Pshenyshnyi, eds., *Zakonodavstvo pro relihiini kulty: zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 67-154.
7. Among the banned publications were the newspapers *Nova zoria* (L'viv, semiweekly, 1926-1939); *Meta* (L'viv, weekly, 1931-1939); and *Pravda* (L'viv, weekly, 1927-1939); the journals *Dzvony* (L'viv, monthly, 1931-1939); *Misionar* (Zhovkva, monthly, 1897-1939); *Khrystos nasha syla* (L'viv); *Nyva* (L'viv, monthly, 1904-1939); *Katolyts'ka aktsiia* (L'viv, quarterly, 1934-1939); *Dobryi pastyr* (Stanyslaviv, quarterly, 1931-1939); *Nash pryiatel'* (monthly, 1922-1939); *Ukraïns'ke iunatstvo* (L'viv); *Lytsarstvo Prechystoï Divy Mariï* (L'viv); *Bohosloviia* (L'viv, quarterly, 1923-1939); *Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï* (L'viv); *Zapysky Chyna Sviatoho Vasyliia Velykoho* (Zhovkva, 1924-1939); and the diocesan bulletins, *Vidomosty* (L'viv, Stanyslaviv, and Przemyśl).
8. V. Doroshenko, "Knyzhky na palyvo," in M. Rudnyts'ka, ed., *Zakhidnia Ukraïna pid bol'shevykamy: IX.1939-VI.1941* (New York, 1958), pp. 238-9; and "Dyvni praktyky Oblitu," in ibid., p. 245.
9. Most of these had been run by female Greek Catholic orders.
10. Interestingly, the Bolshevik authorities were somewhat more lenient with the Roman Catholic seminaries in L'viv and Przemyśl, which were able to continue during the years 1939 to 1941, although on a very limited scale. See Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter of 30 August 1941, to the Apostolic See via the Budapest Nuncio, Rotta, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 297, p. 440; and D. J. Dunn, "The Catholic Church and the Soviet Government in Soviet-Occupied East Europe, 1939-1940," in R. T. De George and J. P. Scanlan, eds., *Marxism and Religion in Eastern Europe: Papers Presented at the Banff International Slavic Conference, September 4-7, 1974* (Dortrecht, 1976), p. 110.
11. In the absence of complete and reliable documentation, it is difficult to determine the total losses suffered by the Greek Catholic Church as a result of the Soviet confiscation of ecclesiastical property. According to Soviet sources (apparently based on the archives of the L'viv Metropolitanate that were seized in 1945), the church held varying shares of capital in the cooperative Narodna Torhovlia, the cooperative banks Dnister and Sil's'kyi Hospodar, the enterprises Dostava and Ryznytsia (Sambir), a refinery Uniia, and other companies, including the majority of shares in a land mortgage bank, Zemel'nyi Bank Hipotechnyi. The Metropolitanate also owned a railway, Brozhniv-Osmoloda (assessed in 1934 at over 3.3 million Swiss francs); a paper factory; and a printing establishment in L'viv, Biblos.

In 1937, the gross annual income from housing owned by the Metropolitanate in L'viv amounted to 10,821 Polish złoty. The Metropolitanate's total landed property, located in the districts (*povity*) of Dolyna, Peremyshliany, Stanyslaviv, and Pidhaitsi, amounted in 1934 to 36,083 hectares, although 83 percent of these lands consisted of forests and only 1,081 hectares constituted arable land. In 1937, the total income of the Metropolitanate amounted to 741,500 Polish złoty. See V. Iu. Malanchuk et al., eds., *Pravda pro uniiu: dokumenty i materialy*, 2nd rev. ed. (L'viv, 1968), pp. 9-10.

12. While mostly working as nurses in hospitals, they attempted to restructure their organizations in the form of small, clandestine communities.
13. Doroshenko, "Knyzhky," p. 235.
14. See the "Declaration of the People's Assembly of the Western Ukraine concerning the confiscation of the lands owned by large land owners, monasteries, and high state officials," in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, pp. 291-2. Significantly, this declaration mentions only monastic lands, but this did not stop the Soviet authorities from extending confiscation to diocesan and parish lands as well. For a more detailed listing of the lands owned by the L'viv Metropolitanate in 1934, see ibid., pp. 256-7.
15. The Polish state had provided in its annual budget subsidies to Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Judaic, and Muslim religious organizations, including payments towards the upkeep of various faculties of theological schools, parsons, vicars, and theological students. See Chief Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Poland, *Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland—1938* (Warsaw, 1938), section XIX: "Administration of Religions."
16. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LII, 9-10 (L'viv, 1939), M.O. no. 1, p. 1. This and all subsequent references to the above journal are taken from the reprinting of the Metropolitan's letters in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia: z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï, 1939-1941*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1961). The initials M.O. refer to Mytropolychi Ordynariat, followed by numbers that indicate the serial designation of documents issued by the Metropolitan's chancery office.
17. Ibid., LIII, 2 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. no. 26, pp. 15-16.
18. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï*, pp. 75-6.
19. On the Soviet destruction of the Catholic Church in the Soviet Union following the March 1923 show trial of leaders of the Roman Catholic Church (Archbishop Jan Cieplak and others) and of the Exarch of the Russian Uniate Church (Leonid Fëdorov), see F. McCullagh, *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity* (New York, 1924); A. Galter, *The Red Book of the Persecuted Church* (Westminster, Md., 1957); J. J. Zatko, *Descent into Darkness* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1965); and D. J. Dunn, "Pre-World War II Relations between Stalin and the Catholic Church," *Journal of Church and State*, XV, 2 (Waco, Texas, 1973), pp. 193-204. At the time of the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939, only two Roman Catholic parishes remained in the Soviet Union—St. Louis des Français in Moscow serving American and other members of the capital's diplomatic community and Notre Dame de France in Leningrad.
20. "Mytropolyt-ispovidnyk," *Svitlo*, XIX, 4 (Toronto, 1955), p. 29.
21. The special powers refer to pro-Union work within the Russian empire. These were granted by Pope Pius X in 1907 and 1908. See *Address of Archbishop Andrei Szeptycki about the Catholic Missionary Work in What Once Formed the Russian Empire* (New York, 1922), p. 13.

Subsequently, in Kiev, the Metropolitan appointed the Reverend Mykhailo Tsehel's'kyi as vicar for Greater Ukraine. Following the Treaty of Riga of 1920, which gave to Poland Orthodox Volhynia, Polissia, Podlachia, and the Chełm region, Polish authorities began to question Sheptyts'kyi's powers vis-à-vis Ukrainian Orthodox areas which Warsaw was attempting to insulate from the more nationalist Galician Ukrainians. Mgr. Iosyf Botsian, ordained by Sheptyts'kyi in 1914 as Bishop of Luts'k, was prevented from carrying on his duties in Volynia by the Polish authorities. Instead, according to a Polish-Vatican agreement, Jesuits of Eastern Rite (established in 1923), subordinated to the local Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy, were entrusted with Union work among the Orthodox Ukrainians and Belorussians in Poland. This action evoked bitter hostility not only from the Orthodox who tended to identify the Union with denationalization, but also from the Greek Catholic Church. The appointment in 1931 of a Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Mgr. Mykola Charnets'kyi, CSsR, as the Apostolic Visitator for the Orthodox territories in Poland was an attempt to mollify this animosity, although the new visitator was not subordinated to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. See Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865–1944* (Rome, 1964), pp. 187-259; Kh., "Na shliakhu do pravyl'noï rozviazky uniinoho pytannia," *Nyva*, XXVI, 2 (L'viv, 1931), pp. 41-4; and ibid., XXVI, 4, pp. 140-1. The Vatican's ambivalence on the issue of the union is illustrated by the fact that Iosyf Botsian was never officially recognized as bishop in the *Annuario Pontificio* or any other publications of the Apostolic See.

22. This letter has not hitherto been published by the Vatican. A brief excerpt, from which these quotations are derived, appears in Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 356.
23. Ibid.
24. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 52, pp. 134-5.
25. For Archbishop Slipyi's description of his ordination, see his 1942 letter cited in P. Senytsia, ed., *Svityl'nyk istyny: dzherela do istoriï Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï u Lvovi, 1928-1929-1944* (Toronto, 1973), pt. 1, p. 198.
26. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta, Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV,* pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï* (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 1-2.
27. The news was broken by the Ukrainian Catholic monthly, *Misionar*, XLIV, 5, (Przemyśl, 1940), p. 79, published in "German" Przemyśl, just across the San River from Soviet-held Przemyśl.
28. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 1 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 13 and 14, p. 11.
29. Ia. Nahurs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi u litakh 1939-41," *Zhyttia i slovo*, no. 2 (1948), p. 161.
30. Letter from Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to Cardinal Tisserant, dated 26 December 1939 (actually dispatched on 16 January 1940, with the returning German repatriation commission). *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 79, p. 171.
31. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 2 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 22, pp. 13-14.
32. Ibid., LIII, 3 (1940), M.O. 66, p. 36. See also ibid., LIII, 1 (1940), p. 9.
33. Ibid., LII, 11 (1939), M.O. 5, p. 5; LIII, 2 (1940), M.O. 30, p. 17; LIII, 3 (1940), M.O. 57, p. 32.
34. Ibid., LII, 11 (1939), M.O. 4, pp. 3-5; LII, 12 (1939), M.O. 9, pp. 6-8.
35. Ibid., LII, 12 (1939), M.O. 6 and 8, pp. 5 and 6.
36. "Bol'shevyts'ka relihiina polityka v Zakhidnii Ukraïni," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, p. 121.
37. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 2 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 20 and 32, pp. 13 and 17-18. Youngsters from fourteen years of age were also encouraged to register with the Metropolitan for preparatory courses with a view towards future theological studies.
38. See the letter of Sheptyts'kyi to the Budapest Nuncio, Rotta, dated 30 August 1941 in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 297, p. 440.
39. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LII, 9-10 (L'viv, 1939), M.O. 3, pp. 2-3.
40. Ibid., LIII, 3 (March 1940), M.O. 64, pp. 39-40.
41. Ibid., LIII, 1 (January 1940), M.O. 11, pp. 10-11.

42. See the letter of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to Cardinal Tisserant, dated 26 December 1939, in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, p. 170. Cf. "Zakhidnioukraïns'ke selo pid bolshevykamy," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, p. 314.
43. See Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, doc. 190, p. 293.
44. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LII, 11 (L'viv, 1939), M.O. 4, p. 3.
45. Ibid.; LII, 12 (1939), M.O. 9, p. 8; and LIII, 2 (1940), M.O. 28, p. 15.
46. Ibid., LII, 12 (1939), M.O. 9, p. 7.
47. Ibid., LIII, 3 (1940), M.O. 68, p. 38.
48. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta*, pp. 53-4.
49. "Glava uniitov," *Bezbozhnik*, XVII, 11 (Moscow, 1940), cited in ibid., p. 60.
50. See Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, esp. chapter 7; and I. Hryniokh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei—blahovisnyk iednosty* (Munich, 1961).
51. These had been granted to him in 1907 and 1908 by Pope Pius X and subsequently were reconfirmed by Popes Benedict XV (1914-1922) and Pius XI (1922-1939). See Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 197-220.
52. Ibid., pp. 363-4.
53. Ibid. See also Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, *Oriente Cattolico*, pp. 65-6. After World War I, the Vatican assigned Union work among the Orthodox Ukrainians and Belorussians in Poland to Jesuits of the Eastern Rite under the jurisdiction of Polish Roman Catholic bishops, and, in 1925, it established a Pontifical Commission for Russia under Mgr. Michel d'Herbigny. In April 1930, this commission was given authority over all affairs "pertaining to Russians," whether in the Soviet Union or abroad. Four years later, however, matters relating to Uniate believers in Russia were transferred from the Pontifical Commission to the Congregation for Oriental Churches. Such was the state of affairs when Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter arrived in Rome sometime in November 1939. His request was sent for a lengthy examination by the Congregations concerned.
54. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 52, p. 135.
55. See Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 365.
56. Fëdorov, born 1879 and ordained in 1911, was appointed by Sheptyts'kyi as Exarch for Russia in late May 1917. He was later arrested by the Bolsheviks in March 1923 and sentenced to ten years imprisonment, dying in exile on 7 March 1935. See Diakon Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov: zhizn' i deiatel'nost'*, Nauchni i literaturni publikatsiï 'Studion' studyts'kykh monastyriv, vol. III-V (Rome, 1966).
57. See the letter from the exarchs to Cardinal Tisserant, dated January 1941, reproduced in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, doc. 191, pp. 294-5.
58. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 365.
59. Ibid., p. 367; Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, p. 296.
60. Ibid.; Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 367-9.
61. Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, pp. 296-7.
62. Ibid., doc. 192, p. 300; Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 365-7.
63. Cardinal Tisserant was evidently instrumental in reversing the Apostolic See's position on Sheptyts'kyi's Union activities outside Galicia. See *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 375, n. 1.
64. Nahurs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi," p. 162; *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 2 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 40, p. 23.
65. The two were a Russian, Novikov, and a Polish-American, Walter Ciszek, who were Eastern-rite Jesuits. Report of Exarch Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi at the Third Synod of Exarchs, 12 June 1942, cited in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro uniiu*, doc. 220, p. 334. Another source lists the priest's name as Nestorov. See W. Ciszek, *With God in Russia* (New York, 1964), p. 17.

66. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 2 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 19, pp. 12-13.
67. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia... z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï,* M.O. 83 of 17 April 1940, p. 61.
68. The Metropolitan's pastoral, "To the Clergy," appeared in *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 3 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 66, pp. 41-4.
69. Ibid., LIII, 2 (1940), M.O. 37, 39, 40, 41, pp. 19-24.
70. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia... z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï,* M.O. 82, p. 60.
71. Nahurs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi," p. 165.
72. Ibid., no. 1 (1948), pp. 26-7.
73. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LIII, 2 (L'viv, 1940), M.O. 21 and 38, pp. 13 and 20-1.
74. Ibid.
75. Nahurs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi," p. 166; Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia... z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï,* pp. 15-24, 64-87, 378-89. The synod protested strongly against the abolition of monasteries and convents: "Being contrary to the Law of God and the rights of the Church, this resolution has no legal force and brings down upon all participants in this action and all who are benefiting therefrom, spiritual penalties and an obligation to correct the harm done." Ibid., p. 378.
76. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia... z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï,* pp. 75-6.
77. Ibid., p. 76.
78. Ibid., p. 79.
79. Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma poslannia... z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï,* p. 68.
80. See "Pravyla Eparkhiialnoho Soboru 1941 roku," in Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia... z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï,* pp. 106-17.
81. See the Metropolitan's pastoral, "On Rites," dated 3 May 1941, ibid., pp. 149-61.
82. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Cardinal Tisserant, dated 26 December 1939, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 79, p. 171.
83. M. Khomiak, "Borot'ba Ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Tserkvy proty komunizmu," *Lohos*, I, 4 (Yorkton, Sask., 1950), p. 285. According to Radio Vatican (13-14 May 1940), the Soviet tax rate for priests' residences was 4.5 rubles per square meter, and for churches 8 rubles per square meter. Cf. Dunn, "Pre-World War II Relations," p. 113.
84. Khomiak, "Borot'ba," p. 285; G. Onufriw, "Communist Policy Towards the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia (1939-1946)" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Montreal, 1961), p. 28.
85. Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, p. 142. On another occasion, the Metropolitan addressed a letter to the central Soviet authorities in Moscow protesting against the local officials' refusal to admit priests to visit ill or dying believers in the newly nationalized hospitals. Ibid.
86. This party *agitprop*-directed mass organization (in Ukrainian: *Spilka Voiovychykh Bezvirnykiv*) was charged with the task of anti-religious agitation and propaganda. Dating from 1925, it reached its peak between 1929 and 1932 before being seriously weakened by the Great Purges when nearly the entire leadership of the Ukrainian Spilka was eliminated by the NKVD.
87. "Bol'shevyts'ka relihiina polityka v Zakhidnii Ukraïni," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, pp. 120-1.
88. Ibid., p. 126.
89. See the letter from Bishop Hyrhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv, dated 6 August 1941, to Nuncio Rotta in Budapest, in *Le Saint Siège* pt. 1, doc. 289, p. 424.
90. Ibid.; S. Biliak, "V sitiakh NKVD," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, pp. 415-6.
91. Later, he was one of the chief anti-Uniate propagandists. Cf. *Mystetstvo*, no. 1 (Kiev,

1960), p. 20, cited in B. Berest, *Istoriia ukraïnskoho kina* (New York, 1962), p. 165.

92. Khomiak, "Borot'ba," p. 61. It is interesting to note that rector Bychenko acquainted Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi with his report and with the Soviet plans to liquidate the Greek Catholic Church.
93. Ibid., p. 285.
94. Ibid., pp. 285-6; Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, p. 123; *First Victims of Communism: A White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953), pp. 28-9.
95. For an account of Kostel'nyk's nightly "conversations" with a NKVD "religious specialist," see Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine After World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964), pp. 99-100.
96. The decree of the Moscow Patriarchate, no. 583 of 28 October 1940, is in Metropolitan Aleksandr Inozemtsev's papers, Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., South Bound Brook, N.J., file 1, no. 50.
97. The decree of the Moscow Patriarchate, no. 167a of 28 March 1941, in the Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., papers of Professor Ivan Vlasovs'kyi, file 142.
98. See the Patriarchate's decree, no. 508 of 2 June 1941, in the Museum-Archive of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., Metropolitan Aleksandr Inozemtsev's papers, file 1, no. 65.
99. See Biliak, "V sitiakh NKVD," pp. 415-6.
100. See O. Viter, "47 dopytiv Materi-Ihumeni," in Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, pp. 399-403.
101. See Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Nuncio Rotta in Budapest, dated 7 November 1941, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 324, p. 491.
102. See Bishop Khomyshyn's letter to Nuncio Rotta, dated 6 August 1941, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 289, p. 424.
103. For an incomplete account of victims of the NKVD terror in June 1941, see Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, pp. 465-92.
104. See Metropolitan Slipyi's own account of this incident, in Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, p. 199.
105. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Nuncio Rotta, dated 6 August 1941, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 297, p. 437.
106. Vladimir Dobrychev, *V teni sviatogo Iura* (Moscow, 1971), p. 132. Dobrychev cites as his source a document in the Central State Historical Archive in L'viv, fond 201, op. 4-b, item 2742, p. 6.
107. Fr. O. K[ladochnyi], "Rozpovid' ochevydtsia pro smert' Sluhy Bozhoho Andreia," *Nova zoria*, 6 November 1977, p. 3.
108. Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi's letter to Pope Pius XII, dated 19 November 1944, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2: *1942-1945*, pp. 889-890.

Chapter 6

Sheptyts'kyi and the German Regime

Hansjakob Stehle

"Sad experience has taught me that the harder you try to stay out of politics, the more likely it is that you will often be accused of playing politics."[1] When Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi wrote this sentence in October 1929, he had no idea that the most terrible political experiences still lay ahead of him. In fact, twelve years later, Germany invaded the Soviet Union, which followed by two years the destruction of Poland by Hitler and Stalin. This helped the Metropolitan to fall prey to the serious political error of thinking that the new world war could help the Ukrainian people to win its religious and political freedom.[2]

Of course, Sheptyts'kyi did not sympathize with the ideology of national socialism. Shortly prior to the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, he had even warned his faithful and clergy about the danger of Hitler's ideology.[3] On the other hand, because of the Polish-Ukrainian conflicts in the 1930s, there was no particular regret over the destruction of Poland. What did frighten Ukrainians, however, was that the disappearance of Poland entailed the Soviet occupation of East Galicia, a disastrous consequence. In Sheptyts'kyi's view, it appeared possible that the Soviets went a little easy on the Poles in Galicia, because they were allies of England, but they had "no reason at all to spare us [Ukrainians] who, they assumed, not without reason, expected help from Germany."[4] This consideration for Germany was so great that the Metropolitan forwarded a message to the papal nuncio through his representative in Berlin regarding the relatively cautious Soviet policy on religion. He suggested that the Vatican should "stop reports which describe the

Russian persecution in more horrible (*più feroce*) terms, in order to increase the guilt of the Germans who had invited the Russians to occupy those areas."[5]

Since Hitler had prepared his attack on the Soviet Union behind the screen of a non-aggression pact and even seemingly friendly relations with Stalin, the Metropolitan could scarcely form a precise idea of the nature of the "liberation" of Ukraine. Was Ukraine to be an ally, a satellite, or a colony? Meetings with German members of the mixed Repatriation Commission, which was carrying out a population exchange between the German and the Soviet occupied parts of Poland in 1939-1941, could provide Sheptyts'kyi with only one-sided information.

For example, Professor Hans Koch, a theologian and expert on eastern Europe, who came to L'viv with Dr. Otto Wächter (as representative of Governor General Hans Frank) for talks with the Soviet authorities, had contacted the Metropolitan as early as January 1940.[6] Since the winter of 1940-1941 Professor Koch, a captain in the Wehrmacht, had been trying to win over émigré members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) on behalf of German military counter-intelligence (*Abwehr*). Koch's goal was to convince the OUN (by then divided into the radical Bandera and moderate Mel'nyk factions) to accept the idea of creating a Ukrainian Legion as well as to extend feelers to the Ukrainian underground in Galicia. Koch was also the *Abwehr* contact with Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi ideologist whom Hitler had already earmarked as "Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories." During this preparatory phase, Rosenberg was still arguing for the break-up of the Soviet Union into separate national entities, including a Ukrainian state, although other officials, like Governor General Frank, had already warned against the idea of a "Great Ukrainian state." They demanded instead that "distance" be maintained towards the Ukrainians, "who are friends but not confidants of the German people."[7]

When Koch did visit Sheptyts'kyi in L'viv, he hardly referred to Rosenberg, who was known to be extremely hostile to the church and Christianity in general. It is also very doubtful whether the Metropolitan had an accurate picture of the position of Volodymyr Kubiiovych, the chairman of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow, who had adapted to the policy of "distance" of Governor General Frank. Moreover, the Metropolitan did not know then about the *Einsatzgruppen* (Special Operations Groups) of SS Reichsführer Himmler, which were set up to carry out mass murders, especially against Jews. Instead, the Metropolitan relied on the code of honor of German army officers, under whose leadership two Ukrainian battalions (Nachtigall and Roland) had been formed. Both battalions were under the religious care of the Reverend Ivan Hryniokh, a military chaplain appointed by the Metropolitan. As they marched with the German advance toward L'viv on 22 June 1941, they were followed immediately by a group of politicians led by the twenty-nine-year-old Iaroslav Stets'ko of Bandera's faction of the OUN.

These politicians were quite determined to confront their German protectors as quickly as possible with a Ukrainian state as a fait accompli. For this purpose they required the active support of the Metropolitan, not only because his spiritual authority and national prestige allocated to him the role of a "third force" between the two wings of the divided OUN,[8] but also because he was of such great importance to the entire life of Ukrainian Galicia "that one could not ignore him if one did not want to risk political defeat."[9] Thus Stets'ko and Hryniokh visited the Metropolitan on 30 June 1941, the very day that L'viv was conquered by the Germans, and they obtained his "consent and blessing" for the declaration of an independent Ukrainian state.

The text of this document promised close cooperation with Germany—"which is fighting for a new European and world order under the leadership of its Führer, Adolf Hitler"—and it was quickly transmitted over Radio L'viv. This was done, however, without agreement from the Germans and without consultation with the moderate faction of the OUN led by Andrii Mel'nyk, who had long been close to the Metropolitan. Sheptyts'kyi was definitely not so naive as to believe that Hitler would allow Germany's Ukrainian policy to be dictated by the attempted fait accompli of the 30 June declaration. The Metropolitan did not know, however, that the OUN had been split for more than a year and that Hitler's consent to the foundation of a Ukrainian state was lacking. His visitors, Stets'ko and Hryniokh, had withheld both of these facts from him.[10] On the other hand, the anarchistic eruptions of hate and revenge that occurred in L'viv prior to and during the German entry dampened the Metropolitan's sympathy for the OUN.[11]

It was from Professor Koch, who called on him in the afternoon of 30 June, that Sheptyts'kyi first learned that the Germans opposed the "rash" formation of a government. In turn, Koch learned from Sheptyts'kyi that, at the very moment of their conversation, a Ukrainian National Assembly was being formed at which the Metropolitan was represented by Bishop Iosyf Slipyi. Koch immediately rushed to that meeting in an attempt to stop the proceedings and to warn against such action, but his efforts were in vain. Nonetheless, the concerns of Koch did seem to have an effect on Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. While the Metropolitan, on the following day (1 July), did issue a pastoral letter commending the "historical act" of the declaration of independence to God's blessing, its general tone sounded rather cautious.[12] It contained no battle cry against Bolshevism and no prayer for Hitler's victory (unlike Kubiiovych's appeal of 22 June from Cracow).[13] There was simply a call to the Ukrainian people "to prove through discipline, solidarity, and conscientious fulfillment of its duty that it is mature enough for a state of its own."[14] Sheptyts'kyi's concerns were confirmed that very day when riots broke out "in which many thousands of Jewish inhabitants of L'viv lost their lives."[15] The Stets'ko government looked on impotently, since it possessed no authority to take effective action. Nor, in the circumstances of the German occupation, was the Ukrainian National Council (formed on 6 July under the honorary chairmanship of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi) able to create any real authority for itself.

In fact, the German authorities dissolved Stets'ko's government and arrested him on 6 July. In the wake of this move, Professor Koch attempted to convince the Ukrainian National Council that the formation of a Ukrainian state was only being postponed until the Wehrmacht had conquered Kiev, the capital, which did not occur until 19 September. Koch also claimed that all rumors regarding the union of Galicia with the Generalgouvernement were nothing but "a provocation."[16] Koch wanted to make the Metropolitan part of a Ukrainian *Vertrauensrat* (Confidential Consultative Council), but when he made that proposal he clearly overstepped the bounds of his competence. As Minister Rosenberg later explained to Governor General Frank: "making Ukrainian policy was not up to Koch at all." Moreover, even Rosenberg "had given up his plan to create a Ukrainian state as a shield against Russian influences."[17] Hitler, who from the beginning had intended only to carry out a colonial war of conquest, decided on 17 July that "old Austrian" Galicia should be attached to the Generalgouvernement and that neither a national head of state nor a patriarch should be placed in Kiev but rather one of his most brutal governors, Erich Koch, as head of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*.[18] Sheptyts'kyi was alarmed by such decisions, and in a telegram to the Reich government dated 22 July 1941, he pointed out the "very undesirable results" of such intentions. He used political arguments which attempted to link the interests of the Hitler regime with those of Ukraine:

> Since 1918, the Ukrainian nation has been fighting a bloody war against the Polish and Bolshevik states for its ideal of a united free Ukraine. The annulment of their ideal for a state would shake their sincere sympathy for and trust in the German government and have an extremely negative effect on the vital interests of the Ukrainian people as well as on the just New Order of Europe in general.[19]

However, Hitler was unmoved by such objections, and on 1 August he allowed Galicia to be annexed to the Generalgouvernement. In L'viv, Governor General Hans Frank celebrated the transfer of administration from the Wehrmacht with speeches, toasts, and a "proclamation to the population of Galicia." Such acts were intended to sweeten the bitter pill for Ukrainians and their Greek Catholic Church, as was the fact that the proclamation was affixed to walls in the streets of the city in two languages (German and Ukrainian). In part, it read:

> Your private property shall be restored, the freedom of your ethnic and cultural life shall be assured, and freedom of worship (*praktik*) guaranteed. . . . Thus, Galicia has been brought back within the Reich again. . . . I greet you in the name of the Führer! May the Lord God give his blessing to the endeavor which we are beginning together![20]

Frank's proclamation could not eliminate among Ukrainians the disappointment and embitterment which corresponded in magnitude to the hopes and illusions that they had previously held. However, when the adherents of Bandera's faction of the OUN turned sharply against the Germans and some went into the armed underground, the Metropolitan urged moderation. In view of such circumstances, Sheptyts'kyi instructed his representatives in the Ukrainian National Council, Bishop Slipyi and the Reverend Kostel'nyk, to warn Ukrainians against undertaking anti-German activities, because these could have "terrible consequences" and place Ukrainians in the same "position as the Poles."[21]

On 30 August 1941, when the Metropolitan finally had an opportunity to forward a report for the Vatican to the papal nuncio in Budapest, he wrote almost exclusively about his experience with the Soviet regime. He said nothing about what had happened since 30 June, and, indeed, he had to consider that his letter (dispatched by a Hungarian officer) might fall into German hands. He pointed out very cautiously that now "the social bases of whatever authority had been tremendously shaken," and that "the burden of the war was great."[22] However, the letter also indicated that the Metropolitan still held to the hope that Hitler's war would produce positive results in the religious-pastoral sense. According to Sheptyts'kyi:

> One of the final decisive rewards is that our people will never again believe in any Communist propaganda. . . . As we begin our new apostolic work, we have behind us a great argument that all understand: the necessity of prayer and faith and the deep abyss into which human nature falls when it is separated from God and his most sacred grace. . . . We are indeed obliged to support the German army, which freed us from the Bolshevik regime, so that it can bring this war to a positive conclusion, which—God granting—will eliminate atheistic and militant Communism once and for all.[23]

The Metropolitan believed that in the new circumstances there were still prospects of developing his old missionary and ecumenical plans. As early as September 1939, as the Soviet occupation of Galicia was opening the border to the East, Sheptyts'kyi, with only the limited consent of the Vatican, lost no time in dividing the territory of the Soviet Union from Belorussia to Siberia into four exarchates for purposes of church administration.[24] At the

1940 synod which he convened in L'viv, the Metropolitan called upon priests "to prepare themselves to go to Russia as soon as it opened its doors to the work of the Uniate Church."[25] The German conquest of Ukraine now appeared to offer this opportunity. Two priests were sent from L'viv and actually reached Kiev, where they founded a Greek Catholic parish, although German policy forced it to close even before Easter 1942.[26] Hitler's viceroys, Koch and Rosenberg, who disagreed on all other matters, were united on this issue, and their views were reflected in a July 1941 directive from the Central Office for the Security of the Reich: "We will have to prevent Catholicism from becoming the real winner in the war on Russian territory, a war that was won with German blood."[27]

When reports (which proved to be false) suggesting that Stalin had written an accommodating letter to Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) were spread throughout the world, the one Greek Catholic church in Kiev was reopened temporarily. This, however, was only a tactical move and part of the general German occupation policy. This policy also permitted reestablishment in August 1941 of an autocephalous Orthodox Church of Ukraine.[28] Regardless of the ultimate goals of German policy, Sheptyts'kyi attempted to make use of whatever opportunities were available. On 7 November 1941, he wrote to Rome that the hopes of "seeing our dissident brothers in Great Ukraine return to the unity of the church are very high, all the more so since the [actual] possibilities of doing anything to promote it are nearly zero."[29] That being the case, he concluded, "God himself" would have to accomplish the task.

Sheptyts'kyi's written appeals to the Orthodox bishops and to the intellectuals of Ukraine, which urged them to accept reunion,[30] were just as unsuccessful as a bold request which he forwarded to the pope in a letter to Cardinal Tisserant. He asked that those "well-meaning dissidents" be incorporated spiritually into the Catholic church through an act of common intercession (*suffrages communes*) and that for this purpose a basis in canon law be created as well. For instance, the archiepiscopal title of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi (*Camenecensis Ruthenorum*), to which the Metropolitan was entitled only on an honorary basis, should be given territorial jurisdiction by the pope in order to facilitate missionary work in German-occupied Podolia. "At the moment, the area is not fully open to our priests, for the German authorities will not allow this," wrote the Metropolitan to Rome.[31] However, he continued, this prohibition was "not applied in such a way that it would be impossible to do so; it is simply a matter of knowing whether I have the right to send priests into this area."[32] Pius XII replied that the special powers Sheptyts'kyi received from Rome in 1940 should suffice.[33]

All this suggested that Sheptyts'kyi was expected to be concerned with his own Galician archeparchy. The situation there was not enviable. When the Vatican received a report dated 28 February 1942, from the Latin-rite archbishop of Cracow, Adam Stefan Sapieha (1912-1951), it became aware of the existence of terror, concentration camps, and deportations in the Generalgouvernement.[34] The Polish historian Czesław Madajczyk has recently argued that, in general, Ukrainians in East Galicia found themselves in a better situation under the Germans than under Polish rule before 1939. To support such a contention, Madajczyk mentioned the "rather great freedom" enjoyed by the churches.[35] The situation, however, was hardly so positive. For instance, Governor General Hans Frank, who travelled to Galicia for the first time in October 1941, attended the Ukrainian opera in L'viv but did not visit the Metropolitan. Also, it did not bode well for the local population when Frank declared on 16 December: "We have to destroy the Jews wherever we find them." As for the "Ukrainian question," this was more complicated, because Ukrainians served as a "counterweight to the Poles." However, they were not to be treated "even spiritually" as part of a "Great-Ukraine," and L'viv certainly must not become "a kind of substitute Kiev."[36]

Differences in the political climate, as expressed in these statements by Frank and as manifested in everyday Galician life far behind the front, influenced the Metropolitan and made it difficult for him to find his way. Two witnesses to the events of that period whom I was able to interview on these problems provide a contradictory picture, but it is probably accurate precisely because of those contradictions.

Archimandrite Johannes Peters, a German whom Sheptyts'kyi had ordained in 1937 and then sent back to Germany in 1939, returned to L'viv in 1941. Peters remembers that the Metropolitan was "misinformed," and that it was Peters who was the first to "set him straight" regarding the true intentions of the Nazis and thus put a stop to "dangerous influences" to which the Metropolitan was exposed.[37] Consequently, Sheptyts'kyi appointed Peters as "a kind of private secretary for political affairs" and sent him several times (in civilian clothing and with a fake civil service identity card) as a courier to Berlin. There Peters delivered letters from the Metropolitan to papal nuncio Orsenigo and brought mail and financial support back to L'viv. At the beginning of 1942, the Metropolitan wrote to SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, protesting the fact that "Ukrainian auxiliary police are being forced to shoot Jews." This is how Peters, who himself drafted the German text of the letter for the Metropolitan and then put the letter into a mailbox in Berlin, remembers it.[38]

A second view is that of Dr. Ludwig Losacker, who was SS Sturmbannführer and chief of the civil administration of the district of Galicia from August 1941 to late 1942. He had several confidential meetings with the Metropolitan toward the end of 1941. As Losacker recalls, Sheptyts'kyi spoke in a "cautious way" about the unique opportunity given to the Germans to split the "Great Russian Empire" created by Stalin into single nation-states, among which would be a Ukrainian state. However, the Metropolitan's expectations were reduced drastically when he "heard the shootings from executions even next to his residence."[39] Sheptyts'kyi protested against the executions personally to Losacker and to the Galician district governor Karl Lasch when they paid the Metropolitan an official visit. According to Losacker, Lasch simply referred the problem to the local police chief, Friedrich Katzmann. As for Sheptyts'kyi's future political concerns, Lasch replied in an abrupt manner: "I see, the church is thinking in terms of eternity; we think in shorter periods, simply from today to tomorrow."[40]

Among the day-to-day concerns of the thirty-seven-year-old Lasch was what his district of Galicia could supply the Reich. In short, Galicia was regarded solely as an object of economic exploitation and as a labor reservoir. By 1 August 1942, as many as 250,000 Ukrainians were transported to work in Germany. In a pastoral letter, the Metropolitan urged the deportees not to give up their faith while in exile.[41] In the Galician countryside, the villagers were increasingly pressured to make compulsory deliveries, while the promised return of private property, which had been confiscated during the short-lived Soviet regime, was not forthcoming. Hunger spread.

In January 1942, district governor Lasch was suddenly removed from office and arrested for corruption (Himmler subsequently had him shot without a trial). Lasch was replaced by SS Brigade Commander Dr. Otto Gustav Freiherr von Wächter, a leading Austrian Nazi who was considered a moderate.[42] Wächter's personal assistant, Dr. Heinz Georg Neumann, later recalled: "Although we liked the Poles much more, we favored the Ukrainians because of political expediency. Wächter, therefore, tried to carry on as much as possible the old tradition of Austrian policy in Galicia."[43] Such attitudes had an effect on Wächter's contacts with Sheptyts'kyi. In the words of Wächter's assistant:

> Both of them talked about old Austria, the Metropolitan from his own experience, for after all he had once been an Austrian cavalry officer, and Governor Wächter from the point of view of the tradition of an Austrian officer family. And both mourned, each in his own way, the demise of the multinational Austrian Empire.[44]

It is in this context that we have to consider Sheptyts'kyi's last attempt to encourage the German leaders to reverse their policy.

At the beginning of February 1942, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, as chairman of the National Council, signed (together with OUN leader Mel'nyk and others) a letter "to His Excellency, the Führer Adolf Hitler," which contained bitter protests about "Ukrainians being prohibited from taking part in the armed struggle against their traditional enemy" and about their treatment in general. The letter, which closed with the assurance that the "leading circles in Ukraine" were still willing to cooperate as closely as possible with Germany, made use of anti-Communist as well as anti-Russian and anti-Polish arguments which were supposed to be persuasive to the German dictator.[45] Since it was signed by an archbishop with the moral prestige of

Sheptyts'kyi, this letter must have had a very disconcerting effect when it became known at the Vatican. On 23 March 1942 the Polish ambassador to the Vatican, Kazimierz Papée, sent it to Cardinal Tisserant, who thought it was "a forgery (*un coup monté*) aimed at discrediting Sheptyts'kyi" in the Vatican.[46]

The Vatican soon learned what the Metropolitan really thought of the Hitler regime. The letter to the Führer, which the police apparently intercepted since it never reached Hitler, only accelerated the end of the National Council in L'viv. An apparent change of attitude that seemed to occur when Wächter, the new district governor, called on the Metropolitan at the beginning of February 1942, proved deceptive. At Sheptyts'kyi's request, Wächter did, indeed, declare his willingness to receive the National Council and, thus, to legitimize it as representative of the people. Wächter again appeared ready to do this when Bishop Slipyi paid him a return visit on behalf of the Metropolitan on 20 February, but only three days later, Kolf, a police official, demanded the dissolution of the National Council. The given reason was the letter to Hitler. On 4 March, Kolf even threatened to arrest the members of the National Council, except for its president Sheptyts'kyi, whose authority had to be respected because he had already been imprisoned in tsarist Russia and Poland.[47]

At the last National Council sessions on 11 and 27 February 1942, prior to its forced dissolution, members speaking on behalf of the Metropolitan stated their opinions frankly. Deadly hunger and the misuse of force had created an intolerable situation, said Bishop Slipyi. The people were being suppressed and the Metropolitan had been insulted, said Reverend Iuliian Dzerovych. Reverend Havriïl Kostel'nyk declared: "The Germans do not understand us and do not want to understand us . . . It cannot be ruled out that the Ukrainian people will hold us responsible one day because we did not protest energetically enough against all of the evil things now happening everywhere."[48]

What subsequently happened was documented by Governor General Frank in his diary. On 1 August 1942, as he visited L'viv for the second time during an inspection tour of Galicia, Frank was received by 15,000 singers of the United Ukrainian Choirs singing Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. In a public statement, Frank thanked the Führer, stating that he "had finally entrusted L'viv—this old Jew's nest, this Polack settlement—to German fists."[49] On 15 August, Frank noted that in the interests of Germany, "tension has to be maintained between the Ukrainians and the Poles," and on 24 August, he remarked that Germany's supply of bread cereals had to be secured "at the expense of the foreign population, ruthlessly and without pity."[50] "The fact that we are sentencing 1.2 million Jews to starvation is only of marginal interest."[51]

Faced with the harsh realities of German rule, on 29 August 1942 Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi took up his pen to express his horror, his disappointment, his accusations against the occupying regime, and his appeal to the highest moral authority of his church, the pope. While he may have written with a trembling hand, his words were powerful and left nothing to the imagination. While in the first few months after the German invasion the situation may have improved, before long they set up

> a regime of terror that is becoming more intolerable every day. Today the entire country is in agreement that the German regime is perhaps even more evil than the Bolshevik; in fact, it is almost diabolical. For a year, not one day has gone by on which the most horrible crimes have not been committed. . . . In Kiev, 130,000 men, women, and children were executed within a few days. . . . Hundreds of thousands have been arrested, usually without any legal basis; many young people have been shot without any plausible reason; the farm population has been placed under a slave regime. . . . The return of private property has been proclaimed a number of times without the promise being kept. On the contrary, the authorities help themselves without restraint to the property confiscated by the Bolsheviks and declare that all land is state property. . . . The Bolshevik system is being continued, extended, and deepened. Certainly, there are also honest people among the leading civil servants (*dirigeants*); one sometimes even meets good Catholics, but the great majority of the people we meet have no faith or belief in law and allow themselves quite incredible abuses. They treat the villagers like negroes in the colonies. . . . It is very simply as if a pack of raving or rabid wolves had fallen upon a poor people. . . . [52]

Sheptyts'kyi noted that the anti-Catholic laws of the German Reich had ''not yet'' been applied to the church in Galicia, that the Ukrainian clergy received *eine freiwillige Unterstützung* (a voluntary subsidy) of fifty Reichsmarks, and that it also received secret assistance from German Catholics. However, all of this was ''not sufficient to offset the unspeakable demoralization,'' the deliberate murder, and the loss of the feeling for justice and humanity. Sheptyts'kyi reminded the pope that he, too, knew the Nazi regime:

> this system of lies, of deceit, of injustice, of pillage, a caricature of every idea of civilization and order; this system of national chauvinism exaggerated to the absurd, of hatred of everything good and beautiful; this system, which is something so phenomenal that one's first reaction to the sight of the monster is dumfounded amazement. Where will this system lead the unfortunate German people?[53]

In 1939, Sheptyts'kyi had asked the pope in a letter to ''delegate'' him for a martyr's death,[54] although he never received an answer to this mystic desire. Now the Metropolitan wrote that he had lost ''the best and the only opportunity'' under the Soviet occupation. ''These last three years have convinced me that I am not worthy of such a death."[55] While one might sense in these words a feeling of desperate impotence, other passages suggest that the Metropolitan had not yet given up. He informed the pope, for instance, that he had written a letter of protest to Himmler;[56] that he had warned Ukrainian youth against joining the "militias" in which they could be scandalized; and that he had written pastoral letters which threatened those who committed murder with excommunication. The pastoral letters had been "confiscated of course," but they had nevertheless been repeatedly read to the assembled clergy.

The pope never answered Sheptyts'kyi's dramatic letter. Perhaps he thought that a reply had been stated in an earlier letter dated 24 August 1942, which exhorted Sheptyts'kyi and his clergy not to allow their faith to be weakened, and "in view of the increasing evil," never to lose hope but to endure everything with "serene patience."[57] When the Metropolitan finally received the pope's modest consolation three weeks later, he did not dare to publicize it, because he did not want "to expose a letter from the vicar of Christ to official confiscation."[58]

However, Sheptyts'kyi did print his own pastoral letter of 21 November 1942, in which he condemned the large-scale murder occurring in Galicia. That letter appeared in the official publication of the L'viv archeparchy, and it was subsequently inserted in the resolutions (adopted on 3 December 1942) of the eparchial synod. Headed with the text of the Fifth Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," the Metropolitan's letter warned "of the evil that has been spreading among us recently in such a horrible manner."[59] He devoted a separate section of the pastoral to the theme of "political murder."

> Those who do not look upon political murder as a sin entertain a peculiar kind of self-delusion—as if politics freed men from the obligation to observe divine law and justified a crime that is contrary to human nature. This is not the case. . . . A person who sheds the innocent blood of his enemy, of his political opponent, is just as much a murderer as one who does it for robbery and is just as deserving of God's punishment and the condemnation of the church.[60]

The next ten lines of the pastoral letter, which were included in the first copies printed, were apparently removed at the last moment by the censors of the German occupation forces.[61] They read:

> There are people who, in a kind of moral blindness, feel themselves called to pronounce sentences of death and to carry them out as punishment for some supposed transgression. The state may punish the wrongdoer, even with a death sentence, provided it is necessary and in conformity with criminal law. However, natural law demands that the wrongdoer has the right to defend himself. Moreover, a death sentence, like any other punish-

> ment, is only lawful if the crime to be punished has been proven. And when the evidence is presented, the defendant who is to be punished must have the opportunity to appeal to a higher, and indeed the highest, court, whose duty it is to determine whether the judgment handed down in the court of first instance is just and whether the crime truly happened and has been proven.[62]

These censored sentences may have been perceived as specific references to the German occupation forces and their regime of terror, but why did the Germans allow this pastoral letter to be published at all? The pastoral was primarily directed against the almost anarchistic, civil-war-like conditions which had arisen in 1942-1943 in Galicia, and which were becoming more and more of a security risk for the Germans. It was the bloody clash between Polish and Ukrainian nationalism—each of which was also internally divided—which was open as well as hidden and which had been provoked even more by Hitler's policies. In his pastoral, Sheptyts'kyi used harsh words to denounce the hatred and lack of unity among Ukrainians as a "degeneration of the national conscience and of the patriotic spirit" which was driving them to bloodshed. "Imagine all the enemies Ukraine will have to fear if Ukrainians fight among themselves and are not even ashamed of their hatred! . . . The world is coming to an end because of a lack of love, it is dying from human hatred!"[63]

In a private letter of 3 September 1942 to Cardinal Tisserant in the Vatican, Sheptyts'kyi had complained that the Germans were exposing young Ukrainians to "terrible demoralization" by recruiting them into police and militia units and persuading them that they were performing patriotic work while instead they were misused "for their own perverted purposes."[64] Eight months later, on 8 May 1943, the Metropolitan reported to the Vatican about the murder of the Orthodox Archbishop Aleksii, by those "we call partisans," and he outlined briefly the general chaotic situation: "All of Volhynia and parts of Galicia are full of bands which have a certain political character. Some are made up of Poles, others of Ukrainians, and others even of Communists; others are truly bandits, people of all nationalities, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians."[65] On 12 June 1943 Count Malvezzi, the representative of the Instituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI, the Italian state holding company) in Poland, brought the Metropolitan's last report to the Vatican. Most of it was delivered orally, but in the few sentences written in Latin to papal Secretary of State Maglione, Sheptyts'kyi indicated that "incredible" murder was continuing.[66]

In the meantime, after their unsuccessful battle for Stalingrad, the Germans began to retreat from eastern Ukraine. The impending defeat caused some leading officials of the occupation forces to argue for an easing of the policy of repression, for "flexible" behavior, and for a belated attempt to win over the previously scorned "Ukrainian allies."[67] Governor General

Frank, who as late as July 1942 had declared in L'viv that "We are the master race," stated during his third tour of inspection (21 June 1943) that "The expression 'master race' should be prohibited."[68] Frank now praised Ukrainians as a "harmless, good-natured people," of which 70,000 men had volunteered for the SS Schützendivision Galizien (SS Infantry Division Galicia).[69] This division, which was also intended to bring under control the anti-Russian and anti-Polish partisan and terrorist activities of the Ukrainian national underground and to channel them into "legitimate" German activities, was primarily the work of district governor Wächter.[70] Wächter had announced the formation of the Division Galizien on 24 April 1943 and set up a Ukrainian "Defence Committee" in L'viv to recruit men.

Since his appointment as district governor in early 1942, Wächter had endeavored to develop correct contacts with the Metropolitan. He arranged to have the Defence Committee, together with its German "controller," the retired colonel Alfred Bisanz, received by Sheptyts'kyi on 8 July 1943.[71] Ten days later, Sheptyts'kyi appointed five military chaplains for the division, which was an innovation in the Waffen-SS. One of them, the Reverend Vasyl' Laba, gave a sermon on the "difficult struggle against Bolshevism" during a mass celebrated for the soldiers of the division by Bishop Slipyi, the coadjutor of the Metropolitan.[72]

What was it that had moved the Metropolitan, despite his deep abhorrence of Nazi rule, once again to give his blessing to collaboration with the German regime, even under the SS symbol? Did he fear the return of the Soviets? Did he hope that this eventuality could still be prevented? Did he have new illusions about a change in Hitler's policy or Germany's chances of victory?

It is known that Sheptyts'kyi had arranged contacts and meetings in the spring of 1943 between the Polish resistance movement (*Armia Krajowa*, AK) which was allied to the Polish government-in-exile in London, and the Ukrainian underground (OUN and UPA).[73] Indeed, for the Metropolitan this was primarily a moral matter. He hoped to overcome antagonism and the bloody results it had caused in Galicia. His political thinking, however, from as early as 1942 had been based on the assumption that Hitler's Germany would probably be defeated. It was still uncertain to what extent—strengthened or weakened—the Soviet Union would be among the victors. Their status would also determine the future of the eastern border of Poland and of Galician Ukraine. In the end, Ukrainian-Polish contacts broke down mainly because of fundamental differences on the political future and also because the Polish resistance movement (AK), despite its anti-Communist and anti-Russian feelings, was realistic enough not to fight the Soviets but only the Germans. The illusion of some Ukrainian nationalists that they could save their own future by fighting everyone—Russians, Poles, and Germans—was as far from Sheptyts'kyi's views as any hope in Hitler or Stalin. Hence, the question remains about what motivated him, just one year before the total collapse, to support the formation of a Ukrainian SS division.

Sheptyts'kyi felt the formation of a Ukrainian army was a necessity. "If the German defeats continue," he stated, "and there is a period of anarchy and chaos, we will be very happy to have a national army to maintain order and to counteract the worst outrages until regular Soviet troops arrive."[74] This statement was made in September 1943 in a conversation with Dr. Frédéric, whose report represents a unique source on Sheptyts'kyi's thinking at that time. It appears credible because the author of that report was friendly towards the Metropolitan, even if he did not share those views. Dr. Frédéric was a French expert on eastern Europe who worked for the German foreign office in Berlin. He had known the Metropolitan personally since 1928 and therefore was entrusted with the task of drawing Sheptyts'kyi out.[75]

In the first conversation, the Metropolitan deplored the "increasing insecurity, murders, acts of sabotage, and plundering," and he regretted that he failed to end the "Polish-Ukrainian civil war." His attempt to induce the Polish bishops to join him in a mutual declaration from the pulpit against the murders had also failed. In view of this situation, he favored the formation of the Ukrainian SS division as a guardian of public order until Soviet troops arrived. "The Metropolitan," wrote Frédéric,

> despite his loyal collaboration with Germany, is convinced that its defeat is inevitable. He claims that the military defeat on the Eastern Front has already been completed. . . . He also believes that the Anglo-Americans will gain the upper hand in the West—for a short time—but that the final vic tory of Bolshevism is certain. . . . They will undoubtedly rule the whole world.[76]

Frédéric then asked whether Sheptyts'kyi expected salvation to come from Germany. The Metropolitan answered that "Germany is worse than Bolshevism. National Socialism is more attractive to the masses; it exercises more power over young people than Bolshevism. It is a great phenomenon, which can only be temporary or which will change." Sheptyts'kyi reproached the Germans mainly for "their inhumane behavior" towards the Jews. The Germans had killed 100,000 in L'viv alone and "millions in Ukraine." A young man had confessed to "having himself murdered seventy-five people in L'viv in one night alone."[77]

Frédéric replied that Judaism was a "mortal danger for Christianity," and noted that "the Metropolitan admitted that this was correct, but insisted that the extermination of the Jews was not permissible." Frédéric attributed this view to the "directives of the Vatican," which the Metropolitan believed to be "in the hands of the Germans." In that regard, Sheptyts'kyi angrily observed that Radio Vatican, "after having been silent at first," was now broadcasting only religious topics in German. "On the whole," wrote Frédéric, "the Metropolitan is resigning himself to seeing Europe under Bolshevik control. Religion, which was already dead in Russia, might disappear in the West as well."[78]

Sheptyts'kyi's sense of defeat did not lead him to hope for a German victory. Quite unlike the Orthodox Metropolitan Polikarp who, as late as May 1944, was still praying for Hitler's victory over the "Jewish Communists,"[79] Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi grounded his hope exclusively in religious faith. Accordingly, in his closing address to the L'viv synod of 1944, he shed no tears for the German regime. Instead, he prepared, in faith, to face another Soviet occupation of his western Ukrainian homeland. The coming catastrophe, which "menaces us as a result of our own behavior," will be "like none ever experienced by our people. . . . In such times, our only hope is to rely on the mercy and help of the Almighty God."[80]

Notes

1. Cited from the forward to a volume published by the Catholic Immigrant Welfare Society, *Die Kirche und das östliche Christentum: Ukraine und die kirchliche Union* (Berlin, 1929), p. 9.
2. For additional material on Sheptyts'kyi's views and the historical context, see Hansjakob Stehle, *The Eastern Politics of the Vatican, 1917-1939* (Athens, Ohio, 1981) and "Der Lemberger Metropolit Šeptyćkyj und die nationalsozialistische Politik in der Ukraine," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, XXXIV, 3 (Munich, 1986), pp. 407-25.
3. See *Polska Zbrojna* (Warsaw), no. 218, 8 August 1939, later quoted by Karl Rosenfelder, a member of Reichminister Rosenberg's staff, in a report dated 4 December 1941, about the religious situation in Ukraine. A copy of that is in the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich (T-81, roll 15/MA-128/4).
4. Letter of Sheptyts'kyi to the Papal Nuncio in Budapest, dated 30 August 1941, in *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les Pays baltes, 1939-1945*, pt. 1: *1939-1941*, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde guerre mondiale, vol. III (Vatican City, 1967), doc. 297, p. 440.
5. Ibid., docs. 144 and 105, pp. 246 and 206. Sheptyts'kyi's representative in Berlin was the Greek Catholic priest, Monsignor Petro Werhun, through whom the message was delivered. Until 1945, Werhun was in daily contact to exchange information with SS Sturmbannführer Albert Hartl, the head of the Fourth Intelligence Section (Abteilung IV) of the Third Reich's Central Security Office (RSHA). See the Records of the National Archive, Washington, D.C., RG 238-CIPIR/106, CI-FIR, 123.
6. Members of the Repatriation Commission carried mail for the Metropolitan to the West, as he mentioned in his letter to Cardinal Tisserant in Rome, dated 26 December 1939: "I send this letter today 16 January 1940. . . . The Commission seems to have finished its task. So this is perhaps the last occasion to send a letter." *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 79, p. 171.
7. Hans Frank, *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939-1945* (Stuttgart, 1975), diary entry dated 12 September 1940, p. 281.

   For further details on the conflict between Germany's leaders regarding their policy toward Ukraine, see Roman Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland und die Ukraine*, vol. II

(Munich, 1956), pp. 208-21 and 226; Ryszard Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w politice III Rzeszy, 1933-1945* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 227-346; Gerald Reitlinger, *Ein Haus auf Sand gebaut* (Hamburg, 1960), pp. 190-267; Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945: A Study in Occupation Policies* (New York, 1957), pp. 131-60; and Wolodymyr Kosyk, ed., *Das Dritte Reich und die ukrainische Frage: Dokumente, 1934-1944* (Munich, 1985), pp. 67-138.

8. Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, pp. 176 and 184.
9. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska*, p. 234.
10. Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, p. 176.
11. An interesting account of conditions before and just after the German entry in L'viv was provided recently by an eyewitness:

"The prison on Kazimierzowska, popularly referred to as Brygidki [Brygidky], was used by the [Soviet] NKVD in the years 1939-1941. The prisoners there consisted of 'politically undesirable' Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians. The decomposed bodies of the victims were subsequently found in the cellars of the building.

"In the early morning of July 1, 1941, Ukrainians were hunting Jews at random, and were dragging them to the Brygidki prison. . . . A group of young men, wearing blue and yellow armbands, led by the superintendent of the building, a Ukrainian, broke into my home. I was taken to the prison with other Jews living in the building. I was then sixteen years old, a schoolboy, and had nothing to do with the Soviets. . . .

"At the prison we were forced to remove from the cellars the decomposed bodies of the victims and were guarded by soldiers in German uniforms, wearing yellow and blue patches. Shortly after my arrival at the prison, new victims of the outrage were summarily shot. I have seen my father among them [Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin]. . . . Over two thousand Jews, picked up at random, were shot in Brygidki on that day. . . .

"My father was captured by Ukrainian 'militzia' in front of our home, on his return from an audience with the late Metropolitan. . . . German troops on that day, July 1, 1941, were passing through the city, in pursuit of the retreating Red Army. The Sonderkommando of the SS arrived a day later and carried out the execution of the Polish university professors. My father, however, was shot in Brygidki prison by Ukrainians wearing German uniforms.

"At the end of this horrible day, 60-70 remaining Jews who were working to lift the bodies of the executed prisoners out of the cellars, were lined up against the wall to be shot. A German officer, who arrived in the evening, stopped the massacre, ordering the little remaining group of Jews out of Brygidki. I was among them and witnessed all this."

The foregoing is from a copy of a letter sent to me by Kurt I. Lewin (who survived the war under the protection of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi) to Roman Bojcun, December 6, 1984. In the above description, Lewin is careful not to equate those who rounded up Jews with the OUN: "I could not, under the circumstances, inquire who they were and to which unit did they belong."

All the details of the events that occurred in L'viv on July 1, 1941 are still today not yet clarified and are disputed by eyewitnesses. There is concrete evidence in reports of the SS Einsatzgruppen, German units responsible primarily for the assassination of the Jews. The Einsatzkommando 4b, a sub-unit of Einsatzgruppe B, reported on July 1, 1941, that its advance party (*Vorkommando*) had already entered L'viv on June 30 and had taken over the central headquarters of the NKVD. According to the Einsatzkommando 4b report, "the prison was full of corpses—an incredible abomination." The same day, Einsatzgruppe B reported that "efforts at self-purification [*Selbstreinigungs-Bestrebungen*] on the part of [local] anti-Communist and anti-Jewish circles were being intensified."

On July 2, an order was given to all Einsatzgruppen that the purification work

[*Reinigungsaktion*] has, of course, to be primarily directed against Bolsheviks and Jews." The head of the Einsatzgruppe B reported that his unit entered L'viv early at 5:00 a.m. on July 1 and that it had set up its offices in the former headquarters of the NKVD; at the same time, he also reported that a "Ukrainian revolt in L'viv on June 25, 1941 was brutally suppressed by the NKVD" and that since then "elements within the Bandera faction [of the OUN] under the leadership of Stetsko and Ravlyk had organized a militia." On July 3, the sub-unit Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe B reported from L'viv that "according to reliable reports, 30,000 inhabitants were shot by the Russians before their departure. . . . There is deep consternation among the people; a thousand Jews have already been rounded up. On July 2, Einsatzkommando 6 reported [also from L'viv] that 133 Jews were shot."

The above information is from the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR Nr. 8-11/BA/R, 214/fol. 46,48,53,61,62. See also Kosyk, *Dritte Reich,* p. 65 (who cites incorrectly the time of the arrival of Einsatzgruppe B in L'viv). For the events in L'viv, in particular the activity of the SS Einsatzgruppen and their local helpers, see also Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of European Jews* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 193-199; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London, 1953), p. 229; and Dallin, *German Rule*, p. 129.

12. See the discussion and text of Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter in Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion Graf Andreas Scheptytzkyj* (Munich, 1955), pp. 221-2. Another version of the pastoral letter, which greets "the victorious German army as a liberator," is quoted by Edward Prus, *Władyka Świetojurski: rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim, 1865-1944* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 213, based on a document said to be held in the Central State Historical Archive in L'viv, fond 201, op. 1, spr. 34, ark. 1.

    It should be mentioned that Prus is known for his one-sided and tendentious interpretation of sources which is only partially offset by his criticism of the propagandistic presentation of Sheptyts'kyi in Soviet writings. On the shortcomings of the Prus study, see the review by Benedykt Heydenkorn in *Zeszyte Historyczne*, no. 73 (Paris, 1985), pp. 212-6; and particularly the meticulously documented review article of Andrzej Zięba in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XCII, 4 (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 885-900.

    Finally, two versions of the 1 July 1941 pastoral are reprinted in Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu* (New York and Toronto, 1957), pp. 112-13 and 116.
13. Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, p. 152.
14. Cited from the text in Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, p. 222.
15. Kurt I. Lewin, "Archbishop Andreas Sheptytsky and the Jewish Community in Galicia During the Second World War," *Unitas*, XII, 2 (Garrison, N.Y., 1960), p. 136. See also above, note 11.
16. Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, p. 210.
17. Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 412.
18. *International Military Tribunal*, vol. XXXVIII, doc. L-221 (Protokoll Bormann-Hitler).
19. Cited in Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, p. 224.
20. *Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement* (Cracow, 1941), p. 441. A photocopy of this document as well as photographs of L'viv at the time are in Max du Prel, *Das Generalgouvernement* (Würzburg, 1942), p. 354. For the contemporary German view of the Ukrainian situation, see also Franz Obermaier, *Ukraine, Land der Schwarzen Erde* (Vienna, 1942), pp. 105-11 and 189ff.
21. Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, pp. 218-9.
22. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 324, p. 493.
23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., pt. 1, doc. 375, p. 565.
25. From paragraph 20 of the decisions (*canones*) of the synod, cited in Charles de Clercq, ed., *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. XI, pt. 2 (Paris, 1952), p. 962.
26. The two were Protsiuk and Kladochnyi. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 375, p. 565.
27. Robert A. Graham, "Come e perché Hitler bloccó il Vaticano in Russia," *Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome), 4 November and 2 December 1972.
28. See the discussion in John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism* (New York, 1963), pp. 188-210.
29. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 324, p. 493.
30. Reunion meant returning to the authority of the papal church. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, pp. 197-8.
31. *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2: *1942-1945* (1967), doc. 367, p. 555.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., pt. 2, doc. 418, p. 645.
34. Ibid., pt. 2, doc. 357, p. 539.
35. Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vol. I (Warsaw, 1970), p. 466.
36. Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 458.
37. Taped interview with Archimandrite Peters in Pietzenkirchen (Bavaria) on 18 January 1985.
38. The German secret police in L'viv subsequently attempted in vain to learn who had sent the letter to Berlin. On 11 December 1942 Peters was arrested in L'viv for "anti-Reich activities in collaboration with Ukrainian circles." Kurt I. Lewin saw a copy of this letter (the text of which has not yet been located in any German archive) in the Metropolitan's archive in 1943 and an answer from Himmler as well, which stated that Sheptyts'kyi should not interfere in matters "which were none of his business."

    Despite its unknown fate, there is no shortage of references to and detailed discussion of Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Himmler. Cf. the study by Shimon Redlich, chapter 7 below, note 47; Rabbi Dr. Herzog as quoted in I. B. [Ivan Bodnaruk], *Velykyi chernets' i narodoliubets'* (Prudentopolis, 1949), p. 130; Mykhailo Khomiak, "Diial'nist' Mytropolyta Andreia pid nimets'koiu okupatsiieiu," *Lohos*, VI, 3 (Yorkton, Sask., 1955), p. 214; Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimets'koï okupatsiï* (New York and Toronto, 1967), pp. 29-30; and Edward Prus, "Cerkiew greckokatolicka w okresie wojny i okupacji Hitlerowskiej," *Śląskie Studia Historyczne*, I (Katowice, 1975), p. 69. Moreover, Sheptyts'kyi himself referred to his letter to Himmler of August 1942 in a subsequent letter to Cardinal Tisserant (see below, note 56).
39. Taped interview with Dr. Ludwig Losacker in Heidelberg, on 1 November 1984. Losacker was demoted by Himmler in 1943 because of critical comments he made about German occupation policies. Sent as a Waffen SS soldier to a "penal-unit" on the front in Italy, Losacker was captured by the Americans in 1945, but soon released on the recommendation of Polish anti-Nazis. Today he lives as a pensioner in Heidelberg.
40. Ibid.
41. Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, p. 224; Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 531.
42. Wächter was among the leaders of the 1934 Nazi putsch against the Dollfuss government in Austria. After the war, and until his death in 1949, he lived under the name Alfredo Reinhardt in Rome, where he was supported by the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Buchko and the Austrian Bishop Hudal. Cf. Alois Hudal, *Römische Tagebucher* (Graz, 1976) and my taped interview with Wächter's widow, Charlotte Wächter, held on 28 September 1984.
43. Cited from a letter to me, dated 17 October 1984, from Dr. Heinz Georg Neumann, who lives as a pensioner in Bonn.

44. Ibid.
45. The German text of the letter, dated 14 January 1942, appears in Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, pp. 276-9; a Ukrainian translation is in Taras Hunchak and Roman Sol'chanyk, eds. *Ukraïns'ka suspil'no-politychna dumka v 20 stolitti: dokumenty i materiialy*, vol. III ([New York], 1983), pp. 44-7.
46. See the letter of Cardinal Tisserant to Papée, dated 27 March 1943, from the Papée Papers, Hoover Institution Library, Stanford, California, reel 39.
47. Ilnitzkyj, *Deutschland*, vol. II, pp. 250-6. According to Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky*, pp. 29-30, it was Sheptyts'kyi's vehement protest to Himmler against the extermination of Jews, not his letter to Hitler (on the political fate of Galicia), that led to the dissolution of the Ukrainian National Council.
48. Cited in Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky*, p. 248.
49. Frank, *Diensttagebuch*, p. 532.
50. Ibid., pp. 542-8.
51. Ibid., p. 550.
52. The full text of Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Pope Pius XII is in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2, doc. 406, pp. 625-9. A photocopy of the last page of the original letter that appears opposite page 628, is reproduced as illustration 31 in this volume.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., pt. 2, doc. 79, p. 172.
55. Ibid., pt. 2, doc. 406, p. 629.
56. See the letter of Sheptyts'kyi 29–31 August 1942, ibid, pt. 2, p. 628; and the references above, in note 38.
57. *Le Saint Siège,* pt. 2, doc. 404, p. 622.
58. He wrote this to Pius XII on 14 September 1942. Ibid., pt. 2, doc. 409, p. 633. On the very same day as this Sheptyts'kyi letter, the Polish Bishop Radonski in London sent Polish reproaches to the Vatican complaining about papal silence (*et Papa tacet*). See ibid., pt. 2, doc. 410, pp. 633–6, and the answer of Cardinal Maglione, pt. 2, doc. 460, pp. 713–18.
59. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti,* LV, 11 (L'viv, 1942), p. 179.
60. Ibid.
61. Neither Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit,* pp. 230ff., nor the text of the pastoral "Ne Ubyi" that appears in *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV,* pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï, 1941–1944,* Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 222–31, includes these lines. They did appear on p. 179 in some of the first uncensored copies of the November 1942 issue of the L'viv archeparchial *Vidomosti*. I obtained in 1983 two photocopy versions from the not yet accessible Sheptyts'kyi file, Cardinal Tisserant papers, Archivio della Congregazione degli Affari Straordinari, The Vatican. On one photocopy, the heading on the title page of the pastoral letter has been moved down about three centimeters; consequently, the whole text has been moved as well so that the deletion of the ten original printed lines on p. 179 is not visible. Page 179 of the uncensored version, with the missing lines, appears as illustration 32 at the end of this volume.
62. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti, LV,* II (L'viv, 1942), p. 179.
63. Ibid.
64. See Eugène Tisserant, *L'Église militante* (Paris, 1950), p. 14.
65. *Le Saint Siège,* pt. 1, doc. 503, pp. 790–1.
66. Ibid., pt. 1, doc. 521, p. 811.
67. These were the views of Galician district governor Wächter's memorandum from 20 March 1943 (Nurnberger Dokument, NO-3255). See also Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska,* pp. 275–81; and Martin Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939–1945* (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 168 ff.

68. Frank, *Diensttagebuch,* pp. 534 and 696. See also Basil Dmytryshyn, "The Nazis and the SS Volunteer Division 'Galicia'," *American Slavic and East European Review,* XV, 1 (New York, 1956), pp. 1–10.
69. Frank, *Diensttagebuch,* p. 696.
70. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska,* p. 293. Closely linked to Wächter's activity was the head of the German Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst), SS-Sturmbannführer Schenk, who in a secret memorandum, dated 12 May 1943, on the "Ukrainian Question" (which Losacker supported as well), argued for the adoption of a "liberal" policy toward the Ukrainians. Schenk, a former Protestant theologian, had spoken several times with Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi (based on information from my taped interview of 11 December 1984 with Wächter's personal assistant, Heinz Georg Neumann). The original memorandum on the "Ukrainian Question" is in the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Dr. Schlüter papers, R 102 II/11.
71. *L'vivs'ki visti,* 9 July 1943, as cited in Prus, *Władyka,* p. 267, n. 156.
72. *Stanyslavs'ke slovo,* 2 May 1943, as cited in Prus, *Władyka,* p. 279, note 161.
73. Ryszard Torzecki, "Kontakty polsko-ukraińske na tle problemu ukrainskiego w polityce Polskiego Rządu Emigracyjnego i podziemia (1939–1944)," *Dzieje Najnowsze,* XIII, 1–2 (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 319–46; and Edward Prus, "Kolaboranci czy herosi?" *Życie Literackie* (Cracow), 8 April 1984.
74. Report of Dr. Frédéric in the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, Paris, document no. CXLV a-66, p. 3.
75. The name of a Dr. Vsevolod Frédéric appeared on a 1943 list of French collaborationist publicists as a staff member of *L'Europe nouvelle* (Paris). The Frédéric report (signed without the first name) includes an accompanying note from Rosenfelder of the Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories to a Dr. Bräutigam with the observation that the report, which came from the foreign office, had also been given to the Reich Propaganda Minsitry and was a "remarkable" document.

    Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky,* p. 413, has suggested that "Dr. Frédéric" is the French professor René Martel, who was known for his strong anti-Polish views, as in his earlier publications, *La Pologne et nous* (Paris, 1928) and *La France et la Pologne* (Paris, 1931).
76. Report of Dr. Frédéric, p. 3.
77. Ibid. pp. 3–4.
78. Ibid. p. 5.
79. Frank, *Diensttagebuch,* p. 847. Metropolitan Polikarp of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had also written in 1943 a pastoral letter against Bolshevism, which Sheptyts'kyi considered "not very cautious" (*peu prudent*) in light of prevailing fears that a second Soviet occupation was imminent. See the letter of Sheptyts'kyi to Cardinal Tisserant, dated 8 May 1943, in *Le Saint Siège,* pt. 2, doc. 503, p. 791.
80. *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti,* LVII, 1 (L'viv, 1944), pp. 16–17, as quoted by Prus, *Władyka,* p. 286.

Chapter 7

Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews During World War II*

Shimon Redlich

Any discussion of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in modern history in general, and during World War II in particular, tends to become quite subjective, emotional, and controversial. Both Ukrainian and Jewish views on the subject abound in stereotyping and generalizations. However, one also discerns groups and individuals within both communities who are calling for a change of mood.[1]

One should condemn the presentation of two differing and often opposing versions of history, but one should also beware of turning historical scholarship into an intentional instrument for the improvement of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. This should happen only as a natural by-product of a dispassionate "airing of the past" by historians committed to a careful and even-handed investigation of "what actually happened." Perhaps the most appropriate means to attain this objective is to undertake monographic studies of specific issues, periods, and personalities. Only the cumulative result of such research will present an accurate portrayal of the past.

The purpose of this study is to examine one of the most outstanding and significant Ukrainian personalities of the twentieth century, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, and particularly his relationship with Jews during World War II, a crucial period for both Jews and Ukrainians. Since relations between Ukrainians and Jews were usually shaped within the framework of a wider political entity, be it tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union, Poland, or Nazi Germany, those relations were not strictly bilateral. They were also influenced considerably by the interests of Ukrainians and Jews vis-à-vis the ruling nationality and by the latter's policies towards both Jews and Ukrainians.

During World War II, Ukrainian-Jewish relations, already strained in the prewar years and particularly in the 1939-1941 period, entered their most tragic stage. These two groups had diametrically opposed interests. Whereas substantial numbers of Ukrainians viewed Hitler's Germany as the only alternative to Stalin's Soviet Union and therefore as a potential sponsor of an independent Ukraine, Nazi Germany spelled total annihilation for the Jews. This seems to be the significant setting within which the dramatic, complex, and at times conflicting events of those years took place.

Since the personality, views, and activities of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi are subject to various, and at times, conflicting interpretations, it would be useful to outline the principal historiographical attitudes, especially those touching upon his relations with Jews. Soviet historiography and propaganda have usually presented an extremely negative image of the Metropolitan. In the context of World War II, Sheptyts'kyi is often presented as an undisputed collaborator with the Germans. As early as 1948, he was portrayed by the Soviet-Ukrainian writer Iaroslav Halan as an assistant to the Nazi regime at a time of "the mass execution of Jews by the Hitlerites."[2] Two decades later, in the wake of the Arab-Israeli Six Day War and a resultant Soviet anti-Israeli propaganda campaign, an article in *L'vovskaia pravda* condemned both Sheptyts'kyi and Rabbi David Kahane as Nazi collaborators. Speaking in terms of Ukrainian and Jewish "fascists," the article bitterly commented on Ukrainian "Banderites, who, having annihilated hundreds of thousands of Jews, are now stretching out their arms over the Mediterranean to the Israeli Zionists . . . "[3]

The use of a common denominator to describe Sheptyts'kyi as well as to describe extremist Ukrainian elements, Jews saved by Sheptyts'kyi, and contemporary Zionists, also occurred in other Soviet or pro-Soviet publications. In a book published in 1979 by Michael Hanusiak, who was clearly influenced by Soviet interpretations, Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainian nationalists were severely criticized, and the author hinted at Sheptyts'kyi's identification with Nazism because he once wore a swastika.[4] *Visti z Ukraïny,* a Soviet publication directed at Ukrainians abroad, spoke of "a group of Judases from the so-called 'Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation,' who wish to push through a resolution proclaiming Metropolitan A. Sheptyts'kyi as a righteous Man of Peace for having 'saved' Jews from destruction by the Nazis during the Second World War."[5] This article used as "proof" the argument previously used by Hanusiak, that is, a picture of Sheptyts'kyi wearing a swastika in 1939 or 1940. In fact, this particular "swastika" was of an entirely different nature, and in the given context served as an emblem of the Ukrainian youth organization Plast, which was outlawed by the Polish authorities as early as 1930.[6] When the photograph was taken (circa 1930), Sheptyts'kyi was apparently in good health, not in a wheelchair as shown in photographs taken during World War II. In another Soviet-published work, the authors advanced an incredible argument: "True that the Metropolitan's residence—the Saint George Cathedral—became a hiding place for the Zionist [Rabbi Dr. Ezekiel] Lewin and Rabbi [David] Kahane" and that the effort "to save these two representatives of the 'God's Chosen' people was planned by an anti-semite Sheptyts'kyi with the far-reaching aim of having a profitable cooperation with Zionists in the future."[7]

In Poland, some articles in the press have attacked Sheptyts'kyi in a manner similar to that of the Soviets. Poland's leading Communist Party daily, *Trybuna Ludu*, in late 1984 referred to Sheptyts'kyi as a supporter of the Ukrainian SS Division Galizien which "murdered tens of thousands of Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, and Russians."[8] However, more favorable opinions on Sheptyts'kyi have also been published in the Polish press.[9]

Most Ukrainian publications in the West dealing with Sheptyts'kyi's attitudes towards Jews emphasize his humanitarian approach. One Ukrainian author, for example, maintained that "unlike anyone else in Europe, he [Sheptyts'kyi] personally saved thousands of Jews."[10] A biographer of Sheptyts'kyi, Hryhorii Prokopchuk, stated that numerous Jewish refugees were saved by the Metropolitan in his residence and that "numerous Jews were indebted to [Sheptyts'kyi] for their rescue from the persecutions by the Gestapo and from their sure death."[11] Either he was far from grasping or unwilling to face the realities and complexities of Ukrainian-Jewish relations, for Prokopchuk also argued that "in spite of the fact that the attitudes of the Jews had been unequivocally hostile towards the strivings of the Ukrainians [apparently in prewar Poland], the Ukrainian people, [moved] by their deep Christian consciousness, ... overlooked this" and he held up Sheptyts'kyi's wartime behavior towards Jews as an exemplar of Ukrainian attitudes generally.[12]

The historiography of the Holocaust, written mostly by Jewish scholars and authors, has treated this issue in various ways. The widely-read work of Raul Hilberg, one of the first scholarly discussions of Nazi policies towards Jews during World War II, mentioned Sheptyts'kyi only perfunctorily when he reported on a meeting between the Metropolitan and a semi-official German envoy and French collaborator.[13] Yehuda Bauer, one of the principal scholars of the Holocaust, also mentioned Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi fleetingly, and omitted completely his Ukrainian identity. While discussing Polish attitudes towards Jews, Bauer stated: "Among the Catholic clergy, Cardinal archbishop of Lwow [L'viv], Count Andreas Szeptycki, ordered his clergy to save Jews."[14] The Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, however, does tell the essential story of Sheptyts'kyi's activities on behalf of the Jews during the war.[15]

One of the few Jewish historians who attempted to discuss in depth the problem of Ukrainian-Jewish relations and Sheptyts'kyi during World War II was Philip Friedman. He was familiar with the events not only as a historian but also as a survivor of the Holocaust in L'viv.[16] Indeed, the most appropriate context for a discussion of Sheptyts'kyi's attitude towards the Jews during the war would be research on rescue attempts. It is surprising, therefore, that no mention of Sheptyts'kyi was made at a special scholarly conference on rescuing Jews held at Yad Vashem in 1974.[17] In a discussion at that conference about the "Righteous among the Nations" (an honor awarded by Yad Vashem to Gentiles who saved Jews during World War II), such names as Raul Wallenberg and Oskar Schindler were mentioned, but not Sheptyts'kyi. Although Sheptyts'kyi's name has been submitted in the past for consideration by the appropriate Yad Vashem committee, no affirmative decision on the matter has yet been reached.[18]

The absence of ample scholarly research on Sheptyts'kyi makes it extremely difficult to deal with certain specific issues. In most existing biographies, the authors' comments are distorted by subjective admiration and wishful thinking. This is especially the case when they deal with one of the most sensitive and controversial problems, Sheptyts'kyi's attitude towards Jews. Unlike many of those works, the following remarks attempt to avoid generalizations and rely wherever possible on direct documentation.[19] The major issues to be examined here are Sheptyts'kyi's relations with Jews prior to World War II; the significance of the 1939-1941 period for Ukrainians' and Sheptyts'kyi's attitudes towards Jews; and Sheptyts'kyi's activities on behalf of the Jews during the war.

Sheptyts'kyi was a product of a multinational and multicultural environment, both in the general sense and in his personal history, upbringing, and education. His theological approach was ecumenical and his ideal was apparently the coexistence of cultures. "I am like St. Paul, who was a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks, and to all he was all to redeem all."[20] Sheptyts'kyi's lifelong tragedy was that he lived and functioned within the harsh realities of East Central Europe, which turned more particularist, more nationalist, and less tolerant precisely during his career as a religious and national personality. Perhaps a psychohistorical study of the Metropolitan would be needed to decipher the complex interrelationship between his personality, his convictions, and the rapidly changing world around him.

Knowledge of Jews and Judaism, however, was part and parcel of Sheptyts'kyi's intellectual and practical environment. At the age of twenty, while he was convalescing in the Carpathian resort of Zakopane from a disease which affected him for life, Sheptyts'kyi started his study of Hebrew. This must also have been the beginning of his interest in Semitic studies. His knowledge increased rapidly, so that within a relatively short period of time he could both write and speak Hebrew. In August 1905, he travelled to the Holy Land with a group of Moravian pilgrims, and in September 1906 he returned there with about 500 Ukrainians pilgrims, who visited various points of interest to Christians.[21]

Sheptyts'kyi's social and philanthropic activities formed one of the major concerns to which he devoted time and money. In the early 1920s, he travelled through western Europe and North America in order to collect funds for the victims of World War I in Galicia, especially for orphans. These charitable goals provide a useful point of reference from which to consider his assistance to the Jews during World War II. During the early part of the century Sheptyts'kyi's philanthropic deeds extended, at times, to Jews. One example of this is a letter in Sheptyts'kyi's Hebrew handwriting addressed to the leaders of one of the Jewish communities, who had requested financial assistance. Sheptyts'kyi's reply, dated 3 July 1903, is very compassionate and sprinkled with quotations from the Old Testament. In it he apologized for being able to fulfill only partially the needs of the Jewish poor.[22] Among Sheptyts'kyi's Jewish-oriented philanthropy was his regular contribution to the pre-Passover collection of funds for the poor of the Jewish communities in East Galicia.[23] Moreover, his major social project, the establishment in 1903 of the Narodna Lichnytsia in L'viv, was in fact a non-sectarian clinic that served Jews as well as Ukrainians and Poles. In 1936, for example, it received about 13,000 patients, of whom 10 percent were Jewish.[24]

The most interesting phenomena in Sheptyts'kyi's relations with Jews were meetings with the elders of Jewish communities during his canonical visits. A report on a visit in 1901 stated that "he was greeted by church processions, the clergy . . . and also by rabbis with a Torah . . . He thanked the rabbis and the Jewish delegation in their Hebrew language."[25] The Metropolitan's contacts and friendly relations with Jewish religious and communal leaders in Galicia were apparently welcome and appreciated in Jewish circles. In July 1935, the Jewish daily *Chwila* published a greeting from L'viv's Jewish community on the occasion of Sheptyts'kyi's seventieth birthday. The greeting dwelled upon the Metropolitan's high moral and ethical standards, and also mentioned the friendly feelings towards Sheptyts'kyi among the Jewish population.[26] On that same occasion Sheptyts'kyi was personally greeted by the Chief Rabbi of L'viv, Dr. Ezekiel Lewin.

There is no doubt that humanitarianism and human compassion motivated Sheptyts'kyi in his relations with Jews. However, denying any significance to additional elements behind his Jewish-oriented activities would be inaccurate and misleading. A pastoral letter distributed by Sheptyts'kyi to the Greek Catholic clergy early in this century contains a paragraph entitled "My Hebrew Speeches," which may provide a clue to some of his religious and theological motivations.[27] Sheptyts'kyi apparently had been criticized for his "special" relationship with Jews. In this pastoral message, he admitted that "anti-semitic Viennese journals, having learned about such an event [Sheptyts'kyi's response in Hebrew to Jews greeting him with the Torah], accused me severely of Judaizing."[28] It is also possible that criticism of his behavior was voiced among Ukrainian clergy. Sheptyts'kyi decided to answer such accusations by explicitly discussing his encounters with Jews. Since this pastoral letter seems to be quite special and significant to an understanding of Sheptyts'kyi's motivations, it is quoted here at some length.

> . . . I believe that when a man who is granted by Christ the task of preaching the Holy Scripture and who faces nonbelievers, even for a single moment, should not miss the opportunity to preach God's message to them. When I face assembled Jews, who are ready to listen to me, I cannot avoid considering them as fellow men exposed to eternal perdition. That is why I consider it my duty to take advantage of this opportunity to convey to them at least one word of the Lord's revelations. I accomplish this while talking to them. Indeed, I do it in their tongue and language, since this has been the custom of Christ's church for twenty centuries. The preachers of the scriptures accommodate themselves to those to whom they preach. This is the only means to bring the revealed truth closer to the listener's souls. If such a speech, upon being greeted with the Torah, were made in Russian or German, it could not have been the preaching of the Bible but would have made an impression of a secular talk. In such a situation, the preacher must arouse the interest of his audience and touch that part of its soul in which he can find a religious response. This could not be attained even by speaking in the German-Jewish jargon [Yiddish], since that would become a discussion of financial matters. A speech in Hebrew fits this need. Though not everyone of the listeners fully understands this speech, all are more or less familiar with some Messianic texts of the Old Testament. And if in the soul of any amongst them there is a spark of religious sentiment, it might be kindled under the influence of the spoken words of the Holy Scripture. That is why I usually start with a Messianic holy text.
>
> It has often happened that the listeners were so familiar with the text, that they recited it one word ahead of me. To these texts, I add some commentaries in the Christian spirit or another text which leads to a Christian interpretation of the former text. Thus, I offer them as far as possible, the thought of expectation, love, and the search for the Messiah. I do not expect great results. I am satisfied if even one lost soul finds in my words a distant reflection of God's truth and even for a second ponders upon those prayers which are being repeated daily perhaps without any attention.[29]

Sheptyts'kyi then went on to explain his motivation for giving financial aid to non-Christians:

> For that same reason I contributed a donation to the Galician Karaites, for the poor of their community, and I am ready to talk to them at the first opportunity. I believe that every thread of Christian love for one's fellow man which links the faithful with non-believers may become by the Grace of God, an opportunity for bringing them nearer to Christ's teaching.[30]

The interwar period posed increasing problems and difficulties for Sheptyts'kyi.[31] In the early 1920s, hopes for Ukrainian independence were thwarted by both Bolshevik Russia and nationalist Poland. The 1930s brought new oppression and suffering to the Ukrainian population on both sides of the border. Forced collectivization and the famine in the Soviet Ukraine and the "pacification" campaign in Poland resulted in growing frustration among the Ukrainians, which in turn bred violence and terror. Sheptyts'kyi, close to the moderates in the Ukrainian political coalition UNDO, consistently condemned acts of terror by Ukrainian extremists. This consistent denunciation of terror in the 1930s was a significant antecedent to his criticism of violence during World War II.

Sheptyts'kyi's attitude vis-à-vis the Soviet Union became even more critical during the 1930s. The Bolsheviks loomed in his mind as the personification of a double evil, because they were committed to acting against both God and the Ukrainian people. As far as general attitudes towards Jews are concerned, events which occurred in Poland and in the Soviet Union exerted an overall negative effect. In Poland, the Jews were perceived by Ukrainians as supporters of polonization, whereas in the Soviet Union they were identified with the communist regime. This identification was further intensified in the years 1939-1941. It should also be remembered that if, throughout the 1930s, Sheptyts'kyi expressed time and again his unequivocal criticism and opposition to Communism, to the Soviet Union, and to its supporters in the West, he did not seem to show any similar critical sensitivity at the time towards Nazi totalitarianism.[32]

The Soviet annexation of eastern Poland in September 1939 that resulted from the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement created additional tensions between the Jewish and Ukrainian population.[33] In spite of the disruption and suffering inflicted by the Soviets upon Jews and Ukrainians alike, the image of the Jew as a sympathizer with the new regime became increasingly stronger among the non-Jewish populations of the annexed territories. There was indeed some Soviet-oriented enthusiasm among Jews due to the rapidly deteriorating condition of Jews in pre-war Poland, their apprehensions of what might happen to them under Nazi rule, the atmosphere of lawlessness and violence during the disintegration of Polish authority after the massive German invasion, and Soviet propaganda concerning the positive solution of the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union. It is therefore not difficult to understand why some Jews were eager to greet the Red Army. Even those Jews who were not ideological proponents of Communism regarded the new Soviet authorities as preferable to a potentially worse situation.

During the initial phase of annexation, the Soviet authorities, who were in dire need of personnel, mobilized Jews for various administrative positions. The hostility of the non-Jewish population towards Jews also contributed to growing Jewish support for the local Soviet authorities, especially for Soviet security agencies. Thus, a vicious circle of growing tensions between Jews and non-Jews ensued. Although Soviet condemnation of anti-semitism in the annexed territories was far from comprehensive, some Ukrainians were punished for anti-semitic behavior, a fact which might have contributed to further emotional reactions by Ukrainians.[34] Another factor which undoubtedly affected Ukrainian attitudes towards Jews was the influx of thousands of Jewish refugees who were fleeing from the German-occupied territories of western and central Poland into western Ukraine. The "visibility" of the Jews thus became increasingly pronounced and contributed to the growth of an anti-Jewish mood.

Such feelings were apparently also expressed by some Christian church officials in Galicia. One church report on the conditions in the Soviet-occupied section of Poland stated that the best treated group there were the Jews. The local Roman Catholic bishop in Przemyśl, Franciszek Barda (1933–1964), complained in his letter to Rome that the diocesan chancery office building had been given to Jews.[35] Sheptyts'kyi himself, in a letter to Cardinal Tisserant, spoke about the "immigration of an enormous number of Jews" who "make life more difficult." The Metropolitan discussed the disruption and changes resulting from the annexation, and then went on to remark that: "The Jews in prodigious numbers invaded the economic sphere . . . and gave the activities of the [Soviet] authorities a character of sordid avarice which one is accustomed to see only among Jewish petty merchants . . . "[36] As the spiritual Christian leader of the Ukrainians, Sheptyts'kyi was particularly saddened and angered by Soviet atheistic education and indoctrination of Ukrainian youth. Another of his letters to the Vatican reported that "our greatest fear is for school children and for youth in general. . . . Principals of these schools [under the Soviets] were often Jews or atheists . . . "[37]

However, Sheptyts'kyi's most vehement condemnation of Soviet rule in the annexed territories was expressed in a letter written a number of weeks after those territories were captured by the German army in the summer of 1941.[38] Fourteen years later, an American authority on the subject commented that the nearly two years of Soviet rule in East Galicia "created a state of mind in which the Ukrainians of the area would at least initially welcome any force which opposed the Soviet Union."[39] In the eyes of many Ukrainians—and to some extent even in the mind of a man like Sheptyts'kyi—Jews were associated with the Ukrainian traumas resulting from the Soviet experience.

The situation changed drastically on 22 June 1941 when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. German armies entered L'viv a week later. A basic issue which is directly relevant to Sheptyts'kyi's attitude towards Jews under Nazi occupation is that of Ukrainian attitudes toward the Germans in general and Sheptyts'kyi's reaction to German rule in particular. Without going into the details of the various Ukrainian political and national groupings and their respective stands vis-à-vis Hitler's Germany, one may argue that the overall reaction of the Ukrainian population was one of relief from the Bolshevik regime and hopes for Ukrainian sovereignty.

The occupation of East Galicia by German forces also resulted in acts of vengeance by Ukrainians against suspected collaborators with the Soviets. Moreover, the prevailing confusion about German intentions for Ukraine was used to proclaim Ukrainian statehood. Sheptyts'kyi's initial reaction to these rapidly unfolding events was positive. In a pastoral letter, "To the Ukrainian people," the Metropolitan declared: "We greet the victorious German army as a deliverer from the enemy."[40] In the letter to the Vatican written at the end of August 1941, Sheptyts'kyi stated in a similar vein: "We should support the German Army, which freed us from the Bolshevik regime." He also alluded to his hope that a German victory in the war would eliminate "atheistic militant Communism once and for all."[41] Sheptyts'kyi's national and religious interests and convictions, as well as their impact on his initial attitude towards Germany, are clearly spelled out in these few lines.

It is important to remember that Hitler's policies towards the Slavs were not yet apparent in 1941, and numerous Ukrainians, Sheptyts'kyi among them, assumed that the mutual Ukrainian and German opposition to Soviet Russia would suffice to cement an anti-Bolshevik alliance and also to ensure Germany's support for Ukrainian national objectives. At the very same time, however, the Nazi occupation of western Ukrainian lands portended ever-greater suffering and ultimately the total annihilation of the Jews.

Immediately after the arrival of the German army in L'viv, *Einsatzgruppe C* started to carry out violent acts, including killings of local Jews. Extremist nationalist Ukrainians also participated in these pogrom-like activities, which were motivated particularly by the Jewish-Bolshevik association in the minds of the local Ukrainian population.[42] Moreover, Nazi anti-semitic propaganda, even prior to the war, had used the "slogan" of Judeo-Bolshevism extensively. An especially significant allegation against the Jews was that they cooperated with Soviet security agencies in the arrest and murder of Ukrainians prior to the Soviet abandonment of the city.[43]

Between 30 June and 7 July, about 4,000 Jews were massacred in L'viv by German units with the assistance of the Ukrainian auxiliary police. Later, on 25-27 July, another 2,000 Jews were murdered in a pogrom-like fashion under the slogan of "Petliura days," signifying Ukrainian revenge for the assassination of Symon Petliura by a Jew in 1926. The Ukrainian militia also assisted German police units during anti-Jewish "actions" which followed, such as the "deportation action" of August 1942, and the final "*Judenrein* action" of May 1943. Ukrainian militia was also used in German labor and extermination camps. However, there were Ukrainian moderate organizations which did not engage in anti-Jewish activities, such as the Ukrainian Relief Committee in L'viv, headed by Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi. There were also, of course, instances of Ukrainian individuals who aided and saved Jews.[44] This, then, was the general context within which Sheptyts'kyi's wartime attitudes and activities concerning Jews should be viewed.

The tragic and dramatic news of pogrom-like acts by Ukrainians and of the

Nazi use of the Ukrainian militia in the rounding up and killing of Jews must have reached Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi via both Ukrainians and Jews. Dr. Ezekiel Lewin, the Chief Rabbi of L'viv and a personal friend of Sheptyts'kyi, asked him to intervene with the rioting mobs: "Sometime ago you told me that you consider yourself a friend of the Jews. I ask you now, in this hour of mortal danger, to give evidence of your friendship. I ask you to save thousands of human lives."[45] A young Ukrainian confessed to the Metropolitan, apparently at the same time, that he had himself "murdered seventy-five people in L'viv in one night."[46] However, it was only in early 1942 that Sheptyts'kyi expressed himself unequivocally on the matter of Ukrainian collaboration with the Nazis in their crimes against the Jewish population.

It is possible that during the first few months after the German invasion Sheptyts'kyi was overwhelmed by the unexpected events and still believed in the establishment of a Ukrainian national entity under German auspices. However, the situation must have become clearer to him as time passed. The regular and continuous use of violence by the Germans, as well as the growing disappointment among the Ukrainians in respect to German assistance for their national aspirations, must have had an effect. What disturbed him most was the demoralizing and dehumanizing impact of Nazi behavior upon the local Ukrainian population, especially Ukrainian youth. In a number of instances Sheptyts'kyi expressed such concerns. In a letter to Himmler, written in February 1942, the Metropolitan deplored German treatment of the local population, especially of the Jews, and he protested against the use of the Ukrainian auxiliary militia in anti-Jewish activities.[47] The Metropolitan considered this appeal to be of the utmost importance, particularly his stand on the Jewish issue. He spoke about this with Rabbi Kahane and he mentioned it in a letter to the Vatican.[48]

In the summer of 1942, in L'viv as well as in Warsaw and other localities, there was an intensification of the Final Solution in the form of mass deportations of Jews from the ghettos to the death camps. Whereas former German "actions" were carried out under various pretexts of "relocation" for labor purposes, the deportations during the summer of 1942 were openly perceived as leading to annihilation. The massive deportation of 50,000 Jews from the L'viv ghetto took place between 20-23 August. The events of August 1942 were among the most shocking and cruel of the entire period of Nazi rule in L'viv.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a highly dramatic condemnation of the Nazi regime by Sheptyts'kyi appeared in a letter to the Vatican, which he wrote in the wake of these events. This letter actually summed up the author's disappointment with and accusations against German rule.

> Liberated by the German army from the Bolshevik yoke, we felt a certain relief... [However], gradually the [German] government instituted a

> regime of truly unbelievable terror and corruption... [so that] now everybody agrees that the German regime is perhaps even more evil and diabolic than the Bolshevik [regime]. For more than a year not a day has passed without the most horrible crimes being committed... The Jews are the primary victims. The number of Jews killed in our region has certainly surpassed 200,000... Almost 130,000 men, women, and children were executed in Kiev within a few days.[49]

The murderous and inhuman nature of the German treatment of Jews became more apparent. "In time," according to Sheptyts'kyi, "they began to kill Jews openly in the streets, in full view of the public."[50] Among the evils of the new way of life under German rule Sheptyts'kyi also mentioned "national chauvinism," alluding perhaps not only to its German aspect. His use of such expressions as "rabid wolves" and "monster" when he described German rule explicitly revealed Sheptyts'kyi's moral judgment of the Hitler regime. What hurt him most was the devastating influence of the Nazi frame of mind upon his fellow Ukrainians and Greek Catholics. In a subsequent letter to Cardinal Tisserant, written in September 1942, Sheptyts'kyi expressed once more his displeasure at the recruitment of Ukrainians into the auxiliary police and at the way the Germans used them for "perverted purposes."[51]

Sheptyts'kyi's major attempt to influence the Ukrainian population and to counteract the immoral standards of Nazi rule was carried out through pastoral letters. Some were printed, others were spread by word of mouth. It is nearly impossible to estimate the impact of these appeals upon the Ukrainian population. However, the very fact that the Metropolitan felt the need to repeat them time and again points to the tremendous difficulties involved. To what extent were Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral messages meant to stop immoral deeds against the Jewish population? The Jews were not mentioned explicitly in any of the known appeals. However, it is important to keep in mind that terror was applied not only to Jews but also through Ukrainian-Polish relations and among the various Ukrainian political factions. It is only in this general context that the condemnation of crimes committed against Jews should be sought.

Sheptyts'kyi's best known pastoral letter, issued in November 1942 under the symbolic title, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," dealt with all forms of homicide.[52] Although he mentioned political murder, it is sufficiently clear that the letter condemns all kinds of murder. Sheptyts'kyi seems to have been preoccupied with the fear of what he defined as "murder addiction," that is, the acceptance of the killing of fellow human beings as a common norm of behavior. The fact that Sheptyts'kyi gave a copy of this letter to Rabbi Kahane in 1943, when the latter was hiding in the Metropolitan's quarters, indicates that Sheptyts'kyi himself considered it also as a Jewish-related appeal.[53] Yet another indication for Sheptyts'kyi's concern about the massive killings of Jews was his discussion with Dr. Frédéric, a French expert on eastern Europe who collaborated with the German foreign office and visited Sheptyts'kyi in September 1943. In their conversation, the Metropolitan expressed once more his opinion that "Germany is worse than Bolshevism," and he accused the Germans of inhuman behavior towards the Jews.[54]

The two major existing testimonials to Sheptyts'kyi's attempts to rescue Jews during the German occupation are by Rabbi David Kahane, who served during the 1930s as the rabbi of the Szajnochy Street Synagogue in L'viv, and by Kurt Lewin, the son of Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin, Chief Rabbi of the L'viv reform Jewish community on the eve of the war. When Rabbi Lewin visited Sheptyts'kyi in his residence on St. George's Hill on 2 July 1941, the Metropolitan urged him to remain, but the rabbi decided to go back to his family and congregation. He was apprehended on the same day and murdered together with other Jews. It is perhaps symbolic of Ukrainian-Jewish relations at the time, that whereas the leading Ukrainian ecclesiastical personality offered his assistance to Rabbi Lewin, other Ukrainians took part in killing him.[55] After the rabbi's death, contacts were maintained between Sheptyts'kyi and the Lewin family. On Sheptyts'kyi's recommendation, the rabbi's two sons, Kurt (Isaac) and Nathan, stayed at various Greek Catholic monasteries and at St. George's Cathedral complex until the arrival of the Red Army in L'viv in the summer of 1944. Rabbi Kahane was sheltered on Sheptyts'kyi's recommendation starting in May 1943. Prior to that, during the major deportation "actions" in August 1942, Rabbi Kahane approached the Metropolitan with a request to help save the Scrolls of Torah. Sheptyts'kyi readily consented.

Most of the Jews rescued by Sheptyts'kyi and his assistants escaped from the L'viv ghetto and labor camp between August 1942 and May 1943. The ghetto was liquidated in June 1943 and the Janowski camp in the fall of the same year. As for the organizational aspect of the rescues, the Metropolitan acted on behalf of the Jews through certain fully-trusted people, such as Archimandrite Klymentii, his brother and head of the Studite Order, and Mother Iosefa. Another central figure was the Reverend Marko Stek, who acted as a "contact man" between the St. George Complex and the various monasteries within and outside L'viv. Usually it was easier to shelter women than men, and children than adults. Rescued children were given false baptismal certificates, Ukrainian-sounding names, and then were delivered to monasteries, convents, and orphanages. No attempts were made by Sheptyts'kyi or his assistants to convert the rescued Jewish children, and when the war was over they were returned to what was left of the Jewish community.[56] Some Jews were assisted by Studite monks to cross the borders into Romania and Hungary. It seems that a "network" of the most trusted, moral, and courageous among the ecclesiastical personnel were mobilized by Sheptyts'kyi to perform the complex and dangerous task of rescue. They were exposed not only to the external threat of the German authorities, but also to criticism and opposition from within.[57]

A discussion of Sheptyts'kyi's attitude towards Jews during World War II can never be complete without touching upon the issues of Christian theology and the Holocaust, and the stand of the Apostolic See vis-à-vis the annihilation of the Jewish people. The traditional hostility of the Christian church towards Jews and anti-Jewish theological myths led, at least partially, to an atmosphere of indifference and even animosity towards Jews among the non-Jewish populations of the Nazi-dominated countries. For a variety of reasons, such feelings ran particularly strong in East Central Europe. Some Christians perceived the Nazi-organized killings of the Jews as an unavoidable realization of the Christian call for the punishment and destruction of those who rejected Christ.[58] The scholarly and artistic debate concerning Pope Pius XII, seems to point to the moral failure of the Apostolic See during a period of extreme crisis and challenge.[59] Therefore, Sheptyts'kyi's attitudes and behavior during these difficult and crucial years must be seen within this theological and papal context.

In his letter to Rome describing Nazi atrocities towards Jews, Sheptyts'kyi remarked:

> The only consolation one can have in these terrible times is that nothing comes to us without the will of our Heavenly Father. I think that among the massacred Jews there were many souls who converted to God, because never through the centuries have they been placed in a situation as they are in the present, facing for months on end the possibility of a violent death.[60]

A discussion that occurred in September 1943 between the Metropolitan and Rabbi Kahane sheds some light on Sheptyts'kyi's theological thought. According to Kahane, the Metropolitan asked him: "Did you ever . . . ask yourself what the reason is for the hate and inhumane persecutions against the Jewish people from the early times up to the present? . . . He asked me to locate chapter 27, verse 25, in the Gospel according to Matthew, 'And all the people answered: His blood be on us and on our children'." Shortly after this, Sheptyts'kyi apologized: "In this grave situation, when the Jewish people is bleeding profusely and bearing the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims, I should not have mentioned this subject. . . . please forgive me."[61]

Most of the perceptions of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in existing writings and historiography tend to portray him in a simplistic manner that is either completely negative or extremely laudatory. In fact, he was a highly complex personality who acted within no less complex circumstances. This interaction resulted quite often in unfulfilled hopes, grave disappointments, and shattered expectations. Sheptyts'kyi's relationship with and attitudes towards Jews were also marked by tensions and conflicts. He tried to span gaps, which proved unbridgeable, particularly under the circumstances of a total war and the unprecedented Holocaust. Still, compared with the rest of the

Catholic church and the non-Jewish population in Nazi-occupied Europe, Sheptyts'kyi's statements and deeds on behalf of Jews place him among that humane and courageous minority who, during the ultimate time of trial, believed that they were, indeed, their brothers' keepers.

Notes

* I would like to thank the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies for its support of my research on Ukrainian-Jewish relations and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute for the hospitality afforded to me during the conduct of this study. I would also like to thank Andrii Krawchuk, Roman Laba, and Kurt Lewin for their interest and assistance.

1. For such attempts, see *Ukrainians and Jews: A Symposium* (New York, 1966); and Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Comments on Professor Zvi Gitelman: 'The Social and Political Role of the Jews in Ukraine'," in Peter J. Potichnyi, ed., *Ukraine in the Seventies: Papers and Proceedings of the McMaster Conference on Contemporary Ukraine, October 1974* (Oakville, Ont., 1975), pp. 187-93.
2. Iaroslav Halan, *Tvory*, vol. II (Kiev, 1977), p. 527.
3. *L'vovskaia pravda*, 20 August 1968.
4. Michael Hanusiak, *Ukrainischer Nationalismus: Theorie und Praxis* (Vienna, 1979), p. 36.
5. *Visti z Ukraïny*, no. 5 (1982), quoted from Petro Mirchuk, *My Meetings and Discussions in Israel* (New York, London, and Toronto, 1982), p. 156.
6. See *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. II (Toronto, 1971), pp. 333 and 377.
7. *Uniate Church: Forcible Establishment, Natural Failure* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 100-1. This is a collective work prepared by eleven Soviet authors.
8. Jerzy A. Salecki, "Autor niegodny bohatera," *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), 13 September 1984. Similar criticism appeared in Moscow's *Izvestiia*. A Soviet correspondent who visited Poland, strongly criticized another Polish publication, *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Cracow) for publishing excerpts from Sheptyts'kyi's memoirs. The Soviet correspondent referred to the Metropolitan as a "fierce enemy of the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian peoples, and a loyal servant of Hitler." See N. Yarmolovich, "A Polish Notebook: Light and Shadows," *Izvestiia*, 7 April 1985, p. 5, cited in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, XXXVII, 14 (Columbus, Ohio, 1985), p. 4. For yet another attack on Sheptyts'kyi in the official Polish Communist press, in which he is linked with the Ukrainian anti-Jewish pogroms in Galicia following the Nazi occupation of the region, see Ignacy Krasiński, "O A. Szeptyckim raz jeszcze: prawdziwe powody prob rehabilitacji," *Trybuna Ludu*, no. 173, 27-28 July 1985.
9. See, for example, an article by Roman Graczyk in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, no. 40 (1984), reproduced in *Kontakt*, no. 12(32) (Paris, 1984), pp. 57-8. A biography of Sheptyts'kyi published in Poland seems to be much more documented than its Soviet counterparts: Edward Prus, *Władyka Świetojurski: rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim, 1865-1944* (Warsaw, 1985). Prus points out that Sheptyts'kyi had the courage to protest against the Nazi policy of murdering Jews and against the mobilization of Ukrainians for that purpose, as well as to rescue Jews in his own residence. At the same time, according to the author, Sheptyts'kyi's overall position vis-à-vis the Germans was quite ambiguous and disoriented because of his age and health. Cf. pp. 231-2, 274-6, 289, and 304-7.
10. Mirchuk, *My Meetings*, p. 159.
11. Gregor Prokoptschuk [Hryhorii Prokopchuk], *Der Metropolit: Leben und Wirken des*

grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion Graf Andreas Scheptytzkyj (Munich, 1955), p. 229.

12. Ibid., p. 230. For critical comments on Prokopchuk's statements, see the preface by Professor Dov Sadan in David Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv* (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 20-1.
13. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York, 1973), p. 330.
14. Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York, 1982), p. 286. The author also erred in describing Sheptyts'kyi as a cardinal. Martin Gilbert mentioned Sheptyts'kyi and his family as saviors of Jews in his recent *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (London, 1986), pp. 163-4 and 410.
15. *Pinkas ha-kehillot Polin*, vol. II: *Galitsyah ha-mizrahit* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 36 and 40. This is a definitive summary of the history of Jewish communities annihilated during the Holocaust published under the auspices of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.
16. See Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Occupation," in his *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust* (New York and Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 176-208 and his *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York, 1978), pp. 130-6. See also Shmuel Spector, *Shoat yehudey volin* (Jerusalem, 1986) and Aharon Weiss, "Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Western Ukraine during the Holocaust Period, 1941-1944," in Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, eds., *Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton, Alberta, 1988), pp. 409–20.
17. The proceedings were subsequently published in Hebrew and English. The English version appeared as *Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 1977).
18. For comments on the possible reasons behind this lack of decision, see Mirchuk, *My Meetings*, pp. 30-5. The question was raised for the seventeenth time at Yad Vashem in the fall of 1984. For details, see Iakiv Suslenskii, "Za kulisami polemiki," *Natsional'na tribuna* (New York), 27 January 1985. One example of the polemics concerning the Sheptyts'kyi question at Yad Vashem is found in "V sadi Yad Vashem ne bude derevtsia dlia Mytropolyta Andreia," *Ameryka* (Philadelphia), 30 April 1985. A group of Jewish émigrés from the Soviet Union living in Israel published an appeal to grant Sheptyts'kyi the Yad Vashem award in *The Jerusalem Post*, 12 June 1985. See also a Yad Vashem letter to one of the leaders of this Soviet émigré group, I. Suslenskii, reproduced in *Krug*, no. 480 (Tel Aviv, 1986), p. 30.
19. Further research on Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews in prewar Poland and during World War II is quite possible. Additional information could be obtained by an examination of the Jewish and Ukrainian press in interwar Poland, by interviewing Jewish survivors of the Holocaust aided by the Metropolitan, and through testimonies by Ukrainian clergy close to Sheptyts'kyi who took part in saving Jews. It is highly doubtful, however, whether western scholars would be able to examine the relevant archival material in the Soviet Union. Most of Sheptyts'kyi's personal papers are deposited in fond 201, the collection of the metropolitan consistory of the Greek Catholic Church, Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv, L'viv, Soviet Union.
20. Memoirs about the Metropolitan by Sister Krysta, née Szembek, p. 21, in the Sheptyts'kyi Family Archive of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Warsaw. Cited frequently by Ryszard Torzecki in Chapter 4.
21. As a result of this second trip, a lengthy chronicle including maps, illustrations, and charts was later published. It was meant as both a souvenir and a guidebook for future Ukrainian pilgrims: *Iak Rus' khodyla slidamy Danyla* (Zhovkva, 1907). See also Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944* (Rome, 1964), pp. 47-8. Sheptyts'kyi also planned to build a Studite monastery in Palestine.
22. This letter has been reproduced in *Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot: levuv* (Jerusalem, 1956), p. 670, and translated into Ukrainian in Osyp Kravcheniuk, *Veleten' zo S'viatoiurs'koï hori*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1963),

pp. 110-1. Sheptyts'kyi actually contributed ten Austrian crowns in that particular instance.

23. Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv*, p. 157.
24. It was expanded to a full-scale hospital in 1938. For further details, see Chapter 13, below.
25. *Berezhan'ska zemlia: istorychno-memuarnyi zbirnyk* (New York, 1970), pp. 189-91.
26. *Chwila*, 31 July 1935. See also *Dilo*, 1 August 1935; and Yitshak Lewin, *Aliti mispetsyah* (Tel Aviv, 1946), p. 85. On an earlier occasion, Jewish representatives were among those who welcomed Sheptyts'kyi on his return from Russia to L'viv in September 1917. See *Tsars'kyi viazen'* (L'viv, 1918), p. 154. Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, the Metropolitan's nephew, described this event, remarking that the Jews' welcome was in Hebrew and that Sheptyts'kyi answered in the same language. Jan Szeptycki, *Wspomnienia o Metropolicie Szeptyckim*, unpublished typescript, p. 6. It should be noted that Sheptyts'kyi expressed enthusiasm for Zionist settlement in Palestine when he was interviewed by Lieber Krumholz, a young Jewish journalist who emigrated to Palestine and changed his name to Haviv Kanaan. See Lieber Krumholz, "Kwestja żydowska w swietle politycznej opinji ukraińskiej," *Nowy Dziennik* (Cracow), 16 July 1934.
27. *Poslaniie pastŷrske Andreia Sheptytskoho Mytropolyta Halytskoho, Arkhiiepyskopa L'vôvskoho, Epyskopa Kamentsia Podôl'skoho do Dukhoven'stva soiedinenŷkh ieparkhii: o kanonichnôi vyzytatsii* (Zhovkva, 1902), pp. 16-9. It is possible that Sheptyts'kyi's description of meetings with Jewish elders was based, among others, upon his recent visit in 1901 to the town of Berezhany. See above, note 25.
28. Ibid., p. 16.
29. Ibid., p. 18.
30. Ibid., pp. 18-9. In another pastoral letter, written two years earlier, Sheptyts'kyi expressed religious toleration toward non-Christians, including Jews, as long as they fulfilled "the divine will to the best of their power and ability." *Pravdyva vira* (1900), reprinted in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I (Toronto, 1965), p. 70.
31. For a discussion of Sheptyts'kyi's opinions and activities during that period, see Bohdan Budurowycz, "Poland and the Ukrainian Problem, 1921-1939," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* XXV, 4 (Toronto, 1983), pp. 474-500; and Chapters 3 and 4 in this volume.
32. For a discussion of German-Ukrainian relations during this period, see Ryszard Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w polityce III Rzeszy (1933-1945)* (Warsaw, 1972).
33. The impact of the Soviet annexation on the Jews and their relations with non-Jews is discussed in Shimon Redlich, "The Jews in Soviet-Annexed Territories, 1939-1941," *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, I, 1 (London, 1971), pp. 81-90; and Dov Levin, "Controlled Deviations: Soviet Policy Towards Jews During the Second World War," *Shvut*, VII (Tel Aviv, 1980), pp. 51-7. The specific case of L'viv is discussed in *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, pp. 32-6.
34. *The Jewish Chronicle* (London), 29 December 1939.
35. John F. Morley, *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust, 1939-1943* (New York, 1980), p. 133.
36. Letter dated 26 December 1939 in *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les Pays baltes 1939-1945*, pt. 1: *1939-1941*, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Second guerre mondiale, vol. III (Vatican City, 1967), doc. 79, pp. 170-1. About 300,000 to 350,000 Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland arrived in the Soviet annexed areas and tens of thousands of them settled in L'viv. See Redlich, "The Jews," p. 83 and *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, p. 33.
37. Letter dated 16 August 1942, cited in Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 362.

38. Letter dated 30 August 1941, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 297, pp. 437-42.
39. John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945* (New York, 1955), p. 27.
40. Cited in Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu* (New York and Toronto, 1957), p. 112.
41. Letter dated 30 August 1941, in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 1, doc. 297, p. 440.
42. *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, p. 36; and Philip Friedman, "The Destruction of the Jews of Lwow," in his *Roads to Extinction*, pp. 245 and 247.
43. This allegation cannot be confirmed or denied until research on the subject is undertaken.
44. For details on Nazi policies towards Jews in Galicia, see *Pinkas ha-kehillot*. On Ukrainian attitudes towards Jews during Nazi rule see above, note 16, and *Ukrainians and Jews: A Symposium*, pp. 123-47.
45. Cited in Kurt A. Lewin, "Andreas Count Sheptytsky, Archbishop of Lviv, Metropolitan of Halych, and the Jewish Community in Galicia During the Second World War," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, VII, 1-2 [23-4] (New York, 1959), p. 1660. Sheptyts'kyi also urged Rabbi Kahana to tell him about the fate of the Jewish community in L'viv. See Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv*, pp. 154-5.
46. As stated in the "Frédéric Report," quoted in Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 330.
47. At least three persons testified they saw Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Himmler, however neither the original nor a copy of the text of the letter is currently available. For details see Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Roky nimetskoï okupatsiï* (New York and Toronto, 1965), pp. 29-39; Lewin, "Andreas Count Sheptytsky," p. 1661; and Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv*, p. 155. With regard to a possible direct cause for this letter, see Prokopchuk, *Der Metropolit*, p. 230. According to an indirect and belated testimony by Rabbi David Kahane, Sheptyts'kyi's appeal of 19 August 1942 mentioned Jews explicitly, but most priests deleted it. See Leo Heiman, "They Saved Jews," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, XVII, 4 (New York, 1961), p. 327; and above, Chapter 6, note 38.
48. Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv*, p. 155. The text of the letter dated 29-31 August 1942, is in *Le Saint Siège*, pt. 2: *1942-1945* (Vatican City, 1967), doc. 406, p. 628.
49. See the letter dated 29–31 August 1942, in ibid., p. 625.
50. Ibid.
51. Eugène Tisserant, *L'Eglise militante* (Paris, 1950), p. 14.
52. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptytskoho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 222–31. In 1942, Ukrainian-Polish fratricidal acts had not yet reached wide proportions, whereas the mass murder of the Jews was already in full swing. It is possible, therefore, that Sheptyts'kyi's appeal concerned primarily the murder of the Jews, although for obvious reasons he could not state it openly. I would like to thank Dr. Ryszard Torzecki for suggesting this interpretation. It should be mentioned that as early as 1 July 1941, in a pastoral letter discussing the new-established Stets'ko government, Sheptyts'kyi urged its members to ensure the safety and well-being of all, regardless of religion, nationality, and social status. See Roman Ilnytzkyj, *Deutschland und die Ukraine, 1939–1945*, vol. II (Munich, 1958), p. 274.
53. Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv*, p. 155.
54. "Frédéric Report," quoted in Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, p. 330.
55. For additional details, see Lewin *Aliti mi-spetsyah*, pp. 27 and 59; and a letter from Kurt Lewin to Roman Boytsun, 6 December 1984, cited at some length in Chapter 6, note 11.

56. See Lewin, *Aliti mi-spetsyah,* p. 175, and Lewin, "Andreas Count Sheptytsky," p. 1665. One of the child survivors wrote: "In 1944, after our liberation, the Metropolitan returned the Jewish children to the remnants of the Jewish community in Lvov as soon as foster families for them could be found. Each child was fitted out with a tailor-made suit of new clothes. . . " Letter by Zvi Barnea (Chameides) to the *Jerusalem Post,* 24 January 1986.
57. This summary of Sheptyts'kyi's rescue of Jews is based on Kahana, *Yoman geto levuv;* Lewin, *Aliti mi-spetsyah;* Kurt I. Lewin, "The Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi in the Years 1942–1944: Recollections of an Eyewitness," in Appendix 2 of this volume; Kurt I. Lewin, "Andreas Count Sheptytsky"; Heiman, "They Saved Jews"; and an interview with Kurt I. Lewin in New York City, 24 December 1984. For testimony on Sheptyts'kyi's rescue of the two sons of Rabbi Kalman Chameides, the former rabbi of Katowice, see a letter by Zvi Barnea (Chameides) to the editor, *The Jerusalem Post,* 24 January 1986, and a letter by Leon Chameides to me, dated 22 January 1986. Both responded to my article, "Sheptytsky and the Jews," *The Jerusalem Post,* 13 December 1985. See also Joachim Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs: Jews in the Lwow Ghetto, the Janowski Concentration Camp, and as Deportees in Siberia* (Hoboken, N.J., 1985), p. 46.
58. Robert Michael, "Christian Theology and the Holocaust," *Midstream* XXX, 4 (New York, 1984), pp. 6–9.
59. The debate includes Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* in the early 1960s, and more recently, John F. Morley's study of the Vatican's reactions to the Holocaust, *Vatican Diplomacy*. Cf. Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII* (Boston and Toronto, 1970); and Saul Friedlander, *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation* (New York, 1966).
60. Letter dated 29–31 August 1942, in *Le Saint Siège,* pt. 2, pt. 628.
61. As related in Kahana's memoirs, *Yoman geto levuv,* pp. 157–8.

Sheptyts'kyi and Religion

Chapter 8

Sheptyts'kyi's Theological Thought

Petro B. T. Bilaniuk

On 23 December 1945, Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) published his encyclical *Orientales omnes*. In this important document the pope mentioned Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and the Greek Catholic (Ruthenian) Church of which he was the head:

> While we briefly and concisely mention and touch upon the happy state of the Ruthenian Church, we may not pass in silence over that outstanding Metropolitan, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, who worked with untiring zeal through almost nine lustres [forty-five years], and stood approved before the flock assigned to him with not only one credential, nor by what pertains to spiritual labor only. During the term of his episcopal office, a Theological Society was established which strongly encouraged the clergy toward the study and progress of sacred doctrine. In L'viv, an Ecclesiastical Academy was established in which the more gifted Ruthenian youths could conveniently study philosophical, theological, and other higher disciplines according to the manner customarily used by universities. Writings of all kinds published as books, newspapers, and commentaries increased greatly and were also highly praised by other nations. Besides this, the sacred arts developed according to the ancient traditions of this people and the talents particular to it. A museum and other art galleries with remarkable monuments of antiquity were established. Finally, not a few institutions were set up and subsidized, by which the needs of the citizens of the lower classes and the helpless poor were served.[1]

This statement stressed the achievements of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in the development of theology. Unfortunately, very little else has been written on the theological thought and achievements of this giant of the Ukrainian Catholic and the Universal Catholic Church.[2] Yet, it was Sheptyts'kyi's theological and profoundly mystical thought and experience that actually constituted the basis for the enormous dynamism that inspired and governed every aspect of his life. This study will discuss some aspects of the Metropolitan's life and theological thinking with particular reference to mystical theology, sophiology, pastoral theology, Christology, and Trinitarian theology.

Sheptyts'kyi's Intellectual Background

The works of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi reveal a very sophisticated use of the concept *mysl'*. This is not merely *dumka*, which is ''thought'' only as a product of the intellect; that is, an abstract concept which can exist in the intellect or be expressed externally by a symbol, a written or a spoken word. For Sheptyts'kyi, *mysl'* was more comprehensive. It was rather the product and expression of the whole human being, the intellect, will, heart, emotions, and the body of the human person. Therefore, the term *mysl'* has not only intellectual, but also moral, voluntary, artistic, sentimental, and material dimensions. Sheptyts'kyi's *mysl'* also had a religious and theological character, for it is oriented toward God. Its object is the Most Holy Trinity and all of divinized reality or the whole of creation in its relationship to and dependence upon God.

In this the Metropolitan belonged to the noble tradition of the Ukrainian philosopher and theologian Hryhorii Skovoroda.[3] Both Skovoroda and Sheptyts'kyi were excellent representatives of that sapiential or sophiological mode of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic life and thought which had characterized so many of the ancient Eastern church Fathers.[4] Indeed, the entire life of the Metropolitan was expressed with the wholeness of his *mysl'*.

On intellectual grounds, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was a product of his era. He was literally caught between the Eastern and Western Christian theological thought as it evolved in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the West, he inherited an extensive knowledge of scholastic philosophy and theology in general, and of St. Thomas Aquinas in particular,[5] since he received his philosophical and theological training in a neo-scholastic milieu in the period subsequent to the revolutionary encyclical of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903), *Aeterni Patris*, of 4 August 1879.[6] This encyclical called for the restoration of scholastic philosophy because of its close relation to theology, and it mentioned the importance of St. Thomas Aquinas and urged the revival of his philosophy, his spirit of investigation, and his scholastic method.

This method is characterized by a harmony between faith and reason. It is a rational investigation of every relevant problem from opposing points of view in order to reach an intelligent solution that would be consistent with accepted authorities, known facts, human reason, and Christian faith. Thus, the method of teaching should follow the order of discovery, entailing the two major methodological components of exposition and disputation. Both components employed the three essential methods of scientific knowledge, definition, division, and reasoning.[7] Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi did use this scholastic method, and he deferred to the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas in some of his theological works. Generally, he would do this only in the first stage of a presentation, when he was introducing his subject, defining the main terms, and making the necessary distinctions. Then he would investigate the subject through reasoning, employing at times the method of questions and answers.[8]

However, he did not stop there, for he had inherited from the East a very strong taste for mystical theology, especially that of St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Simeon the New Theologian, and other major Fathers of the church and theologians.[9] Under the influence of the Greek Fathers, he stated: "In that teaching we distinguish very clearly three different Teachers, three different schools. The first Teacher is Christ who recommends the Teacher Church, and who promises and finally sends the Teacher Holy Spirit. All three schools are united into one organic whole."[10]

The "school of the Church," or the infallible magisterium, was granted by Christ to the Apostles (Matt. 28:19-20) and to their successors, the bishops.[11] The presence of the Divine Wisdom in them makes the apostolic and the magisterial body in the church infallible. However, the school of the church is subordinated to the school of Christ because He is the only true Teacher.[12] Jesus Christ is the Savior, but He teaches in order to save. Christs's teaching office and His school are rooted in His mission from God the Father. Thus He is the only Mediator between God and humankind (John 11:25; 10:3-4).

The third school is that of the Teacher, the Holy Spirit, predicted by the prophets Joel (3:1-2) and Ezekiel (Ezek. 36:26-28).[13] Christ the Lord promised His Apostles to send them the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, from the Father. However, the Holy Spirit comes also as a Teacher, for He is the Spirit of Truth teaching the Apostles and disciples. He is the Lord and Giver of life, including intellectual life. He is the Treasury of good, the Paraclete or Consoler, the Sanctifier; but above all, He is the Teacher of the eternal and divine Truth. He imparts spiritual baptism to the faithful, the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 1:5). He bestowed the gift of tongues at Pentecost (Acts 2:3-4), and thus expanded the teaching office of the church of Christ and of Himself. He was the Teacher and the first participant in the Apostolic Council recorded in Acts 15:28. The Holy Spirit inhabits the church and its members. He illumines their hearts and minds. He grants charismatic gifts and produces His fruits in the faithful. Many of these gifts and fruits are related to the life of faith and the theological endeavor. He guards the doctrinal life of the church and guides the development of doctrines and dogmas of faith and morals. Thus, under His guidance, the church is infallible. These three schools and Teachers are organically united and complement each other, for they are one mysterious and mystical reality.

The distinction between the three Teachers and their respective schools led Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to delve deeper into the nature of theology. Here he came up with exceptionally original views:

> Therefore, without doubt, it is correct to distinguish between three theologies, of which one is more perfect than the other, one that ascends over the other in order to create a magnificent science concerning God. The first is the theology of our theological schools; the second is the theology of Divine Revelation, in the strict meaning of this word, that is, of the books of the Old and New Testaments and Divine Tradition inspired by the Holy Spirit; the third is a theology which embraces the fullness of every means by which God reveals Himself to the creature, granting the revelation through the prophets and His Son, and completing this revelation by the activity of the Holy Spirit.
>
> In the first theology, we, the people, are called only to the confirmation of the fact and the contents of the first revelation.
>
> In the second theology, we are called by a marvelous and almost unintelligible command of the Divine Will to become the helpers in the preaching of doctrine, in proclaiming and transmitting to the people the divine truths in the name of God.
>
> In the third theology, all of us (not as in the former two, only some chosen by Divine providence) are called by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to build Him thrones, first of all within ourselves and then within our neighbors.
>
> The first theology corresponds to the intellectual acts of observation and realization; the second corresponds to the act of understanding; the third to the act of creative and independent thinking.[14]

Sheptyts'kyi elucidated this approach in other writings as well.[15] In fact, it was the third and highest type of theology which was the culmination of Sheptyts'kyi's other two theologies. Throughout his writings, he gave hints about the true and ultimate meaning of this theology, which for him was more than theology in the common sense of the word. It was experiential, creative, and intuitive. In short it was mystical.

Mystical Theology and Mystical Experience

Since the church is a theandric (or God-manly) institution, it is an infallible teacher, but the church must be infallible to protect, in the

Metropolitan's words, "the doctrine of Christ concerning the grace (life), or mystical life [that is] hidden deeply in the heart." Sheptyts'kyi elaborated on this weighty statement:

> Besides the external confirmation or observation of the doctrine revealed by God and proposed by the Church for belief, it is necessary for each soul individually to penetrate into the depths of understanding of the truths of faith. Only the light from heaven can give that understanding. Without the aid of Divine grace which helps us to accept the Divine teaching as truth, we would not understand revealed teaching; it would appear to us impossible... We understand revealed truth from the moment of its acceptance; but into the depth of its understanding, Divine grace given by Christ leads us. By this grace, He speaks to human souls; by this grace, He illumines the mind and uncovers the hidden and Divine truths of faith.
>
> It is a daily experience in the life of the human being who is interested in the revealed truth and likes to hear, or even more, to read the Divine Word, that, on some word of that Book above all books—for it is the Holy Writ—a ray of light from heaven falls. Then in this word the soul perceives such an infinite abyss of mysteries and truths, and sees such a supernatural life that it uncovers hidden treasures of Divine truth [and] doctrine somewhere in the depth of the heart; thus it seems to her [the soul] that above her the heavens are opened. The school of Christ imparts this kind of understanding of Divine revelation.[16]

This description could reflect an autobiographical experience of the Metropolitan, since he was a genuine mystic. There are many similar descriptions of mystical experiences scattered throughout his writings. For example, in an analysis of the phenomenological approach to thought and the thought process, he wrote, like a true mystic:

> Only a thought which lifts itself up and above the observed and the understood subject can, as if with a prophetic intuition, conquer unknown fields and illumine unintelligible phenomena. Therefore, from among all acts of the human intellect, thought best corresponds to the teaching of the Holy Spirit and, therefore, most aptly confirms and explains its necessity. In the range of acts of the human intellect, free, ingenious, or prophetic thought is also a creative thought. It generates equally well the masterpieces of fine arts and ingenious inventions; and it [discovers] the as yet undiscovered laws of nature. Thought generates ideas which are something more real than reality, for they are the norms into which reality pours like amorphous matter into a form; for they are the norms which give the form existence; they are that which in existence is more actual and a more real thing.[17]

Here, the Metropolitan clearly revealed his affinity to Eastern Christian mysticism, based on a Platonic philosophical foundation and on the tradition of the Alexandrian theological school.

In Christian antiquity, at the beginning of the third century, two rival schools of theology emerged, the Alexandrian and the Antiochian. These schools elaborated two classical types of theological thought which, in greater or lesser degree, remain to the present day. The philosophical background and substratum on which Alexandrian theological thought grew was Neoplatonism. Therefore, both Platonic and Neoplatonic elements are dominant. Sheptyts'kyi explicitly defended the superiority of ideas over "reality" as we know it. In the Alexandrian school, thought is held to descend deductively "from above to below" as it tries to interpret created reality from the point of view of God. The Alexandrian school was distinguished by its contemplation, metaphysical speculation, and profound sense of mystery. In Alexandrian cosmology and anthropology, the human being, under the attracting power of the transcendent God and by way of transfiguration and divinization, ascends vertically step by step through different spheres of the world and of being to God as to his primary cause and his absolute and transcendent goal.

This tradition is perpetuated in the Metropolitan's description of human mystical ecstasy:

> . . . the soul enters into ecstasy, that is, steps out of itself under the influence of an extraordinary emotion of love, or because of great wonder before what it sees, or because of measureless joy. The faculties of the soul mutually aid each other. The intellect is struck with awe by the vision which takes complete hold of the will. But the will finds such delight in the captivation of the mind, and both these faculties are so overwhelmed by the object that the intellect sees and the will experiences; it is as if they are oblivious to themselves and lose control over the senses.
>
> What is being presented to the soul is so new and unheard-of that the first emotion is wonder, combined with an inability to portray or depict what is seen. It is as if a bottomless abyss opens up before the intellect; and it is as if the soul "faints for the courts of the Lord" (Ps. 84:2). The soul is enveloped by such a yearning, such a desire to learn something from that abyss of truth, beauty, and goodness, that the heart of the human being bonds to the Living God (Ps. 84:3). It appears to the soul as beatitude to dwell in the house of the Lord and praise God forever (Ps. 84:4).
>
> The soul recognizes by experience what is already known from faith, that Christ and divine grace live within; that the soul participates in the Divine Nature, hence desires to enter deeper into that Truth and Life so as to lose consciousness, be self-forgetful, not knowing where it is or what it is doing. What is happening within the soul, mystical theology terms the

> touch of divinity in the deepest abyss of the soul. What the soul experiences and tastes is God Himself.
>
> Divinity does not appear to the soul in the full luminosity of the blessed in heaven; but divinity does make itself known. The soul in ecstasy feels itself as being with God—in God Himself. The soul touches God and God touches the soul's faculties. It is evident that the senses cannot have any participation in these unspeakable contacts. . . .
>
> In ecstasy, the soul experiences and tastes God, obviously not by imagination, nor by one of the senses, not even by an exalted sense. Therefore, it is no wonder that the soul finds no word to express what it experiences. It would be necessary for the soul to express God; however, there is not description nor image, nor shape nor taste, nor word, nor form, nor appearance which could express anything about God. All this the soul casts aside and sees that in the end nothing corresponds to its perception—nothing can be of help.
>
> Before the soul is a measureless abyss without a horizon. Before the soul is heaven. In order to possess the desired [state], it would be necessary to swallow the oceans and consume the infinite majesty of heaven. Therefore, naturally, the soul has no words, no feelings, none of those means for entering into contact with the outside world. The intellect loses its human mode of reasoning, thinking, and speaking; it has no use of the imagination or senses. It knows nothing. There is only one truth—certain and infinite—it is that the intellect is in contact with God; spirit with Spirit, intellect with Intellect, heart with Heart.
>
> As soon as the soul stands in the presence of God, as soon as the soul experiences that Presence (a feeling not customary in everyday life), as soon as the soul experiences the Presence of God through a feeling of its own spiritual existence, then the human soul enters into possession of a deep peace and receives a draught from the everlasting streams of Divine Wisdom and Love.[18]

While the Metropolitan's description of the soul's experience with God is cast in the terminology of scholastic anthropology, it is also permeated with personal and Biblical imagery.

Sophiology

In 1887, Roman Sheptyts'kyi, the future Metropolitan, travelled to Moscow where he met Vladimir Solov'ev, one of the greatest exponents of the "Russian Sophiological School" and one of the leading intellectuals of the period.[19] Young Roman was deeply inspired, and as a result he developed a profound taste for the literature on the subject of the Divine Wisdom Itself, Hagia Sophia. However, his own sophiology was very carefully balanced, and he never exaggerated the personification of Divine Wisdom as did the Russian sophiologists, who almost created a fourth hypostasis for the Trinity.[20]

Although references to the Divine Wisdom can be found in most of the writings of Sheptyts'kyi, it was in 1932 that he decided to write a booklet specifically entitled *Bozha Mudrist'* (*The Divine Wisdom*).[21] In this he wrote:

> The Old Testament texts with respect to the Divine Wisdom were also partially messianic texts; they presented the pre-eonic birth of the hypostatic Wisdom of the Divine Word and the bestowal of this Wisdom upon the people. Indeed, Jesus Christ—the Divine Word who became embodied—was this Wisdom. Corresponding to this fundamental truth of Christianity, [human] wisdom, as a [human] virtue or power, will be one with Christ's Spirit [dwelling] within them and with Christ's Wisdom within them. However, because the Spirit of Christ is many-faceted and meets all the needs of peoples, nations, and eras, especially vis-à-vis the many facets of human nature, the word 'wisdom' grows more precise in connotation and comes to mean only one aspect of the spirit of Christ. In the messianic text of Isaiah XI:2, this spirit of Christ is thus described: 'And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord'.[22]

For Sheptyts'kyi, natural wisdom was the understanding of fundamental truths and insights into the ultimate cause underlying all knowledge and existence. From this came the need for an upright life and moral conduct. As one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, wisdom enabled the human being to make proper judgments and to live righteously.

Bozha Mudrist' examines, in an orderly sequence, the idea of "wisdom" in the books of the Old Testament; the books of the New Testament in the various areas of sacred theology and in different kinds of prayer—especially the "Our Father"; and finally in the context of the eternity of the Holy Eucharist. The practical side of Sheptyts'kyi's sophiology is presented in his own "Prayer of the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei for Divine Wisdom."[23]

Pastoral Theology

Most of the Metropolitan's theological writings were pastoral in character. In fact, the absolute majority were in the form of pastoral letters to his flock.[24] These represented pastoral theology at its best, whether as a practical theological reflection on the self-realizing activity of the church, or its prophetic, royal, and sacramental mission. Through this mission, the Holy

Trinity communicates its inner life, light, and love for the salvation and definitive fulfillment of all of created reality.[25]

In many respects, Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral theology was caught between Western and Eastern understanding and practice. His approach to pastoral theology was very practical, and, in that sense, Western, yet at the same time it was tempered with the Eastern, personal touch. In the West, pastoral theology had emerged as an independent branch of theology as a result of the Council of Trent. Unfortunately, in response to Trent's concern for the reform of the clergy, pastoral theology dealt solely with the duties and obligations inherent in the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying ministries of the episcopate and the clergy.[26] By the mid-nineteenth century, however, there was a strong reaction against this approach, as in the work of Anton Graf and Catholic theologians at the University of Tübingen who elicited a new understanding and reassessment of the method and purpose of pastoral theology.[27] Sheptyts'kyi received his pastoral formation during the process of renewal begun by Graf, and he took it very seriously. This was reflected as early as his tenure as bishop of Stanyslaviv (1898-1900) and continued after he became Metropolitan of Halych (1900).

From the Christian East, Sheptyts'kyi inherited the pastoral tradition of the patristic and monastic periods. He was aware of the *Didache*, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, *Apostolic Constitution*, and later compilations such as the *Pedalion* or *Kormchaia knyha*, and he was inspired by the pastoral letters and sermons of the Holy Hierarchs St. Athanasius, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus. Furthermore, he was aware of such works as *De Sacerdotio* of St. John Chrysostom, which dealt with both the external ministry and the interior life of the priest as well as the spirituality of the people entrusted to his care. Pastoral theology presupposes all other sacred sciences, and as such it draws upon them in many ways. However, it cannot be identified with any individual science. The pastoral works of Sheptyts'kyi make this abundantly clear. Concretely and effectively, he tried to apply to the daily life of the priest and his flock what he had learned from the various branches of theology, especially what they speculatively taught about the three-fold function of teaching, ruling, and sanctifying the people of God.

Dogmatic theology establishes and scientifically discusses the doctrinal basis of the Christian faith, with the resources of the Sacred Scriptures, liturgical and patristic tradition, and conciliar decisions. Pastoral theology establishes a new dimension: the practical application of the dogmas of the Christian faith to the daily life of the Christian community. In 1902, Sheptyts'kyi illustrated this when he published *Nasha vira*, a precise and concise exposition of the dogmatic teaching of the church.[28] This work was pastorally oriented, so it avoided technical theological terminology and controversial issues. In that sense, *Nasha vira* is typical of most of Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral writings, in which he tried to establish a solid dogmatic basis for his pastoral exhortation.

In the Christian East, there is no real distinction between moral, pastoral, ascetical, and mystical theology, nor between Christian obligations and the Evangelical counsels. Therefore, there is a tendency to moral maximalism or to a spirituality of the imitation of God: "Be ye holy, as I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2). *Being holy* is prior to *holiness in deeds*. The holiness of the Triadic god is the foundation of all the holiness and morality of all rational creatures. Consequently, moral activity follows ontology; moral theology is a corollary of dogmatic theology; and orthopraxis follows from orthodoxy.[29]

In the writings of Sheptyts'kyi there is a very clear development from the Western position, which made clear distinctions between the theological disciplines, to the Eastern understanding of one unified theoretical and practical spirituality. However, at one time, the Metropolitan experienced difficulties in this area, for he wrote:

> During lectures on the spiritual life (usually called ascetics and mystics—for there is not one name for the two parts), I tried with great difficulty to find a concise and brief description of the spiritual life, or of the science concerning that life; I found it in these words: 'theology in souls' (*bohosloviia v dushakh*).

He then went on to explain this as "a creative theology of the Holy Spirit."[30]

Pastoral theology borrows much from liturgy and liturgics. In return, pastoral theology can suggest methods of making public worship more effective and possibly more sanctifying. These are intrinsically linked in the writings of the Metropolitan, for example, in his booklet, *An Explanation of Rites During the Consecration of a Church* (1901), and in his pastoral letter, "On the Rites" (1942).[31] Pastoral theology also takes into account not only what ought to be done in the Christian life, but also the means of doing it. Here Sheptyts'kyi made some remarkable contributions. For instance, there was his pastoral letter, "On the Church Brotherhood," and its statutes. He also prepared new statutes for the Sisters of Mary Immaculate and for the Basilian nuns. Furthermore, he worked with his brother Klymentii on the monastic rule for the Studite monks: *The Typikon of Sknyliv* (elaborated in 1905 and published in 1910); and *The Typikon* (elaborated in 1936 and published in 1964).[32] There are also two shorter works: *The Rule of Univ* and *Our Monastic Customs*. In 1929, Sheptyts'kyi submitted his incisive *Proposition Concerning the Reform of Eastern Canon Law* to the Special Commission for the Codification of Eastern Canon Law in Rome. The Metropolitan also supervised the elaboration of the decrees and acts of the Synods of L'viv (1905), St. Petersburg (1917), and the four later Synods of the Archeparchy of L'viv (1940-1944).[33] All these canonical writings and decisions are permeated with pastoral and spiritual concerns. They are not dry canonical writings prepared just for the sake of enforcing law and order in the church.

Christology

The early theological thought of Sheptyts'kyi was solidly Christocentric.[34] He was very much aware of the classical Christological texts of the Bible, of the liturgical teaching concerning the mystery of Christ, of the solemn definitions of the Ecumenical Councils concerning Christ and the Christological heresies, of the highly diversified patristic Christological tradition, and especially of the image of Christ as the universal Lord, the Pantocrator, the All-Ruler. For Sheptyts'kyi, Christ was the Son of God the Father, the Second Person of the Most Holy Trinity, who shared with the Father and the Holy Spirit in the same one and unique divinity, the same essence and nature, and the same infinite power (or omnipotence) in the pre-eonic glory of the Godhead. With the Father and the Holy Spirit, He is the pre-eonic, unintelligible, infinite God, infinite Spirit, not burdened in His divine nature by any material body, and therefore bodiless in His Divinity.

God the Son shares with the Father and the Holy Spirit many infinite Divine attributes, for He is all-merciful, just, infinitely wise and good, limitless, omnipresent, unintelligible, and omniscient. Sheptyts'kyi reflected on this matter:

> The Son of God, born of the Father before all ages, is in all equal to the Father. Therefore the Son of God is God from God, light from light, True God from True God. The Son of God is the only-begotten, He is not created, but generated. He is not a creature like unto us, but God. The Divine Son is consubstantial to the Father, for he has the same substance and the same divinity as the Father. Through the Son of God everything was made. He created all just like the Father.[35]

He also addressed the controversial question of the procession of the Holy Spirit. As a loyal Catholic, he accepted Catholic dogma, including the *filioque*—the spiration of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son, who are one unique principle of procession and spiration.[36]

With regard to the authority given to Christ for his mission in the world, Sheptyts'kyi stated:

> By the Father, He was constituted a King of all creation and sits on the divine throne in heaven at the right hand of God; for God granted all authority in heaven and on earth to Jesus Christ as a man; and "exalted Him and bestowed on Him the Name which is above every name, that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth" (Phil. 9:9-10). But when Christ comes at the end of the world to

> judge the living and the dead, then shall God subject under His feet all His enemies (I Cor. 15:27) and He shall give Him a kingdom which is above all kingdoms, and of His kingdom there shall be no end.[37]

This leads to the mystery of Christ, the incarnate—or inhominized—Lord, the Pantocrator, the All-Ruler. In this area of Christology, Sheptyts'kyi took the relevant Biblical texts very seriously, especially Col. 1:15-20. The doctrine of Christ the All-Ruler (the Pantocrator) is based on this text of the Sacred Scriptures, together with a number of similar ones. Reflecting upon the Biblical text and the liturgical and patristic traditions that had evolved from it, the Metropolitan taught:

> In His human nature, Christ is the head of the whole of mankind not only as far as human souls are concerned, but also as far as human bodies are concerned. He is also the head of those peoples who are outside of the Church and who do not even know Him, the Christ. He is the head of all those whom He has called to become the children of God, and also of all those to whom he gives or will give supernatural life. Christ is the head of all mankind from the first moment of the creation of the first human being. He is the head of the whole material cosmos.[38]

However, in Sheptyts'kyi's view, the theology of Christ the Pantocrator did not exhaust the mystery of Christ. In his theology of Christ, two concepts predominated at the outset: Christ as Teacher and Christ as Savior:

> Christ is the Divine He-Lamb who takes upon Himself the sins of the world, and the Highpriest who presents the sacrifice—the Highpriest according to the order of Melkizedek, the second Adam, the first-born of every creature, the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the King, the Judge to whom is given all power in heaven and on earth, Emmanuel, the Good Shepherd, the Door of the Sheepfold, the Bread of Life. . . . Besides all this, He is also a Teacher, and as such, He must indeed have the characteristic of being the Only One with respect to all other characteristics and works.[39]

The Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity

In his theological development, the Metropolitan progressed from a Christocentric position to a Triadocentric view of reality, that is from a theology dogmatically centered on the mystery of Christ to a theology centered on the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity. He called this view "theocentric."[40] It appears that the Trinity had been a favorite theological subject for the Metropolitan for some time. As early as 1902, *Nasha vira* opened with a brief statement on the Most Holy Trinity that utilized all the classical formulations of both the Eastern and Western traditions:

> Our Catholic faith is as follows: We believe in one God, but in three Divine persons. We believe in the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Although the Father, Divine Son, and Holy Spirit are three different Persons, they are only one God. They have one common divinity, one and the same infinite power, and one and the same pre-eonic glory. In all things they are equal each to each. None of them is the older, nor more powerful, nor more glorious, for all [of them are] one, pre-eonic, incomprehensible [and] infinite God.
>
> Just as the Father [is] a pre-eonic and infinite, bodiless spirit, so also [is] the Divine Son, so also [is] the Holy Spirit. Just as the Father [is] all-merciful and just, so also are the Divine Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father [is] all-wise and all-good, so also the Divine Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father [is] measureless and incomprehensible; the Son [is] measureless and incomprehensible; the Holy Spirit [is] measureless and incomprehensible. The Father is omniscient and omnipresent, so also [are] the Divine Son and the Holy Spirit.
>
> We believe and confess that these three: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three Persons, but only one God in the Trinity.
>
> Only by this one [characteristic] do these Divine Persons differ from each other; that the Father originates from Himself [and] from none other; that the Divine Son originates from the Father; and that the Holy Spirit originates from the Father and the Son.[41]

After brief expositions on the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the *filioque,* Sheptyts'kyi continued:

> The Father together with the Son and the Holy Spirit holds everything in [His] hands, he rules all [and] takes care of all. He created heaven and earth, and all that is in heaven and on earth, all that we see and that we do not see. Earth and sun and moon and stars, and all that is in them, He created out of nothing by His one omnipotent Word. In the same fashion, He also created the first man, Adam, from whom we—all the people in the world—were born.[42]

Early in his career as a pastor, Sheptyts'kyi arrived at the Eastern vision of the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity. He was well aware of a difference in accentuation on the matter in the East and West, and he knew that many theologians in the West thought of the Eastern approach to the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity as an escape into the abstract. This view, however, is far from the truth, for the Christian East looks at created reality—the earth, the cosmos, the human body—as at a passing temporal and mortal reality. Hence, the Triadic God remains as the only true Reality, as the fullness of Divine Triadic Life and Being. Sheptyts'kyi also stressed the dynamic Life and Being of the Triadic God over the "static attributes" of the Divine nature.

One can truly say that the Metropolitan exhibited the highest love for the Most Holy Trinity. Comparing the Eastern and Western theological approaches to the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, Sheptyts'kyi wrote:

> . . . two Christian commonwealths, having the same faith and the same dogmas, may have ideas which, though essentially identical, are accidentally so different as to appear mutually hostile. It is thus that the East differs from the West, even in those questions where there is no real difference at all, and that is because of the numberless subtleties which escape all attempts at expression.
>
> Here is an example: the Greek Fathers of the fourth century had certain ideas about the Most Holy Trinity which, while they were fundamentally the same as those of the Latin Fathers, nevertheless might be distinguished by certain shades of meaning, albeit very fine shades, yet possessing a certain doctrinal import. To put it in a more general and abstract way, we should say that the Eastern perception of a given idea differed from the Western perception because of the stress placed by the former on one feature of the idea, and that [stress] placed on another feature of the same idea by the latter. One party [the Eastern] takes the idea *in sensu recto*, the other [the Western] *in sensu obliquo*. The former would consider the Most Holy Trinity first with reference to the three individual Persons *in recto*; then pass on to the consideration of the divine common essence *in obliquo*. The latter would proceed the other way about. The first manner of considering the Most Holy Trinity would be that of the Greek Fathers; the second that of the Latins.[43]

This is an excellent assessment of the theological situation and one that should be remembered during ecumenical dialogues between Eastern and Western theologians. This assessment also applies to the thorny and historically burdened question concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, that is, the *filioque* controversy.

In the concluding sermon during the Archeparchial Synod of 1940, the Metropolitan suggested:

> During this Council of 1940, we have tried to give expression to the fundamental truth of Christianity, and specifically to this truth: that the Omnipotent God deserves not only the first, but the exclusive place in our life and our activity. All year long, we have dealt with His prerogatives... that is, what is due to Him not because He demands it, but because of His

> intrinsic nature—because of His being in Itself. We have dealt with the prerogatives of the Omnipotent and Triune God in such a way and in such a style that it is as if we did not exist at all in the world. . . . All our conciliar sessions were like an explanation of our wonderful liturgical invitation in the Holy Liturgy: . . . 'Blessed be the Kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'.[44]

It is true that modern Western persons direct their attention almost exclusively to temporal and material reality. Therefore, there is a crisis of true faith in the western world, a lack of awareness of the role of the Most Holy Trinity in actual living. Such modern persons are far removed from this religious *Weltanschauung,* and to them the Trinity appears distant, abstract, and unintelligible. On the other hand, the mystical mentality of the Christian East is characterized by an *experience* of the Holy Spirit who enlightens the mind of the believing Christian and redirects him from the visible to the invisible world. This same Spirit leads Christians to an intimate union—or communion—with the Triadic God and to a certain kind of vision of God, which in Greek theology is called *theoria*. The Metropolitan often stressed that perpetual prayer deepens, strengthens, and ennobles the union of the believing person with the Most Holy Trinity. However, like a true Eastern theologian, he also underscored the inaccessibility of Divinity:

> Divine truth—like the Divine Being—shall always retain infinite depth inaccessible to the created intellect. Even the blessed in heaven who see the Divine Being of the Most Holy Trinity face to face—that is, they see all three Divine Persons—and who see them immediately and see them in their totality just as they are, even they do not grasp the Divinity nor recognize Him in that Perfection in which the Divinity is self-recognized. Only God recognizes Himself this way; and that knowledge, that grasping, in an internal act of the Most Holy Trinity by which God the Father generates the Son; in which God, within Himself, expresses Himself outwardly and pronounces His pre-eonic Word. Only that Word is a perfect knowledge of the Divinity. Only to the Divine Word and to the Holy Spirit is God totally known, that is, as perfectly as only He can be known. To all creatures, even the highest and most perfect, God is always an abyss of inaccessible Light. Therefore, from among all the images by which God has represented His nature to people, [it is] the darkness—the mist filling up the temple of Solomon and manifested at the Transfiguration of Christ—[that] is probably the most exact and most perfect knowledge of the Divinity.[45]

For Sheptyts'kyi, the concept of "Divinity" was logically and psychologically prior to the concept of "Trinity," yet they were ontologically one. His mystical and experiential approach was often to the *Divinity*, while his ontological approach was frequently to the *Trinity*. He was very much aware of the day by day experience of the Holy Trinity in the living liturgy of the church. His pattern of writing often began with objective trinitarian statements, but was resolved in a practical, lived, "theocentric" discussion. Thus, he would proceed from pure scientific theology to a pastoral, mystical, and spiritual amplification.[46]

Conclusion

This essay has presented Sheptyts'kyi's thought with respect to mystical theology, sophiology, pastoral theology, Christology, and Trinitarian theology. Yet there remains much more to be discussed not only on these topics but on many others as well, such as the Metropolitan's views on the Divine Mysteries (sacraments), ecclesiology and eschatology; his use of Biblical and patristic exegesis; and his liturgical theology. Perhaps scholars will initiate such studies, thereby enriching the theological vision of the Eastern churches and, consequently, that of the Universal Church.

Notes

1. The Latin original of the papal encyclical is in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. XXXVII (Rome, 1946), pp. 52-3. For the Ukrainian text of the encyclical, see *Sviatishoho vselens'koho arkhyiereia Piia z Bozhoï lasky Papy XII entsylika v 350-littia z''iednynennia Ukraïns'koï tserkvy z Apostol's'kym Prestolom* (Rome-Grottaferrata, 1946), pp. 26-7.
2. Two exceptions are Ivan Hryniokh, "Z bohoslovs'koho myslennia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho," in his *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei—blahovisnyk iednosty* (Rome, 1961), pp. 57-69; and Anatol Maria Bazylevych, "Bohoslovs'ko-dukhpastyrs'ki i asketychni tvory," in his introduction ("Vvedennia") to [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, vol. XV (Toronto, 1965), pp. B/22-B/54. See also discussion of scholarship on Sheptyts'kyi's theological thought elsewhere in this book.
3. See Petro B. T. Bilaniuk, "An Introduction to the Theological Thought of Hryhorij Skovoroda," in his *Studies in Eastern Christianity*, vol. II (Munich and Toronto, 1982), pp. 157-82.
4. Among these were Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, and Maximus Confessor.
5. In his theological works, Sheptyts'kyi mentions St. Thomas Aquinas sixteen times. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni* (Rome, 1978), pp. 15, 26-7, 59, 83, 105, 151-2, 192, 216, 248, 287, 308, 334, 343, 370, 382, 392.
6. For the Latin original of the encyclical, see *Acta Leonis XIII*, vol. I (Rome, 1878-1879), pp. 255-85. An English version and commentaries are found in Victor B. Brezik, C.S.B., *One Hundred Years of Thomism. Aeterni Patris and Afterwards: A Symposium* (Houston, Texas, 1981).
7. Cf. J. A. Weisheipl, "Scholastic Method," in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII (New York, 1967), pp. 1145-6.

8. See, for instance, "Shche pro mistychni chy spirytystychni proiavy," in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï, 1941-1944*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 270-83.
9. Cf. Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni* on St. Basil, pp. 52, 119, 305, 310, 407, 439; on St. Gregory of Nazianzus, pp. 212, 438-9, 448; and on St. Simeon the New Theologian, p. 438.
10. "Dar p'iatdesiatnytsi," in ibid., p. 417.
11. Ibid., pp. 418-20.
12. Ibid., pp. 420-22.
13. Ibid., pp. 422-6.
14. Ibid., pp. 449-50.
15. Ibid., p. 422.
16. Ibid., pp. 431-2.
17. Ibid., pp. 442-3.
18. [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pt. 2, pp. 275-6.
19. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), p. 27. For a select bibliography on Solov'ëv, see Joseph Papin, "Eschaton in the Vision of the Russian Newman (Soloviev)," in his *The Eschaton: A Community of Love, the Villanova University Symposium* (Villanova, Pa., 1971), pp. 50-5; and Peter P. Zouboff, *Godmanhood as the Main Idea of the Philosophy of Vladimir Solovyev* (New York, 1944), pp. 227-33.
20. Besides Solov'ëv, among the leading figures in the Russian school were Pavel Florenskii, Sergei Bulgakov, and Nikolai Berdiaev.
21. *Bozha Mudrist'* (L'viv, 1933), is reprinted in Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni*, pp. 3-126.
22. Ibid., p. 21.
23. The full text of this important prayer, which appears in ibid., pp. 27–9, and with minor corrections of spelling and style in *Hospody, do Tebe voznoshu dushu moiu*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1977), pp. 54–8, follows:

    Great and Omnipotent God! Send down upon me from Thy high and holy heavens and from the throne of Thy holy Glory Thy holy wisdom who sits beside Thee! Grant me the wisdom of Thy graciousness so that I, in life, may do that which is pleasing to Thee and ardently desire to search it wisely, to recognize it truly, and fulfill it perfectly, for the honor and glory of Thy holy Name, "to the praise of His glorious grace" [Eph. 1:16]. Grant me, O God, the wisdom of my state, so that I might fulfil all that Thou desirest. Grant me to understand my duties; grant me the wisdom of my duties; grant me to fulfil them as need be and ought, unto Thy glory and my soul's gain. Grant me the wisdom of Thy ways and wisdom to walk on the paths of Thy holy will [cf. Ps. 25]. Grant me the wisdom of Thy hand extended or withdrawn, so that I might not be here puffed up nor there cast down. Grant me the wisdom of joy and the wisdom of sadness, so that I might rejoice only in that which leads to Thee and be saddened by that which distances me from Thee. Grant me the wisdom of everything that is passing and of everything that is permanent; may the former decrease in my eyes and the latter increase. Grant me the wisdom of work and the wisdom of rest; may work for Thee be delight to me, and may pause without Thee be exhaustion to me. Grant me the wisdom of sincere and straight-forward intention, the wisdom of simplicity, the wisdom of sincerity. May my heart be drawn towards Thee, and in all things search for Thee, throughout my whole life. Grant me the wisdom of obedience to Thy Law, to Thy Church. Grant me the wisdom of poverty, that I may never evaluate things other than as their true value is. Grant me the wisdom of purity corresponding to my state and vocation. Grant me the wisdom of patience, the wisdom of humility, the wisdom of joyfulness and dignity, the wisdom of the fear of the Lord, of truthfulness, and of good works. May I be patient without any complaint, obedient without the slightest simulation, joyous without measureless laughter, serious without sternness, that I might fear Thee without the temptation of being distraught, that I might be truthful without a trace of duplicity. May my good deeds be free from egomania. Grant me the wisdom, when needed, to admonish my neighbors without self-exaltation. Grant me to build by word and deed, without hypocrisy. Grant me, O God, the wisdom of watchfulness, vigilance and caution. May no useless thought lead me astray in a trackless waste. Grant me the wisdom of stateliness, that never a sullied nor ignoble attachment may ever cast me down. Grant me the wisdom of righteousness, that no egotistic intention may ever lead me aside from the way of duty. Grant me the wisdom of fortitude and power, that no storm may cast me down. Grant me the wisdom of freedom, that no violent passion may ever enslave me!

Grant me the wisdom of the theological and moral virtues: faith, hope, and love, intelligence, piety, abstinence, and fortitude. Grant me, O God, the wisdom of the Apostles, the wisdom of the Martyrs. Grant me a priestly and pastoral wisdom. Grant me the wisdom of preachers and teachers. Grant me the wisdom of the dispensers of the Holy Mysteries [Sacraments]. Grant me a Eucharistic wisdom and a Sacramental wisdom—a wisdom of prayer and a spiritual vision. And above all, O Lord, grant me the wisdom of heart-felt sorrow, and of imperfect and perfect contrition. Grant me the wisdom of knowledge of myself in my weakness and vileness. Grant me the wisdom of mortification and fasting. Grant me the wisdom of renunciation and self-sacrifice. Grant me the wisdom of sacrifice, the wisdom of the Cross, the wisdom of blood. O God, grant me finally that wisdom which is in accord with Thy Holy Intention: which leads to the reunion of the Churches under one supreme pastor, the Ecumenical Pontiff. Grant me the wisdom to treasure the work of holy reunion, to love it, and to sacrifice my life for it. Grant me the wisdom of the Fathers of the Holy Eastern Church and of all the great ecclesiastical Teachers. Grant me the wisdom of Thy great Apostle Paul, so that I might at least understand his epistles well, remember them, and be able to explain them to Thy people. Grant me the wisdom of Thy first Vicar, that I might understand the intentions of Thy Divine Providence which rules the Church through the Roman Pontiffs. Grant me the wisdom of obedience to them and to the Universal Catholic Church. Grant me the wisdom of church history and theology. Grant me the wisdom which is most lacking in myself and in my people. Grant me the wisdom of true satisfaction, of true happiness. Amen.

24. See [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia: z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï, 1939-1940*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1961); [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pt. 2; and *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty*.
25. For an introduction to pastoral theology, see J. H. Brennan, "Pastoral Theology," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. X (New York, 1967), pp. 1080-4; K. Rahner and H. Vorgrimler, "Pastoral Theology," in *Theological Dictionary*, ed. by C. Ernst (New York, 1965), pp. 338-9; H. Schuster, "The Nature and Function of Pastoral Theology," in *The Pastoral Mission of the Church - Concilium*, ed. by K. Rahner (Glen Rock, N.J., 1965), pp. 4-14; and his "Pastoral Theology" in *Sacramentum Mundi*, vol. IV (New York, 1970), pp. 365-8. The most important work of this century is the Vatican II document, "Guadium et spes" (7 December 1965), for which an English translation, "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," is found in *Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Austin P. Flannery (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975), pp. 903-1001.
26. This approach should be thoroughly understood: the writings and works of such authors as the eighteenth-century St. Charles Borromeo best exemplify the Tridentine

approach to pastoral theology. The orientation developed even further, for by the nineteenth century, canon law had come to serve as the major source of Western pastoral theology.

27. Cf. Anton Graf, *Kritische Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustands der praktischen Theologie* (Tübingen, 1841) and Joseph Amberger, *Pastoraltheologie*, 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1850-1857).
28. *Nasha vira* [*Our Faith*] (Zhovkva, 1902).
29. See I. Žužek, "Moral Theology, Russian Orthodox," in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IX, pp. 1125-6; and T. Špidlik, "Moral Theology and Spirituality, Greek Orthodox," in ibid., pp. 1126-8.
30. Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni*, pp. 452-6.
31. *Poiasnenie obriadov pry posviashcheniiu tserkvy* (Zhovkva, 1901); "Pastyrs'ke poslannia z travnia 1941 r.: Pro Obriady," in [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pt. 2, pp. 149-61. In fact, there are scores of pastoral letters dealing with liturgical matters.
32. *Typikon*/*Typicon*, ed. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, Nauchni i literaturni publikatsiï 'Studion' studyts'kykh monastyriv, pts. 1-2 (Rome, 1964). The French text, *Typicon*, was submitted to the Roman Curia; the Ukrainian original, *Typikon*, is lost.
33. All canonical publications of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi are introduced well by Bazylevych, "Vvedennia," pp. B/55-B/85.
34. This is clear from the early pastoral letters contained in Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I.
35. *Nasha vira*, p. 4.
36. Ibid., p. 5.
37. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
38. Quoted by Hryniokh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei*, p. 64. Although Hryniokh does not give any source for this quotation, it is clear he is drawing on Sheptyts'kyi's closing remarks to the synod of 1940. Cf. "Promova ïkh Vysokopreosv. o. Mytropolyta na zakinchennia Soboru 1940 r.," in [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma poslannia . . . z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï*, p. 69.
39. Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni*, p. 420.
40. In fact, the Synod of the Archeparchy of L'viv of 1940 had as its main theme, "The Worship of the Most Holy Trinity." See Hryniokh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei*, pp. 57–60; and [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia . . . z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï*, pp. 68–71.
41. Hryniokh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei*, pp. 56–60. This work gives the best account of Sheptyts'kyi's theocentric (actually *Triadocentric*) views.
42. Ibid., p. 5.
43. Cited in Andrej Szeptyckyj, "Eastern and Western Mentality," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, IX, 8 (London, 1952), p. 393.
44. Quoted by Hryniokh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei*, pp. 61–2.
45. Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni*, p. 90.
46. Cf. ibid., pp. 49–52.

Chapter 9

Sheptyts'kyi and Ecumenism

Lubomyr Husar

In 1939, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi wrote: "Indeed, one could recount many interesting things from the experience in pro-Union matters of individuals working in that field. Much more important, however, will be what one can say about the experiences of pro-Union efforts of the entire Catholic Church."[1] At the very outset, Sheptyts'kyi felt compelled to state that the pro-Union activity of the church as a whole had been almost without success. "The essence of any effort toward church union ought to consist of the following: that the general opinion of our Eastern Orthodox brethren be changed in such a way that the reunification with the center of the Catholic Church be desired and longed for spontaneously from their own midst."[2] In a sense, this statement provides the key to understanding Sheptyts'kyi's own fundamental ecumenical vision and his efforts on behalf of church union.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the state of mind within the Ukrainian Catholic community at the turn of the century was such that if the Orthodox had entertained a pro-Union desire, they would not have found fellow Christians in the Eastern-rite Catholic Church willing to follow them. The situation had somewhat improved at the end of Sheptyts'kyi's life, but even then there were only a few individuals able to accept the idea of church union on the basis of mutual equality, and not just the old approach of *Uniia*.[3] To illustrate how imperfect the understanding of ecumenism still was in the 1940s, one only need recall the proposal of some who suggested that the Catholic minority be absorbed within the Orthodox majority—as if church union were merely an absorption of one church by another.[4]

The situation was proportionately worse in the West. In the East, Sheptyts'kyi could at least appeal to common traditions among the Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians, especially the close relationship between the church and people. For western Europe, however, the Orthodox East and even the Catholic East was largely an enigma. It is interesting to note that Sheptyts'kyi's programmatic conference dealing with the role Westerners were to play in the work of church union was delivered in 1923 in Rome itself. Later he expressed the bitter truth, even if dressed in gentle humor, at the 1925 Unity Week celebrations in Brussels. There he told Westerners that with regard to the East they were not living up to their own Cartesian ideal of clear and distinct thoughts.[5]

Sheptyts'kyi's work toward church union was directed at the Orthodox as well as the Catholics. His first effort among the Orthodox came in 1904. In that year, he, together with some Belorussians, devised a plan to help the Belorussian church restore its unity with the See of Peter.[6] That plan was very simple: to settle Eastern-rite Catholic farmers on lands which the Metropolitan would buy and to send priests to minister to them. This would be the seed for a movement of ideas favorable to church union. There would be no special preaching, no pro-Union activity in the strict sense of the word, only the example of a group of farmers. The very fact that they were to be Eastern-rite Catholics would in itself create an atmosphere and recognition among Belorussian Orthodox that it was possible to be both Catholic and Eastern. This eventually might even awaken a desire to embrace church union.

Further east, Sheptyts'kyi started in 1907 to organize the Russian Catholic Church.[7] In the face of the multi-million strong Russian Orthodox Church, the small Catholic group in St. Petersburg and Moscow would seem negligible, but in 1917, Sheptyts'kyi made out of that small group a full-fledged local church with an exarch at its head. Although the Russian Catholic Church had only a few hundred members, it was not to engage in any specific pro-Union activity. On the other hand, anyone who wanted to join it and who made a Catholic profession of faith was gladly accepted. More important was that its very existence and its faithful observance of ancestral Russian liturgical, canonical, and theological traditions undercut those critics who insisted on the incompatibility of being a Russian and an Eastern-rite Catholic. The plan was intended to last many decades, by which time the seed would have grown into a church that in the long run could favorably influence Russian Orthodox opinion toward the idea of church union.

There was even a moment in 1918 when it seemed that Sheptyts'kyi would be invited to become the patriarch of the Ukrainian church.[8] That proposal was put forward by a group of Ukrainian Orthodox who were restoring a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Sheptyts'kyi was willing to accept, but only on condition that the invitation come from a clear majority of the assembly which by that act would also declare itself for union with the

Apostolic See. Sheptyts'kyi was not interested in becoming a patriarch at any price.

With regard to the Catholic world, Sheptyts'kyi first outlined his ideas on what the West could do for the East in a conference held at Rome in 1923. On that occasion, he told his western audience:

> Moreover, until now, the more or less numerous Eastern communities to which we have referred have always returned to ecclesiastical unity, not by a decree coming from above and therefore not comprehensible to the masses, but rather by a movement of ideas which, after becoming stronger and stronger, have shaken the [otherwise] inert masses.
>
> It is clear that in the future only in this way can one hope for a *Union*, that is to say, for the return of the masses to [church] unity. . . . In any case, one can hope that the views and preferences of the Easterners will themselves gradually change and in a way that the moral totality of those nations will finally return to the bosom of the Church.
>
> Therefore, on the Catholic side, the principal goal must be to awaken a similar movement of ideas. Indeed, this is a rather slow process, which requires great patience, but the result would be much greater than a quicker and more superficial solution that might win over thousands of souls, but would at the same time make without doubt much more difficult the conversion of a truly large number. The change in public opinion among a separated Eastern people (*nation dissidente*) by means of even a single fundamental idea represents an achievement that is so much greater than the conversion of thousands of souls, especially if such a conversion, when poorly implemented, were to serve as an opportunity and pretext for strengthening and disseminating false ideas.[9]

During the early 1920s, Sheptyts'kyi travelled throughout western Europe speaking about the East and about church union.[10] His purpose was to interest the West in the East; to make westerners wish to know the rites, customs, history, and theology of the East; and on that basis to encourage prayer, sacrifice, and work to help the East restore its union with the Catholic Church. He did not limit himself to any particular class of people, but spoke to all wherever and whenever he was given an opportunity.

This same idea of creating a desire for church union animated Sheptyts'kyi to conduct a dialogue with Ukrainian Orthodox bishops and intellectuals in 1941-1942.[11] He addressed an invitation to all Ukrainian bishops, even though at that moment they were divided into three different jurisdictions. The purpose of the dialogue was not immediate church union, since Sheptyts'kyi explicitly stated that he considered such a union absolutely impossible at the moment. Rather, it was only to meet, to exchange ideas, and to learn about each other after many centuries of living in closed worlds.[12] Although at variance with the academically detached atmosphere of the earlier

Velehrad Congresses (between 1907 and 1937), this wartime initiative was clearly aimed at bringing together the two groups of Ukrainians even though it was understood that the process would be long and slow.

Given his reputation among the Orthodox, Sheptyts'kyi could easily have attracted hundreds into church union immediately, but this was not his idea of pro-Union work. Lasting unions, he continued to argue, are born of the desire among the people for moral totality. Such a desire, in turn, can arise only when the Orthodox have the right understanding of what church union represents. According to Sheptyts'kyi, the Orthodox still harbored many misconceptions based on historical, psychological, and theological experiences. To dispel these misconceptions, a movement of ideas had to be generated in order to change the Orthodox understanding of church union and dispose them favorably towards it. With regard to the notion of a movement of ideas, Sheptyts'kyi felt that unity was a gift from God that must find human hearts willing and ready to receive it. The removal of unjustified fears and the presentation of actual examples of ecclesial existence were the proper means to prepare human hearts. That, together with humble prayer—the most powerful means—would demonstrate the marvelous interplay of divine and human efforts towards achieving unity.

Sheptyts'kyi was always aware that church union was not a one-way affair—they coming to us. Even if he may have had such an idea at the beginning, he quickly disabused himself of it. He became convinced that church union could be achieved only as the result of common effort by all Christians, those already united and those not yet united. Therefore, he spent as much, or maybe even more, time preparing for church union among his own people and, to the degree possible, also among western Catholics. During the first year of his episcopacy (1899) he appealed to the faithful of the Eparchy of Stanyslaviv to know their own faith, to learn about the faith of their Orthodox brethren, and to pray for church union.[13] He repeated this theme innumerable times throughout his forty-five years as a bishop and metropolitan. Not only did he call on his flock to know and to pray, he actively "in season and out of season" instructed the faithful on truths relating to the church, especially on the desirability of unity in place of the tragedy of separation which exists among Christians and which has wrought such havoc among Ukrainians. The Metropolitan asked his flock to imitate their great ancestors who had worked, lived, and died for the cause of church union. How much he wanted to be the leader in this is evident in a letter he sent to Cardinal Tisserant on 26 December 1939: "I repeat once again the request that I had presented to the Holy Father through the good offices of Your Eminence. I had asked, and I ask again, that the Holy Father through his apostolic and paternal blessing, deign to designate, appoint, and delegate me to die for the faith and for the unity of the Church."[14]

Sheptyts'kyi was quite conscious of the need to start a movement of ideas favorable to church union among both eastern and western Catholics. He felt that Ukrainian Eastern-rite Catholics had always taken the tiny minority of Orthodox who lived among them for granted and never much bothered about them. Ukrainian Catholics looked with particular distrust and suspicion at those who lived in the Soviet Ukraine, with whom they had contact only for a brief few years in 1917-1921 and then after 1939. Such an attitude had a very negative impact on religious affairs, since hardly anyone thought about the possibility of restoring ecclesial unity with Christian brethren in the East.

Sheptyts'kyi, however, spared no effort to awaken his Ukrainian people, to make them conscious of the abnormality of their separation and resultant loss of spiritual wealth, not to speak of the fact that separation was contrary to the will of Christ. In this regard, the Metropolitan concentrated much of his effort on the priests and monks of his archeparchy, whom he wished to prepare for ecumenical work both at home and, if the opportunity presented itself, directly among the Orthodox.[15]

What was the principal shortcoming among western Latin-rite Christians? Although they certainly knew of the existence of the East, to them it was simply a territory into which missionaries should be sent to convert the "schismatics." There was no appreciation at all of the fact that the East had its own venerable Christian culture; its own theology, liturgy, canon law, discipline, and customs. There was no recognition that it was a real church. Therefore, any talk of ecumenism was news to the missionary-minded Westerners. Sheptyts'kyi emphasized this point in his introduction to *Der christliche Osten*:

> Indeed, [Western] Catholics are hardly able to work fruitfully on the great project for reunification of the West with the Catholic Church, when they do not know the rites, the customs, the history, or the teachings of the Eastern Church. It is even difficult for them to pray well for those goals, [since] one can only wish for properly what one knows and understands well. In any case, such prayers are really holy wishes before the Lord.[16]

In the end, none of the potential three partners to church union in the East—the Orthodox, Eastern Catholic, and Western Catholic churches—was prepared properly for that great goal. Sheptyts'kyi was all too conscious of that fact, and his actions and speeches in the West were the best proof of his understanding of the situation.

Sheptyts'kyi was not alone in perceiving and trying to do something about the lack of unity in the East. There was no consensus, however, on how to achieve that goal. Some suggested outright missionary activity or proselytizing to convert the better elements but to leave the simpler folk to wither away in the "inferior" Eastern rite.[17] Others took a more liberal stance, and would permit the person who was convinced to become a Catholic to choose his or her own rite in the Catholic Church. These two related solutions were relatively simple in their execution. All they required were skillful missionaries. On the other hand, the bulk of the church would be completely undisturbed by what was going on in the East and no effort would be necessary to educate any people not directly involved in pro-Union work.

Sheptyts'kyi bitterly opposed these solutions, which he considered shortsighted and harmful.[18] While some thousands of souls might be brought into such a union, the overwhelming majority would be left out and would be even more convinced not to embrace church union. Seen from the standpoint of the will of Christ that all be one, such solutions would not be suitable to achieve the desired unity of all Christians. Sheptyts'kyi, therefore, proposed corporate church union as the solution. For him this meant that whole ecclesial bodies as such, moved by the desire for church union in a moral totality of their own members, would restore unity with the Apostolic See.

Sheptyts'kyi arrived at the idea of corporate union as the most feasible solution from his study of history and from personal observation. In the introduction to *Der christliche Osten*, he discussed the pro-Union experiences of the church as a whole and stated that for the most part they had ended in failure. This was true, for instance, of the great pro-Union Councils of Lyons and Florence.[19] Sheptyts'kyi explained why they failed in his 1926 presentation, ''Le rôle des occidentaux.'' According to him, the previous pro-Union actions had been imposed from above and did not have the support of the people who did not understand them.[20] Of all such attempts, only the *Uniia* of Brest had been partially successful precisely because it was able to muster the support of the people, but even in that case, when the idea of separation from Rome became dominant among the faithful, many subsequently fell away.[21]

In his own lifetime, Sheptyts'kyi experienced a similar situation. In many ways, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) was truly a friend of the Eastern churches. He sought to revitalize pro-Union efforts, and the ideas expressed in his encyclicals and other documents were certainly very noble. The practical effect, however, was minimal, since his ideas never became the common property of the church as a community. Reflecting on this past, Sheptyts'kyi noted that all separations in the East were corporate. By analogy, therefore, the restoration of unity should proceed in the same manner.[22] The ideal models were the lasting unions in the East among the Maronites, Melkites, Malabars, Romanians, and Armenians, each of which had been corporate and had over the course of centuries restored perfect unity with Rome.

Sheptyts'kyi himself pointed to other examples which confirmed his view. He contrasted the Anglican Oxford Movement and the English churchman John Henry Newman with the solitary figure of the Russian Vladimir Solov'ëv. The Oxford Movement not only restored to unity many thousands of souls, it also brought about a reevaluation of attitude on the part of Anglicans. On the other hand, Solov'ëv, a genius by all rights, disappeared without much visible benefit for the cause of church union because his ideas were not carried on by some movement.

There is no indication how much Sheptyts'kyi knew about the Ecumenical

Movement which was started in 1910, but he probably learned of it through his contacts with pro-Union circles in Belgium, the protagonists of the Conference of Malines. His close association with Dom Lambert Beauduin who initiated the Liturgical Movement in the Latin church was probably also a factor. One must keep in mind that Sheptyts'kyi was a firm believer in the role that ideas have played in history. In an essay entitled "The Gift of Pentecost," Sheptyts'kyi pointed to Bismarck's idea for the unification of Germany and Marx's materialistic philosophy as primary examples of the power that creative thoughts had on the subsequent course of history. Powerful ideas could inspire millions of men to spend their whole lives thinking and working for the realization of those ideas.[23]

Added to such historical reasons and reflections were other elements which convinced Sheptyts'kyi to consider corporate union as the best and lasting solution.[24] For instance, when a single individual becomes a Catholic, the rest of the Orthodox community remains unimpressed. Moreover, because the real reasons for his action are misunderstood, his departure leaves behind a negative aftereffect. His former friends think either that he has been enticed by the Catholics, and then all are on the alert to defend themselves from similar outside incursions, or that he has betrayed his ancestral faith and rite. Consequently, the general effect is harmful because the rest of the community has been ill-disposed to the idea of church union.

Then there is another difficulty. The individual is in real danger because he is not likely to find a milieu which will be ready to accept him and cherish him. Most likely he will be looked down upon as a half-Catholic. If he is alone in this predicament, he will probably either become Latin or return to Orthodoxy. Generally, a person who makes a momentous decision needs the support of a favorably disposed community to help him confirm himself. According to Sheptyts'kyi, such a community could be found only when the whole group as a group had come in, so that then the members could help each other. A final, very significant factor that Sheptyts'kyi mentioned from his own observation concerns the so-called collectivism of the Eastern Slavs.[25] Even if this phenomenon may be exaggerated and unhealthy, it was a fact that had to be considered. Eastern Slavs like to act collectively.

These different items taken together convinced Sheptyts'kyi that corporate union would be the most effective, perhaps the only, solution for the ecumenical strivings in the East.[26] Besides being a keen observer of life around him and an ardent student of history, however, Sheptyts'kyi was also a theologian. It remains to examine whether there was any justification in his theological viewpoints to support his ecumenical position that church union is best served by promoting ideas which, in turn, result in fostering pro-Union attitudes among the masses.[27]

At the basis of Sheptyts'kyi's view of the world was a sweeping vision which reached from creation to the final consummation.[28] It should be noted that the doctrine of original sin did not loom large in Sheptyts'kyi's thought.

Rather, he saw original sin as a complicating factor in the execution of the general plan. Yet, ultimately, not even original sin could obstruct the fulfillment of God's plan, that is, communion between God and humanity. The execution of this tremendous plan was entrusted to the Holy Spirit, which was engaged in this work from the beginning. The crucial element in the process of the divinization of man (*theosis*, a typically Eastern idea) was the incarnation, when God hypostatically united with human nature and with matter. Through the incarnation it became possible to unite human persons to God by the grace of filiation. Therefore, rational creatures could not become members of the divine family by incorporation into Christ's body. The Holy Spirit worked at the impossible task—humanly speaking—of repeating the essential element of the incarnation in each man; in other words, uniting the human to the divine as much as is possible for human beings.

The chief feature of this universal vision is the dynamism that is inherent throughout the whole situation. There is movement from the beginning to the end, a directed, purposeful movement, so that the universe is constantly on the march toward its final unity with God. This was Sheptyts'kyi's view as derived from the vision in St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians. This vertical view of cosmic processes operative in the universe is complemented by a horizontal dimension. Unity to be achieved with God involves a special feature: it cannot be accomplished except by unity of men with men. Here, again, Sheptyts'kyi relies on revelation for the reason: The unity to be achieved is to be modelled after the unity existing in the blessed Trinity. That unity is seen by men—because it has been revealed in such terms—as a family relationship of father and son joined by mutual love, maternal love. That love is the spirit. Man is taken into the divine family through incorporation into Christ by grace. Although man receives grace as an individual, he is incorporated into Christ as a member of a body. There is harmony in that body, which innumerable times reflects the trinitarian pattern of the Father who stands for all paternity and authority; the Son who stands for all sonship and subjection; and the Spirit who stands for all maternal care and love.

Strikingly absent from Sheptyts'kyi's horizontal view is any reference to the Holy Eucharist. Instead, Sheptyts'kyi concentrated heavily on St. Paul's imagery of the body and neglected completely in this context the comparison to one bread. Similarly, there is not in Sheptyts'kyi's pro-Union theology any direct reference to the Mother of God. This is unlikely to be an oversight, because he considered the Holy Eucharist and devotion to Mary to be important aspects of the normal spiritual life and he encouraged his faithful in that direction on many occasions. When it came to the question of church union, however, he was reticent on these topics. This is all the more surprising since according to the contemporary ecumenical theory both Eucharistic and Marian theology were seen to have an important part in the social, ecclesial, and horizontal view of Christian unity. Sheptyts'kyi could not have been ignorant of the "spiritual" ecumenism put forward by Abbé Coutourier in the

1920s. I suggest that Sheptyts'kyi considered the all-powerful factors of the Holy Eucharist and the Mother of God as so self-evident that they did not need to be mentioned explicitly. It is impossible to imagine that he would think they were not necessary or superfluous.

Corresponding to tradition in Eastern churches, Sheptyts'kyi's vision left a very wide field of activity for the Holy Spirit. It is the Holy Spirit which builds up the unity of mankind against all odds; it is the Holy Spirit which by spiritual gifts and by charity builds up the body of Christ. The actions of the Holy Spirit know no boundaries or limits. Sheptyts'kyi believed that the church was the very personification of unity. The church founded by Christ was the visible progressive realization of the process of unification carried on by the Holy Spirit with mankind. Men had failed God. They misunderstood God's plan. Instead of becoming a principle of unity within the plan, they caused a rupture which had been carried on into succeeding generations, because of the intimate solidarity of the human race. It is natural that men be taught and helped by other men, such is the plan of God; but to secure men's salvation, God instituted His church which is truly a bridge between heaven and earth, steeped as it is in the world and composed of men, but reaching heaven. The church is one and unique. Its bond of unity is not human but divine. The church does not depend on any human ties, such as language, culture, rite, or civil power, for its unity. This unity comes from God. The fact that the unity of mankind with God through Christ and men with each other in Christ is revealed to us by God Himself makes it a matter of obligation. Man is perfectly free to collaborate or not to collaborate, and Sheptyts'kyi was well aware that there would be those who would not.

The church was the most certain link man could have with God and with fellow men. In the church, Christ left the pope in Rome as a visible center for all men to see and to gather around. The church most authentically teaches what is the will of God for men because of its special gift, infallibility. The trinitarian model is best reflected in the church: the pope is the most perfect representation on earth of the fatherhood, he is the father of all, irrespective of any particular characteristics they may have. All members of the church are united in its absolute universality.

In the course of centuries, Eastern Christians, especially the Orthodox, came to identify the Latin rite with the Catholic Church to the point of considering the two indissoluble. In the churches re-united with Rome since the sixteenth century, this attitude resulted in "uniatism," a tendency to adopt at least some Latin disciplinary or ritual features as a sign of "true" Catholicity. Among the Orthodox, this misunderstanding of the true nature of the church went so far that they considered church union a betrayal of ancestral rite and nationality, qualities which they put on equal footing with the faith. In his writings, Sheptyts'kyi consciously used the adjective "universal" to describe the church. This was particularly the case in the 1930s and 1940s when universal replaced Catholic in his vocabulary. While this might be confusing to a Western Christian, its meaning is very clear in the East. By using universal instead of Catholic, Sheptyts'kyi sought to remove the stigma of Latinity from the church. The Western church is Latin, but the Church of Christ as such is not indissolubly bound to any rite or culture. To drive home that lesson was one of the main endeavors of Sheptyts'kyi in the East.

A practical corollary of the universality of the church should be the ability of Christians to live with each other and to love across national and cultural divisions. Sheptyts'kyi argued that the Slavic East was noted for its exaggerated nationalism, and that this had been the scourge of the *Uniia* in Belorussia.[29] In fact, he argued that next to a misunderstanding of the true nature of the universal church, nationalism was the main hindrance to church union. In order to overcome this very critical divisive element, Sheptyts'kyi distinguished between nationalism and Christian patriotism. Nationalism he defined as a love of one's own people, which virtually requires hatred toward all other peoples. Christian patriotism is the love of one's own people more than others, but love also for others.[30] Nonetheless, Sheptyts'kyi never advocated internationalism in the sense of eradicating national differences, and he often spoke of the church as being a very national institution in the sense that it fosters and protects the national culture and the mentality of each nation. However, this should never be carried out to the exclusion of others.

It was human weakness and passion that destroyed the visible unity of the church. This in Sheptyts'kyi's view was both a scandal and a tragedy. It was a scandal because the unity of men already achieved in the church was meant by Christ as a sign unto all mankind of His mission from the Father (Jn 17:23). It was a tragedy because those who have been torn from unity are in danger. Sheptyts'kyi concentrated here on the Orthodox who were the innocent heirs of a separation which took place many centuries ago. Yet, they were suffering because of the faults of their ancestors. The Orthodox comprise a church, a part of the Universal Church, though not in perfect visible unity with it. They have the true faith, the sacraments, and their church is grace-spending, but they do not have supreme teaching authority which could constantly guide them in the ever-changing world, and they do not have the complete unity which is an essential mark of the church.

Consequently, there is an abnormal situation in the Church of Christ. There are Christians who are not in unity with the See of Peter, that is, with the center of unity which Christ instituted on earth and left to His church. In a certain sense, such a situation is a contradiction in terms, and it should not be permitted to continue. Sheptyts'kyi affirmed that church union would come about when Christians of various churches learned to know, respect, and love each other. He placed special emphasis on this last element, since that is the greatest unifying force that exists. Furthermore, love is specifically connected with the activity of the Holy Spirit, which by infusing love unites men to each other.

Next to love is cognition. People must comprehend the true nature of the

Church of Christ, which is absolutely universal in its essence without precedence for any local church, rite, or culture. Once this is clear, the next step is to realize that men are meant to be united to God and with each other. This is the essence of Christianity. Sheptyts'kyi even went so far as to say that he who took unity lightly was not fully a Christian. Correspondingly, only he who was truly a Christian and who espoused in all seriousness and sincerity the Christian philosophy of life was capable of talking about unity and working toward that goal.[31]

The two elements in Sheptyts'kyi's theology that stand out very clearly are that the unity intended by God is both horizontal and vertical; and that the universe and the church in it are dynamic entities in which unity is being slowly, but very surely, realized by the action of the Holy Spirit. When this is added to the situation that exists in eastern Europe, with all the misunderstandings and prejudices due to ignorance rampant among Christians, and to the lessons from history and personal observations, this adds up to Sheptyts'kyi's suggested solution for achieving church union. He consciously and consistently pursued this solution in his pro-Union activity.

Sheptyts'kyi's remedy to the separation of Christians was, of course, the ecumenical movement. First of all, it is important to note that Sheptyts'kyi did not use the term ecumenical, only the word movement. For him, it was a *mouvement d'idées,*[32] or *Bewegung zur kirchlichen Einheit*.[33] By these terms he meant the planting of correct ideas concerning the union of churches which would be accepted by an ecclesial body, transform it, and awaken in it a desire for church union. The specific kinds of ideas necessary to carry out the movement would vary according to the needs of particular groups. Hence these would be different for the Catholic West, the Catholic East, and the Orthodox East.

He envisioned the planting of pro-Union ideas in various ways. In Russia, it would occur through the establishment of the tiny Russian Catholic Church. An important means of planting the right ideas in the Orthodox community was by making the Ukrainian Eastern-rite Catholic Church truly Eastern rite. In his own church, he used the normal channels of instruction, pastoral letters, and other publications. In the West, where he was just a passing traveller, he relied on conferences, sermons, and short articles. Thus, Sheptyts'kyi used a variety of means, depending on the given milieu, to publicize what he understood to be correct views about church union.

It should also be kept in mind that Sheptyts'kyi always thought of the movement within the context of an ecclesial community. Individual union, if that in itself did not constitute a contradiction in terms, did not contribute to the movement.[34] That movement of ideas had to be accompanied by prayer. This also presupposed a normal Christian milieu, one in which religious values were uppermost. The ultimate motive for the desire for church union was to be the will of God, who wanted all men to be united with Him and with each other.

Without question, Sheptyts'kyi was a forerunner of the concept of *Unitatis Redintegratio*. In other words, the generation of an ecumenical movement which would involve Catholics, both Western and Eastern, as well as Orthodox, was for Sheptyts'kyi the best solution, since it promised lasting results for the union of the churches and for the perfect visible unity of Christians in the Slavic East. Sheptyts'kyi arrived at this opinion through a dialectical process. Therefore, there seemed to be inconsistencies in his thinking, even in the last years of his life. For example, in a letter to Cardinal Tisserant, dated 5 September 1942, concerning the acceptance of Orthodox into the Catholic Church, Sheptyts'kyi's text revealed difficulties with terminology, such as the use of terms like "dissident" or "return."[35] Clearly, Sheptyts'kyi was not an ecumenist in the post-Vatican II sense. He was, however, a pioneer struggling mostly alone, without official guidance, and often against the direction of the highest authorities. Yet despite these personal and situational drawbacks, Sheptyts'kyi was a man of vision able to transcend his rather narrow temporal and geographic confines and to see reality in terms of historical and even cosmic processes.

Despite his confidence in the power and influence of ideas, Sheptyts'kyi was also a man of action, a pastor. He did have a convincingly pastoral attitude. He was trained as a lawyer, and he served as the head of an archeparchy. All of that contributed to a great personal stature. Sheptyts'kyi moved with ease among these various groups. This is partly due to the fact that in his youth he was not exposed to a partisan education. He felt at home in both the East and the West and was not exposed to the narrow nationalism typical of the East. The major reason for his ease and acceptance was his pastorally sincere and concerned attitude.

Sheptyts'kyi as pastor had that feeling of reality which made him say to each group of persons exactly what they needed to hear. For example, within one month of becoming Metropolitan of L'viv, he wrote three letters to three groups of his faithful: to the common people in general, to priests, and to the intelligentsia.[36] To each group he said basically the same thing but in a different style and tone. This sensitivity for the occasion prompted Sheptyts'kyi to approach in a different manner the various groups among whom he wished to start a movement of ideas leading to church union. To his own people he spoke of the scandal of the separation and of their narrow-mindedness and provincialism. He chastised them for being so engrossed in their own problems that they failed to see any larger needs. He felt they needed to be made uncomfortable about the separation. They needed to know that they themselves were not contributing properly to the advancement of the union of churches since they often overemphasized details and missed the important aspect of their life in the church.

In the West, Sheptyts'kyi found a lack of appreciation for the Eastern church and its problems. Therefore, he continually chided Western churchmen that their need to learn about the East was not merely a luxury or superfluous knowledge, but was necessary in order to help overcome the scandal of separation. The West must see the East in its true light, as an ancient Christian culture, and from its own resources of talent and manpower the West must help the East.

As for the Orthodox, Sheptyts'kyi considered their lack of understanding of the universality of the church as the chief difficulty. He felt that the most important thing was to make them comprehend that it was perfectly possible to be an Eastern-rite Catholic and that church union would not involve automatically a betrayal of rite, culture, and nationality as the Orthodox had been taught. In the long run, he hoped to make the Orthodox appreciate that church union was good for them, not a step backward. Sheptyts'kyi tried to be in touch with the Orthodox by studying their history, theology, canon law, ritual discipline, and by encouraging personal contacts. From these personal encounters, he learned some precious lessons. For example, he learned that while the Orthodox may consider church union, they would never accept as a solution the *Uniia* of Brest. Sheptyts'kyi, of course, was the spiritual leader of a "uniate" church created by the Brest *Uniia*. Therefore, the first lesson he learned from the Orthodox was that the *Uniia*, if it were to be useful for pro-Union work, must be reformed to correspond to its original intention. As a result, Sheptyts'kyi set out to combat "uniatism," that is, the idea that to be Catholic one must have at least a touch of the Latin rite.

As time went on and Sheptyts'kyi's views matured and were refined by further contacts with the Orthodox, he eventually concluded that the *Uniia* approach would most likely have to be abandoned altogether, in favor of a better, more ecumenical solution. He tried just that in the case of the Russian Catholic Church, but that was relatively easy because he was not tied down by any previous commitment such as he had with the *Uniia* at the basis of his own church. However, in 1941-1942, when he was carrying on the dialogue with Ukrainian Catholic bishops and intellectuals, he did speak clearly of the feasibility of finding another, perhaps a better solution.

While it is true that the ecumenical movement and law are not terms one commonly places side by side, in the case of Sheptyts'kyi they did go hand in hand. A case in point is his successful attempt to organize the Russian Catholic Church, which was meant to serve in Russia as a catalyst for correct ecumenical views on the nature of the church. Sheptyts'kyi was able to set up the Russian church due to the very wide powers granted him personally by Pope Pius X (1903-1914). In fact, Sheptyts'kyi was granted power which, according to Latin jurisprudence, is normally reserved only to the pope. Such power, in particular the right to establish local churches, was granted because the complex situation in Russia demanded flexibility. Sheptyts'kyi received such powers in 1908, used them to the full in 1917, and then once again in the critical times of Soviet occupation in 1939. They were taken from him in 1940.[37]

Sheptyts'kyi's experiences do provide an example of just how complex ecumenism can become and how imaginative solutions may at times be required. Sheptyts'kyi was convinced that his proposed solution—the ecumenical movement—would require very much time. He realized people do not easily change their ideas and habits. Nonetheless, he was neither discouraged when he did not see the results of the particular action which he had helped to set in motion nor after he saw some of those results destroyed before his own eyes.[38] It was not in Sheptyts'kyi's nature to despair. As he wrote:

> In the Catholic Church pessimism must be ruled out in principle. Every day we pray for the reunification of our separated brethren. Therefore, we must not only hope but also believe that our prayers will be heard and that the moment for the great movement towards church union is no longer far off. The Almighty knows how to achieve His aims through causes and in ways which we do not even comprehend. What we can do . . . is to prepare [our] hearts through prayer and understanding love, so that God's Holy Spirit will come upon us in a new Pentecost and find us ready for the work of unification.[39]

Notes

1. Andreas Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung," (Introduction) in Julius Tyciak, George Wunderle, and Peter Werhun, eds. *Der christliche Osten: Geist und Gestalt* (Regensburg, 1939), p. 11.
2. Ibid.
3. Here the term Union is used to signify the reestablishment of complete communion between the Eastern and Western churches, in contrast to *Uniia*, which refers to a historic event, the reaffirmation of unity with the Apostolic See of Rome concluded in 1596 and also known as the Union (*Uniia*) of Brest.
4. On the suggestion of some who, for reasons primarily of national and political unity, argued that the Ukrainian Catholic minority be absorbed within the Orthodox majority, see the pastoral letter, "Propahanda vidstupstva," in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï, 1941-1944*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 283-7.
5. From the closing remarks of Sheptyts'kyi at the Brussels Unity Week, reported as "Discours de clôture," *La revue catholique des idées et des faits*, V, 33 (Brussels, 1925), pp. 5-10.
6. A. Rymar, "Mitrapalit Andrei Sheptitski," *Bozhym shliakhom*, VIII, 63 (Paris, 1954), pp. 5-8. See also A. Lutskevich, "Mitrapalit Sheptitski i belaruski rukh," and A. Stankevich, "Moi uspamin ab Mitrapalitu Andreiu Sheptitskim," in *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-2 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 45-50.
7. Andrej Szeptyckyj, "Das Russische Katholische Exarchat," in *Ex Oriente* (Mainz, 1927), pp. 78-9; and Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), pp. 187-221.

8. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Le Métropolite André Szeptyckyj: son action pastoral, scientifique et philhénotique* (Grottaferrata, 1920), pp. 155-7.
9. André Szeptyckyj, "Le rôle des occidentaux," *Stoudion*, III, 6 (Rome, 1926), pp. 161-2.
10. It is instructive to follow his itinerary according to reports in the daily Catholic newspapers, *La Croix* (Paris) and *De Tijd* (Amsterdam). For example, in 1921, *De Tijd* ran the following: an announcement of Sheptyts'kyi's arrival in Amsterdam (4 April); an article based on an interview with the Metropolitan (6 April); another substantive article on him (8 April); announcement of a conference to be held at the Russian Mission (18 April); a detailed report on the aforementioned conference (19 April); a list of important persons who helped collect funds for the Metropolitan (20 April); a record of gifts made to him (21 April); and a report from his visit to the city of Maastricht (25 April).
11. [Sheptyts'kyi], "V spravi porozuminnia," in *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 333-59 and 401-8.
12. Ibid., p. 337.
13. From his first pastoral letter, dated 2 August 1899, in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, vol. XV (Toronto, 1964), esp. p. 18.
14. Sheptyts'kyi's letter is held in the Archive of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome.
15. See his pastoral letter to his clergy, dated 26 November 1907, calling upon them for help in the work for church union: [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Zblyzhaiut' sia chasy* (Zhovkva, 1908).
16. Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung," p. 11.
17. Among the exponents of missionary proselytism was Archbishop Edward de Ropp, Latin-rite Archbishop of Mahiloŭ, Belorussia. The most authentic presentation of his views can be found in *Civiltà Cattolica*, II [LXXI] (Rome, 1920), pp. 474-7.
18. Szeptyckyj, "Le rôle," p. 161-2.
19. Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung," pp. 12-13.
20. Szeptyckyj, "Le rôle," p. 161.
21. Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung," p. 13.
22. Szeptyckyj, "Le rôle," p. 160.
23. "Dar P"iatdesiatnytsi," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, L (L'viv, 1937), pp. 65-8, 81-6, 97-102, 113-18, 129-34, 145-8.
24. "Discours de clôture," pp. 5-10.
25. Ibid., p. 7.
26. It is very likely that as a young churchman Sheptyts'kyi was strongly influenced by Solov'ëv, who had always spoken in terms of churches and rarely in terms of individuals.
27. Besides his essay "Dar P"iatdesiatnytsi," various pastoral letters of the Metropolitan should be considered, especially those written on the occasion of the Feast of the Three Hierarchs (12 February) which he delivered in 1937 and 1939 (*L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, L, 1 [L'viv, 1937], pp. 2-4 and LII, 1 [1939], pp. 2-5); and his "Decree on Unity," prepared for the L'viv Archeparchial Synod of 1943 ("Dekret 'Pro iednist'," in [Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 408-13).
28. In the beginning there was God and the matter created by Him, some of which was imbued with rationality. It is the will of God as revealed to men that He intends to unite all unto Himself. The divine plan for the universe is to bring all to Himself and to include it into the cycle of His own divine life. This summary of Sheptyts'kyi's views is drawn primarily from his essay "Dar P"iatdesiatnytsi"; his sermons for the

Feast of the Three Hierarchs delivered in 1937 and 1939; and his pastoral letter, "Pro iednist' Tserkvy" (*L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, LI, 1 [1938], pp. 2-16).

29. See the copy of the unpublished letter of Sheptyts'kyi on the Exarchate of Belorussia to Cardinal Tisserant, dated 14 August 1943, in the Archive of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome.
30. "Dekret 'Pro iednist'"," p. 413.
31. See the introduction to "V spravi porozuminnia," pp. 337–9.
32. Szeptyckyj, "Le rôle," p. 162.
33. Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung," p. 15.
34. He defined *Union* as a corporate act of a church or church group which unites with the See of Rome. Szeptyckyj, "Le rôle," p. 160. Sheptyts'kyi probably never encouraged individual actions. If someone came, he was welcome, but he would not make any effort to persuade someone to take the step.
35. Unpublished letter of Sheptyts'kyi to Tisserant, dated 5 September 1942, in the Archive of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome.
36. All three letters appeared within the first month of Sheptyts'kyi's enthronement as metropolitan (4/17 January 1901): to the faithful in general (14/27 January); to the clergy (17/30 January); and to the intelligentsia (27 January/9 February). The texts are reprinted in Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty,* vol. I, pp. 157–214.
37. See the letter of Cardinal Aloysius Maglione to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, dated 30 May 1940, but not received until 26 September because of the interference of Soviet authorities with church correspondence. Copy is in the Archive of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome.
38. That was the case of the Russian Catholic Church which was allowed only a decade of existence.
39. Scheptytzkyj, "Einleitung," pp. 15–16.

Chapter 10

Sheptyts’kyi and Liturgical Reform

Victor J. Pospishil

Andrei Sheptyts’kyi was certainly not the first bishop in the history of Ukrainian Catholicism to initiate a reform of the liturgy in his church. He was, however, the first to complete that reform. Moreover, he overcame the particularistic tendencies in his church and agreed to place the reform in the hands of Roman authorities who, during the first three decades of the twentieth century, and under the influence of churchmen like Sheptyts’kyi’s collaborator Cyril Korolevsky, came to recognize the importance of preserving the genuine character of the Christian East. As a result, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is today in firm possession of a system of worship that is an authentic part of its Eastern heritage, even though the process of assimilation and implementation of the reform has yet to run its full course. In fact, the reform has been successful beyond expectation, although its impact is at present confined to the church of Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants dispersed over the world.

Sheptyts’kyi’s activity as head of the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church stretched over four and one-half decades. This essay will focus on only one aspect of his rich career, the reform of the liturgy. Even so, only a brief survey is possible, which ends with the culmination of reform, the authentic restoration of the liturgical books of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the 1940s. The topic of Sheptyts’kyi’s liturgical reforms was discussed by Cyril Korolevsky in his biography of the Metropolitan.[1] However, forty years have passed, and I think it worthwhile to give some general data and explanations which may be necessary to those not as well acquainted with the problems of a system of divine worship as professional ecclesiastics would be.

Three problems in the liturgy confronted Sheptyts'kyi when he became a bishop:

(1) The need to achieve uniformity based on genuine historical authenticity of the text of divine worship, especially the Eucharistic or Divine Liturgy. This was finally accomplished by the editions of liturgical books that were produced in the 1940s in Rome under the aegis of the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches.

(2) The elimination of Latin or Roman liturgical influences from the Ukrainian or Byzantine liturgy as practiced by Ukrainian Catholics. This was substantially achieved by the publication of *Ordo Celebrationis* in 1944. Its implementation has progressed substantially, although much remains to be done.

(3) The need to provide the faithful with forms of worship that would satisfy their spiritual needs in changed social circumstances. In the nineteenth century, Ukrainians were only sparsely represented in the towns and cities of Austrian Galicia, even though they constituted a two-thirds majority in the eastern half of the province. The coming of the railroad and some industry broke down their isolation, and they began to move out of the villages. These changes also permitted new social, political, cultural, and even religious ideas to reach them. However, potential progress in this area was restricted by the vicissitudes that befell Ukrainian Catholics after World War II; namely, the suppression of their church by the Soviet government and the dispersion and ecclesiastical reorganization of the church throughout the world in circumstances substantially different from those in their homeland.

A student of the history of the Ukrainian church may experience some difficulty in comprehending not so much the underlying reason for liturgical reforms, but why such reforms generated so much concern and emotion. Do the forms of any religious community affect life to such a degree that other, certainly more important aspects are apparently ignored or assigned lesser significance? The answer to this question is to be found in the concept of symbols and their connection with the psychological and sociological perception of security. The experience of religion has been expressed by the spoken and written word, but also by other forms, such as singing, dancing, and pictorial representation. The belief that every human experience, especially that of the transcendental world of religion, is capable of being expressed in words in the form of creeds, dogmas, and theology, has never been able to supersede other forms of communicating with the divinity.

Systems of symbols and pictures that are put together in a certain ordered and determined relationship to the form, content, and intention of presentation are among the most important means of knowing and expressing religious facts. Such systems maintain and strengthen the relationship between the individual and the transcendent, spiritual dimension of the realm of the sacred or holy. Thus, the symbol becomes the mediator, presence, and the real or intelligible representation of the holy in certain conventional and standardized forms.

The intuitive, emotional, or existential perception of a system of religious symbols, as opposed to a rationalized, intellectual, and conceptual perception, is illustrated best in the way Christianity was received by Ukrainians in Kievan Rus'. The Rus' *Primary Chronicle* describes the legend of ambassadors who were sent out by Kiev's ruler Volodymyr the Great (972-1015) to evaluate various religions for possible adoption by him and his people. The ambassadors were not impressed with the beliefs or moral norms of the Moslem, Judaic, or western Christian religions. What brought them to the decision to recommend Christianity as practiced in Constantinople was the form of worship which they encountered in the Hagia Sophia. They felt as if they had been transferred to heaven. Clearly, the doctrinal aspects of religion were submerged, or symbolically expressed only in the cultic space in the forms of worship and in the hieratic conduct of the priests.

In succeeding centuries, books were produced to hand down the doctrinal system of the Ukrainian church, and norms for moral conduct were defined and enforced. Yet, the non-intellectual approach to God, along with the rich symbols in the system of worship, always remained the primary experience of the Ukrainian religious community. It is accepted today that this is a peculiarity of all Eastern Christian churches. Western Christianity has largely lost the subconscious experience transmitted to the individual through religious symbols and is at a loss to feel empathy, let alone any sympathy, toward such a phenomenon.

One should be aware that the preservation or restoration of venerable, perhaps outlived, symbolic forms may become a burden to a church, since their presence may estrange a new generation which may be left without spiritual nourishment because it cannot make contact with symbols that have lost their meaning. Another aspect of the problem is that in order to understand the rich symbolism of the cultic space—the church, the sanctuary, the iconostasis, and the numerous priestly vestments—it is necessary to become a liturgical archeologist and a linguist.[2] The Eastern rites, in particular, require more explanatory information about various steps in the historical development of the liturgy. Furthermore, if the worship is conducted in a language unknown to the faithful, another obstacle is placed before the individual worshipper in his or her attempt to assimilate such symbols.

Consequently, two reactions are encountered among the faithful toward such forms of worship. The traditional, established forms engender the feeling of security at least in the older generation, but they may lose meaning in the experience of the younger generation. The new is unknown, may cause fear and insecurity, and is therefore often resisted by the older generation. Younger people, frequently endowed with an oversupply of confidence, are ready for risk and push toward change. This tendency toward opposite poles is exemplified by the reaction to the seventeenth-century Nikonian reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church[3] and the more recent events in the Roman Catholic Church today.

A new dimension of the problem of translating symbols into religious meaning has surfaced now. A wave of simplicity is inundating the world. This is perhaps most graphically illustrated by clothing, so that even dignitaries who represent nations have abandoned the paraphernalia that once stood for power in its various gradations. Only the church and other quaint relics of the past, such as the sundry institutions of the British monarchy, continue to appear in the symbolic finery of bygone days.

The Catholic Church, as well as the various Eastern churches, have been deeply affected by this movement. Only essential and central symbols such as the cross are now considered justified, while ancillary ones such as statues of saints have often been removed. Based on a theological foundation, the new iconoclasts suggest the removal, for instance, of the iconostasis. After all, they argue, the iconostasis obstructs the view and active participation to which the laity has been again called, especially in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It is only because the Eastern churches, both Catholic and others, have been deserted to a considerable degree by younger people that a clash between the new ideas and older conservatism has been prevented.

This importance of symbols in religious worship is central to an understanding of the liturgical reforms introduced by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and of the context for the opposition to his efforts. Equally important is the background of liturgical reform, from the time when the bishops responsible for the Union of Brest, which brought into being the Uniate Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belorussian) Church, realized that the preservation of their liturgy in its genuine form was an important task. They also realized it was a political problem. Fully two-thirds of the conditions the pro-Union bishops presented to the pope (July 1595) were devoted to the preservation of their kind of worship:

> Divine worship and all prayers . . . shall be preserved in their integrity according to the usage and customs sanctioned by the Eastern Church, namely, the three liturgies . . . similarly as the other ceremonies of our Church, which we heretofore followed; and the same shall be observed with Rome under the obedience of the Supreme Pontiff.
>
> Nobody shall be forced or compelled to profess the ceremonies and religion of the Roman Church, inasmuch as we all will be one under the obedience of one only shepherd of God's Church.[4]

From the very outset these conditions were observed by the popes. Whatever Latinizations were subsequently introduced came about through the misguided initiative of bishops and clergy in the Uniate Church.[5]

The various parts of the system of worship of the Ukrainian Church since its beginning in the tenth century had evolved in monasteries where a number of priests, deacons, and monks devoted every day to prayer and the celebration of services. The same manuscripts and books were then transferred to parish churches, usually served by one priest and one cantor (*diak*), and this resulted in various adaptations which were often not satisfactory, especially if the changes were made under the influence of the Latin model. Even before the art of printing had reached the Eastern churches, however, a certain uniformity in the texts and forms of the liturgy had been achieved among the disparate churches of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Kiev, and Moscow. An even higher degree of conformity was reached when the eucharistic and other parts of the Byzantine liturgical heritage were printed.[6] However, at the time of the Union of Brest, the vast majority of clergy celebrated from manuscripts which contained numerous regional and local variations. Manuscripts continued to be used for some time, although beginning in the seventeenth century, liturgies and other texts began to be printed in Ukraine and Muscovy.

The texts of the books of worship were interwoven with a few rubrics on how to execute certain functions. While valuable, these rubrics rarely went into detail, and this lack of precision invited subsequent arbitrary additions from the Latin liturgical traditions. To make matters worse, the Latin liturgy in the seventeenth century was at the farthest stage of estrangement from its own authentic liturgical heritage, which was not remedied until the second half of the twentieth century at Vatican II.

The intrusion of foreign elements into the Uniate Ruthenian liturgy, such as the private or silent liturgy, started only some fifty years after the Union of Brest. This was due to the initiative of individuals and was never sanctioned by the church. Contrary to popular belief, the Order of St. Basil the Great did not originally approve them and actually protested as early as the Chapter of 1650 against such abuses.[7] Also the Synod of Zamość (1720) did not endorse them, although it did fail to speak out, which proved to be an unfortunate omission.[8] In the decades following this Zamość synod, several *sluzhebnyky*, or books of the eucharistic liturgies, were published, and these admitted Latinizations as if they reflected long-standing custom.

The growth of Russian dominance over Poland under Catherine II (1762-1796), especially the annexation of the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian state during the successive partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795), placed a large part of the Ruthenian Catholic Church into confrontation with the Russian Orthodox Church. In defense against accusations of having abandoned their ancestral ritual tradition, Ruthenian Catholics expurgated their books of foreign accretions. For instance, the *sluzhebnyky* (1778, 1788) issued by the monastery at Pochaïv tried to solve the problem by following the Greek *Euchologion* that had been published in Rome under the sponsorship of Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758). The archbishop of Polotsk, Heraklii Lisovs'kyi (1784-1809), proposed an even more ambitious plan extending to all parts of the worship of his church which he submitted for approval to the Vatican.[9] Instead, the Vatican planned a more thorough project, and in the meantime expressly forbade the use of liturgical books published by the Orthodox. However, the final dismemberment of the Polish state, the Napoleonic wars, the forceful liquidation of a large part of the Ruthenian Uniate Church by the tsars, and the new political order established at the Congress of Vienna (1815) postponed any attempt at a liturgical reform.[10]

During the final liquidation of the Uniate Church in the Russian Empire, Russia's rulers demanded the removal of Latinizations from the Eastern rites over and over again. In reality, the tsars wished to subjugate everything to the absolute power of the state, and with respect to the Uniates, this was accomplished by the abolition of the remaining eparchies of Lithuania (1839) and Chełm/Kholm (1875)[11] and their incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church. The only Uniate, or Greek Catholic, eparchies left were in western Ukraine (Galicia), which in 1772 had come under Austrian rule. There the question of liturgical reform continued to be discussed until it was finally resolved during the lifetime of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.[12]

There should be no intrinsic objection to one church borrowing the forms of worship of another. For instance, a majority of the most common feasts of the Christian year had first been established in the East, and only two or three centuries later did they spread to the western church. The seventeenth-century Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev, Petro Mohyla (1633-1647), freely borrowed from the Latin rite, although he skillfully adapted his borrowings to the Eastern tradition. This is not, however, what happened to the Ruthenian Uniate Church after the Union of Brest. In that case, the instances of intrusion from the Latin church were unnecessary and often introduced for the wrong reasons.

It will be useful to list the so-called alien intrusions into the Ukrainian rite which Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi cited in his pastoral letters. These are not in the order they are found in his writings, and no attempt has been made to group them according to any specific criteria. They include:

(1) Churches without an iconostasis; altar pushed to the rear wall; several side altars without their iconostases.
(2) No preparation table (*prothesis* or *proskomidikon*); *proskomidia* performed in sacristy or on left side of altar.
(3) Organ and other musical instruments in church functions.
(4) Stations of the Cross; statues.
(5) Pulpit for the *Liturgikon* instead of a pillow on the altar.
(6) Bells rung by the acolytes during the liturgy.
(7) Priests using the Latin *alb* instead of the Eastern *sticharion*; deacons wearing under their *stichar* the Latin *alb*; the shape of priestly vestments following the Latin pattern.
(8) No *zeon* (warm water) added to the chalice and the sponge for cleaning the *diskos* (*paten*); both eliminated by the Synod of Zamość.

(9) The *Filioque* added in accordance with the direction of the Synod of Zamość.
(10) The form *pravoslavni* replaced by *pravovirni*.
(11) Incensations reduced during the divine services.
(12) Low or silently recited liturgy, without the processions at the Little and the Grand Entrances.
(13) *Postambon* prayers and dismissal recited at the altar instead of outside the iconostasis on the floor of the church.
(14) Private, individual liturgies replaced by concelebrated liturgies.
(15) Corpus Christi feast and public processions with the Eucharist, which was permitted by the Synods of Zamość and L'viv.
(16) The cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and corresponding prayer services (*molebens*) modeled after the Latin-rite example.
(17) *Moleben* to the Blessed Mother, following the Latin-rite example, replacing the *Akafyst* and *Paraklisis*.
(18) Exposition of the Eucharist in the monstrance.
(19) *Supplikatsiia*.
(20) Priests folding their hands, finger to finger, as in the Latin rite; priests opening their hands instead of making the sign of a blessing at the phrase "Peace to all!"
(21) The use of the *asteriskos* (lance) omitted, with the Latin *paten* supplanting the Eastern *diskos*.
(22) The *Liturgikon* replaced by a missal that contained also those parts of the liturgy which the people were supposed to recite, thus making it possible to celebrate without the participation or even presence of the faithful.
(23) The *Liturgikon* or missal carried by the acolyte from one side of the altar to the other in slavish imitation of the Latin-rite mass of that time.
(24) Priests washing their hands before communion, following the Latin practice.
(25) Holy communion received by the faithful kneeling, and this often at a communion rail.

It should be kept in mind that the liturgical books of the Ruthenian church did not contain sufficiently extensive instructions on how to perform the various church functions. It was against the spirit of the East to determine everything in detail. Priests learned from observation and on-the-job training, and they were not tempted to go beyond that as long as no extraneous influences came into their purview. Perhaps it was because the Metropolitanate of Kiev had maintained closer ties with Greek and Balkan Orthodoxy that the odd deviations from the common liturgical heritage which were common in Russia and which prompted the reform of Patriarch Nikon never occurred in the Ukrainian and Belorussian churches.

It should also be remembered that the teachings of Roman Catholic theology had led to shifting the celebration of the eucharist from an exclusively communal act, performed publicly in the presence of the congregation on Sundays and holy days, to one of private, individual devotion. Priests were permitted to celebrate low or recited liturgies every day of the year, sometimes with only one person assisting. The prescription of Lateran Council IV (1215) that every Catholic had to assist at the eucharistic liturgy (mass) on Sundays and holy days of precept[13] led to a multiplication of Sunday masses and, as an unavoidable sequel, to the neglect and disappearance of the celebration of the divine office such as matins and vespers.

While the Sunday and holy day liturgy continued to be performed in the Ruthenian Uniate Church in accordance with the ancient rules, the introduction of the recited or low mass led to abbreviations, eliminations, and simplifications that always followed the Latin model. It was not long before liturgical processions to, from, and around the altar, were discarded as well, and this suggested the removal of the iconostasis and preparation table, the placing of the altar directly to the rear wall, and other such imitations of the Latin rite.

The vast majority of the Ruthenian clergy had no formal schooling and no access to books and other possible sources of information.[14] Therefore, they were totally unaware of the destructive influences coming from the Latin church. On the other hand, the higher cadres of the clergy had been trained at and influenced by the environment of Roman Catholic seminaries and universities (Vilnius, Braunsberg, Prague, Olomouc, Vienna, Rome) at a time when there were no books to inform them about the dignity of their own liturgical tradition. Affected by their experiences in the Roman Catholic world, the Ruthenian Catholic clergy began to imitate Latin usages and soon were followed by their subjects who looked up to them.[15]

One of the main purposes of the union with Rome was to raise the Eastern church to a higher intellectual and social level, for which the Latin church in Poland served as the ideal.[16] The attractiveness of the Latin rite also continued its influence for a long time because it offered certain social advantages. This explains, for example, the reason for retaining the feast of Corpus Christi in the Uniate, later Greek Catholic (Ukrainian) Church. In Poland and later in Austria, that feast was a state holy day. At the solemn processions which wound their way through the many towns and cities, the government was represented by the highest civil and military dignitaries. A military detachment saluted the Blessed Sacrament with salvos at the four altars. Nearly the entire populace formed lanes through which the procession moved with regal pageantry. It was an imposing display of the interaction between church and state, whether in Poland or later in Habsburg Austria. It was only natural that Ukrainians would not want to let pass such an opportunity to demonstrate their presence and their church in a land where they constituted the numerical majority but had no corresponding political power.

Ukrainian lands were effectively brought within the fold of the Uniate

Church about 1700, and therefore they were less affected by the Latinizations that had entered the liturgy in other lands such as Belorussia. However, with the progressive urbanization of western Ukraine in the nineteenth century and the influx of Ukrainians from the villages to the towns and cities of East Galicia, where the Poles usually continued to be the most numerous group, Ukrainian churches did not provide their faithful with religious services that satisfied their needs. The typical religious environment in western Ukraine in the decades before World War I was summed up in the memoirs of the Reverend Fylymon Tarnavs'kyi, who served in several Galician-Ukrainian parishes between 1889 and 1911:

> I am reminded of the differences between our own and the Polish religious upbringing. . . . When I came from L'viv to Zolochiv, I was stunned and paralyzed, because my religious faith was unknown to me. Although I had come from a priestly family, and was always raised in a home of a priest, I could not find in these families, nor in these churches, nor in our divine services, as they were then celebrated, something that would have formed me religiously and would have inspired me to gravitate toward God. I did not discover in them either joy or spiritual solace. Even though these families, in which I was raised, were very decent, they turned their main attention toward the nationalistic and less toward the religious, spiritual aspect. I mean not only in the direction of Ukrainian national goals, but also toward Russian or Moscophile ones. . . . When I was later already in the seminary, nobody, not even our superiors, ever spoke about how to organize and direct male or female religious associations. . . . My Polish classmates in the *gymnasium* of Zolochiv drew my attention to them. Their teacher of religion organized a sodality of the Blessed Mother and celebrated for them prayer services in honor of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of Zolochiv which was situated across the street from our school. He often had sermons for them, even at 6:30 a.m. On evenings in May, he celebrated services in honor of Mary. Then again, in the fast season before Christmas, he celebrated the *Rorate* Masses at 5:30 in the morning. My Polish classmates, with whom I had a good relationship, invited me to these services. I remember that this appealed to me very much. The beautiful singing, accompanied by the church organ, the orderliness, the cleanliness, the altars beautifully decorated with fresh flowers, suitable instructions for the youth, the banners, the medals, frequent confession and the corporate reception of holy communion by all—all this drew the Polish youth from the *gymnasium* to their church. During my entire stay in Zolochiv, I entered the Polish church nearly every day in order to pray before a beautiful statue of the Blessed Mother. I never saw anything similar in our parish church in Zolochiv. While the Polish church was opened every day at 5, our church was still locked at 8. The Polish church was open all day long, while our church was locked unless there was held a spe-

> cial liturgy, a funeral, or a wedding. There was nothing in it which would have attracted the young, and nobody cared. If I would not have been in a [nationally-] aware Ukrainian environment, who knows if what I mentioned before would not have pulled me to the Polish side. We lost hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian people in this way in the cities, because they did not find in our churches that kind of spiritual nourishment which was offered in the Polish churches. This is a small example how we Ukrainians were provided spiritually in contrast with the Poles. The Poles grew up in this religious spirit, reached old age and preserved this custom. This was the reason why their churches in the cities were full of both simple people and the intelligentsia, while in our churches throughout the cities there were only city people who still preserved the tradition of their rite, but of the intelligentsia there were very few.

The Reverend Tarnavs'kyi's wish to see some of the pastoral practice with which he had become acquainted in Polish churches transferred to the Ukrainians was satisfied a little later:

> New and vibrant expressions of religion were introduced by the reformed Basilians with the coming of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as bishop of Stanyslaviv and later as Metropolitan of L'viv. The monastery of the Basilian Fathers in L'viv, once deserted, was revived. The monastery church was opened to the faithful. Good sermons, associations, divine services, sermons, the publishing of religious pamphlets, and missions in the towns began to draw again the Ukrainians to their church and consequently to their nation as well.[17]

In the late nineteenth century two *molebens* (prayer services to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Blessed Mother Mary), the *Supplikatsiia*, the Rosary, and the Devotion of the Stations of the Holy Cross were incorporated into Ruthenian ritual. These represented a combination of Latin pious practices and Byzantine liturgical forms for which previously there was no equivalent in Ukrainian tradition. However, they became even more effective and beloved when new religious songs were provided for the faithful. Such pastoral aspects of borrowings from the Latin church must be recognized in order to understand the problem of subsequent liturgical reform in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Until the very end of his life, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi took great pains to speak up for these pastoral needs, even if they suggested the retention of borrowings or hybrid creations.

When Sheptyts'kyi entered the reformed Order of St. Basil the Great and became an ordained priest in 1892, he became part of an Austrian Galicia in which politics and religion were closely intertwined. The Uniate Ruthenian or, as it had been renamed (July 28, 1774), the Greek Catholic Church, had benefited greatly from Galicia's incorporation into Austria in 1772. No other

Eastern church possessed a clergy whose every member had received a university education. Only in Galicia had it been possible for the clergy to open to its own children an entry way to the professions. For these reasons, those occasional suggestions to leave the Catholic Church and return to Orthodoxy found only a sporadic response,[18] even though a large part of the clergy and laity were convinced that the union with Rome was not necessarily to the advantage of Ukrainians because the Roman Curia sided always with the Austrian government which, in turn, had allied itself with the Poles.[19]

In a desire to distance itself from Polish cultural influence, to move closer to Russia, and also to preserve its own national identity, the question arose among the Galician Ukrainian clergy of how to rid its church of the Latinizations which had crept into the liturgy. It soon became apparent that those who wished to remain true Catholics saw attempts at liturgical reform as the first step toward Orthodoxy. Consequently, a compromise solution had to be found in order to satisfy the demand for the depolonization of the Greek Catholic liturgy while at the same time erecting a defense against the trend toward Orthodoxy.

The first conflicts over the purification of the liturgy and their potential relationship to Orthodoxy and Russia had also reached Rome. The Vatican Curia was decidedly anti-Russian, and to underscore its views it canonized Iosafat Kuntsevych, the former archbishop of Polotsk (1618-1623) who was martyred by adherents of Moscow and the Orthodox Church. The Vatican's move occurred in the wake of the abortive anti-Russian Polish uprising of 1863. The liquidation of the last Ruthenian Catholic eparchy in the Russian empire (Chełm/Kholm in 1874-1875) frightened the Vatican even more. Hence, when the question of liturgical reforms was once again presented in Rome, the reaction was defensive. In fact, a letter of Pope Pius IX (1846-1878), dated 3 May 1874, to Galician Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych (1870-1882) actually approved all existing Latinizations, arguing that they symbolized Catholicism in the minds of many in Galicia and in the Vatican. Sembratovych's attempt to raise the national and social consciousness of his people included a concerted effort to combat alcoholism through the elimination of village taverns. This enraged the Polish landed property owners, who were holders of the traditionally profitable liquor licenses. The united opposition of the Austrian government and the Polish aristocrats prevailed in Rome, and Metropolitan Sembratovych, who was also suspected of being too lenient toward Russophile priests within his archeparchy, was forced to resign in 1882.[20]

In such circumstances, the question of liturgical reform had to be addressed through compromise. Hence, at the 1891 Synod of L'viv it was hoped that a "Ruthenian rite" would be sanctioned, and that it would be a kind of hybrid between the Latin church (and the Poles) on one side, and Orthodoxy (and the Russians) on the other.[21] This approach would be supported by the Austrian government, because it could be viewed as part of the

Habsburg monarchy's ideological struggle against its great eastern menace, tsarist Russia. In approving a hybrid Ruthenian rite, the 1891 L'viv Synod maintained Latin customs in the Greek Catholic Church, and wished to introduce as well the obligatory daily recitation of the breviary by priests, the emphasis on a secular celibate clergy, and the preservation of the western eucharistic cult.[22]

A special committee prepared norms for the liturgical texts themselves that attempted to establish uniformity, especially in the celebration of the eucharistic liturgy. Section five of the synod's resolutions, which concerned the liturgy, greatly advanced the return to the original rite, while it also contained concessions to the hybridizing trend. Although section five was not read or discussed at the synod, it was added to the acts submitted to the Vatican. However, the Vatican rejected section five in its entirety and it never became law, even though it was printed together with the approved parts of the synod.[23]

The L'viv Synod of 1891 was finally approved (1895) *in forma communi*, but this was no more than a general commendation. Had it received full papal approval *in forma specifica*, as was the case with the Synod of Zamość (1720), it would have acquired the legal force of a papal law. This would have meant that the liturgical norms could not have been subsequently opposed, changed, or ignored. Instead, there was subsequent liturgical debate and reform.

The situation was further complicated by political factors. By the 1890s, the Ukrainian national movement had taken a firm hold in East Galicia. That movement had originated in Russian-controlled eastern Ukraine, where it opposed what it viewed as Russian cultural and political oppression. The anti-tsarist thrust of Ukrainianism was also imbued with socialist ideology and revolutionary fervor. Therefore, under such influences, the Ukrainian movement in Galicia became both anti-Russian and anti-clerical. That anti-clericalism was derived in part from socialist tendencies but was also fuelled by the leading echelons of Galician Greek Catholic society who were either Russophiles or entirely servile to the Austrian regime, which in the eyes of some Galician-Ukrainian nationalists acted as a hindrance to their own goals. Thus, when Ukrainian nationalism appeared on the Galician scene, it seemed to many to be a movement inimical to both the Habsburg social order and to the Greek Catholic Church.

These nationalists favored the expurgation of all foreign intrusions from the church, especially the Latinizations. In effect, this meant that the position of those who were resolved to defend Catholicism by embracing the idea of a hybrid Ruthenian church and rite was strengthened, and they became even more intransigent about rejecting any reform that might seem to lean toward Orthodoxy or irreligious socialism. Sheptyts'kyi, however, remained interested in liturgical reform, although his motivations lay at that time in ecumenism.[24] Unity within Christianity always was his primary goal, and to begin such work in the East it was necessary first to have a liturgy that would be acceptable to all. This inevitably meant reform for Eastern Catholics; namely the elimination of the extraneous accretions and substitutions from the Latin-rite church.

While the ecumenical motivation for Sheptyts'kyi's early interest in liturgical reform is clear, the origin of his interest in the Greek Catholic Church is not. It is not likely that that interest could have arisen in the home of his parents. His mother, Countess Zofia Szeptycka, a pious and fervent Catholic, was only familiar with the Latin-rite religious form as it was practiced at the time. However, the Reverend Henryk Jackowski, S. J., who was a frequent guest at the Sheptyts'kyi home, often spoke of his work among the Ukrainians of Podlachia, and this left an impression on the young Sheptyts'kyi. Another influence on Sheptyts'kyi came from Vladimir Solov'ëv, the Russian theologian, who in his *Pro Memoria* (1886) had spoken of the absolute necessity to guarantee the integrity of the Eastern rite as an indispensable pre-condition for any ecumenical work. However, Sheptyts'kyi must have been exposed earlier to the beauty of the Eastern rite, probably in the church of his native village of Prylbychi. That would explain his decision, taken as early as 1881, to become a priest of the Greek Catholic Church. He must have reached this decision about a vocation in the Greek Catholic Church after having first thought about how he would function as a priest and exercise his liturgical pastoral duty.

These original liturgical observations of nearby Greek Catholic services were then reinforced by exposure to Solov'ëv's ideas and by a fortuitous visit to an Old Believer community in the neighboring Austrian province of Bukovina.[25] In that Old Believer community, Sheptyts'kyi encountered people who had sacrificed everything and who had submitted to all sorts of persecution from Russian Orthodox and tsarist authorities rather than abandon what they felt was their true and pure form of worship. It is difficult to find a better illustration of the importance of preserving one's ancestral liturgical tradition. It also could have occurred to the young Sheptyts'kyi that daily liturgical functions in which he took part may have been in dire need of reform, especially if they were an obstacle to bringing the Christian East to Catholicism.

Yet, his experience as a priest and as a bishop must have convinced him as well that the problem of liturgical reform was extremely complex. It was not solely a question of gathering correct information on genuine liturgical tradition. There was also the undeniable fact that many of the alien introductions possessed in themselves considerable value as instruments of pastoral work. After all, the new *molebens*, the recitation of the Rosary, and other such creations on the model of the Latin rite had been accepted by the faithful with eagerness and fervor. Consequently, these could be removed only very slowly, and only if they could be replaced with adequate substitutions from the Eastern tradition.

Sheptyts'kyi's conviction in these matters crystallized and was tested when he organized the Studite monks (1907), the first purely monastic community in the entire Eastern branch of the Catholic Church that returned to the contemplative character of the most ancient form of monasticism. He decided that the Studites should not follow the liturgical forms of the Galician Greek Catholic Church, but rather those from the centuries before the Union of Brest (1595), which were still preserved in the liturgical books of the Orthodox Church.[26]

Meanwhile, the atmosphere in Rome was changing as well. A lifelong and avid collector of books on Eastern Christianity, Sheptyts'kyi had the good fortune to meet Archbishop Guiseppe Sarto, who in 1903 became Pope Pius X (1903-1914), during a research trip to Venice in September 1883. This acquaintance was very important, for Sheptyts'kyi needed support in the Vatican. Moreover, the new pope accepted the idea that membership in the Catholic Church did not necessitate borrowing from the Latin rite, and that Latinizations ought to be rejected by the Eastern Catholics. This attitude was summed up in a conversation with Nataliia Ushakova, one of the new Russian Catholics who had been placed under Sheptyts'kyi's jurisdiction. In a reply to Ushakova's question whether Russian Catholics could or should observe the liturgical norms of the Russian Orthodox Church, the so-called synodal rite, the pope said *Nec plus, nec minus, nec aliter* (Neither more, nor less, nor differently).

Sheptyts'kyi was also influenced by his encounters with other converts from Russian Orthodoxy. In 1907, he received Leonid Fëdorov, who was eager to become a Catholic but only in his native rite.[27] Fëdorov must have felt from his conversations with Sheptyts'kyi that the latter was not yet entirely won over to the idea of a radical liturgical reform, for he brought up this topic in several letters to the Metropolitan. The main thrust of Fëdorov's argument was his conviction that for the Russians, as for all Easterners, the liturgy is the primary expression of an integral part of the spiritual life of each individual Christian who has given himself to God.

To what degree, if any, was Sheptyts'kyi's love for liturgy based on the esthetic experience of its symbolic and emotional beauty? This is not easy to answer since he seems not to have spoken of it. Witnesses said that he celebrated always with great concentration and signs of intense piety. At solemn public functions, the Metropolitan's imposing stature of nearly seven feet made him tower over all concelebrants. However, the paralyzing debility of his legs permitted him in the last fifteen years of his life to appear only rarely in his cathedral, and even then he had to be carried on the shoulders of seminarians in the form of *sedia gestatoria*, as used by the pope. As for musical esthetics, Sheptyts'kyi did not have a good ear, and his singing at liturgies was rather poor.

At the same time that the problem of Greek Catholic liturgical reform was placed on the agenda in the Vatican, a group of men who were to find a solution was being assembled in Rome. Moreover, their arrival in the first decades of the twentieth century coincided with a change in the attitude of the Roman Curia toward the Christian East as well as structural changes in how the Vatican dealt with the East. The office that had been responsible for relations with Eastern Catholic churches was separated in 1917 from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which oversaw the spreading of the Gospel in pagan regions of the world, and instead was made into a separate Congregation for Oriental Churches.[28] That same year the Pontifical Institute for Oriental Ecclesiastical Studies was established, which five years later was entrusted to the Society of Jesus. Before long, the Jesuits were able to assemble at the Pontifical Institute a faculty of first-class experts in the several branches of the sciences to study the various manifestations of Eastern Christianity. The institute also began to build the most complete library of works on Eastern Christianity. This activity was paralleled by the interest of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) in the Christian East. Himself once director of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, the pope turned to another former librarian, Cardinal Eugène Tisserant, a renowned student of the Syrian churches, to head the Congregation for Oriental Churches from 1936.[29]

Despite all these developments, by 1934, when the Ruthenian liturgical reform question reached the Vatican, there was still no true expert in Eastern liturgical matters at the Curia. However, the Congregation for Oriental Churches had the full-time services of the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky, who was responsible for finding a solution to the problem of liturgical reform. In 1927, Korolevsky published *L'Uniatisme*, in which he mercilessly placed the Latinization and hybridization of the Eastern Catholic churches in the pillory. He called for an immediate end to this development which he felt was a scandal to the non-Catholic Eastern Christians and an obstacle to the final reunion of the churches.[30]

This work earned Korolevsky little praise. Some Ukrainian bishops and clergy demanded that it be placed on the Index of Forbidden Books; others expected that the author would soon defect from the Catholic Church. Even Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, whose ideas *L'Uniatisme* expressed perfectly, was not pleased, and he told the author: "This book is short of charity."[31] Yet the underlying principles in Korolevsky's tract have subsequently been accepted by the Vatican, although the actual implementation of those principles is still an ongoing affair in the various Eastern Catholic churches.

Nonetheless, Pope Pius XI had full confidence in Korolevsky's good judgment and ordered him to accompany the visitator appointed by the Congregation for Oriental Churches who was dispatched to inspect all the Eastern seminaries in Rome and to take notes about any shortcomings in the celebration of the liturgy.[32] Korolevsky was also involved in all of Sheptyts'kyi's projects whenever they had to be taken up with the Vatican authorities. Thus, the *Typikon* for the Studites, which contained detailed norms for all aspects of their organization, life, and work, was prepared by Korolevsky and later reviewed by the Metropolitan and his brother, the Studite superior Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi.[33]

Meanwhile, in Galicia, new editions of liturgical books were being printed, and their position on the question of reform depended in large part on where they were published. Two currents were clearly evident. The books published in Zhovkva at the newly-reformed Order of St. Basil the Great under the protection of Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi of Przemyśl (1916-1947), reflected the need to provide a firm foundation for a Ruthenian rite that might move away slightly from the Latin rite, but would certainly still employ forms that were clearly distinguishable from those used in the Orthodox Church. The other current was reflected in the books published in L'viv under the aegis of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, which reflected a return to genuine tradition and entailed a thorough elimination of all Latinizations, regardless of whether the result would seem more Orthodox.

In 1905, a new *Liturgikon*, which contained the texts of the eucharistic liturgies, was published in L'viv by the Stauropegial Brotherhood. That publication recognized the liturgical norms of the Synod of L'viv (1891), and it removed a limited number of conspicuous Latinizations. However, there was still need for a *Trebnyk*, the book which contains the texts of the sacraments and other rites. The Basilians at Zhovkva applied for and in 1926 received permission from Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi to prepare a new edition, but in the same year a new *Trebnyk* was brought out in L'viv. Since various texts and norms of Latin origin had been removed, it differed from the Zhovkva version. When Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi was approached again by the Basilian Fathers for permission to publish other liturgical editions, he was then unsure of his authority and turned to the papal nuncio in Warsaw and to the Vatican. He requested that his authority to approve such editions be defined, especially in view of the appearance of the L'viv *Trebnyk* of 1926. Kotsylovs'kyi also had another reason for his concern, since the attempt to introduce the otherwise pastorally successful hybrid liturgical services into the far southwestern part of his Przemyśl eparchy, in the so-called Lemko Region, was strongly resisted by the faithful who were known for their tenacious conservatism. They were encouraged by priests opposed to the new Ukrainian nationalism and anything that was against their Russophile convictions.[34]

The whole situation suggested the need for a conference of all Eastern-rite Slavic bishops, which did convene in L'viv on 29-30 November 1929. Besides the Ukrainian bishops of Galicia, the bishops of the Subcarpathian region in Czechoslovakia who used the same liturgical books, the Bishop of Križevci in Croatia (Yugoslavia), and even the bishop of Bulgaria's Eastern-rite Catholics attended. A liturgical commission representing these dioceses was established, and it started to hold meetings in 1930. After sixty-six meetings, the commission submitted the decisions and minutes of its deliberations to the Vatican.

While the commission was in process, Sheptyts'kyi went ahead and published a new *Liturgikon* in 1929, followed by another somewhat emendated version in 1930. These introduced a number of changes, especially inserting rubrics that spelled out the removal of Latinizations and the return to the ancient tradition. The books contained the three liturgies, the ordinary of vespers, and matins, but left the changeable parts, such as the *troparia*, epistles, and gospel readings for another work. All that remained from the former Latinizations were the insertion of the *filioque* in the Creed and the two prohibitions of the Synod of Zamość (*zeon* and sponge). The appearance of these new L'viv *Liturgikons* fanned opposition on the part of Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi and Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv (1904-1945). The primatial authority of metropolitans over their co-provincial bishops, as recognized in Eastern tradition and law, had lapsed in Galicia, and Sheptyts'kyi could exert no more influence over his bishops than the Latin metropolitans enjoyed over their suffragans, which was and is practically nil.

Undaunted by this opposition from fellow bishops in his own province, Sheptyts'kyi used another occasion to express his views on liturgical matters. In 1931, the Vatican appointed the Reverend Mykola Charnets'kyi as apostolic visitator for all Eastern-rite Catholics in Poland who lived outside Galicia, in particular neighboring Volhynia and Polissia. Bishop Charnets'kyi's jurisdiction was explicitly said to have no connection with the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, even though the majority of the new converts to Eastern-rite Catholicism were Ukrainians and to a lesser degree Belorussians. This arrangement clearly rejected Ukrainian claims for ecclesiastical unity within Poland, and it seemed to coincide with the wish of the Polish government to split the Ukrainians into as many factions as possible. Thus the Vatican appeared to be on the side of the Poles against the Ukrainians.

In order to clarify the situation, Sheptyts'kyi wrote a pastoral letter which he submitted to the widely-read Ukrainian daily *Dilo*, which printed it on 21 April 1931. However, the Polish government, whose policy forbade any contact between the Ukrainians from Galicia and those from the provinces which Poland received from Russia after World War I, confiscated that issue, and the letter could be communicated to the church only via handwritten copies. In this letter, Sheptyts'kyi suggested the motivation behind the Vatican's action: "We have been notified from authentic sources that Rome has declared itself for the total observance of the Eastern rite outside of Galicia, but that the ritual forms used in Galicia have been judged as too narrow and unsuitable for work among the dissident Orthodox."[35] Sheptyts'kyi was therefore trying to discredit his westernizing rivals by associating his own traditionalist position with the Vatican.

The Metropolitan expounded in the same letter on another topic dear to him. First, he defended those who were working for a return to the genuine liturgical traditions of the church against charges of "Byzantinism," probably in response to a pastoral letter of Bishop Khomyshyn of 23 March 1931, ominously titled "Pro Vizantiistvo."[36] Then Sheptyts'kyi turned against those equally absurd zealots, who in their dedication to liturgical reform were assigning dogmatic significance to the elimination of all Latin-rite influences. He also proceeded to defend the devotion of the Blessed Mother. If the "purists have been saying that such devotions are not Oriental," Sheptyts'kyi replied that there is nothing in them that is essentially Eastern or Western, because they embody universal truths. Thus, they can be expressed in Eastern-Byzantine liturgical forms without having to ape Latin forms.

The reaction to the new L'viv *Liturgikon* and to Sheptyts'kyi's letter by the promoters of a separate Ruthenian rite was swift and vehement. Bishops Kotsylovs'kyi and Khomyshyn were joined by Bishop Constantine Bohachevs'kyi (1924-1961) in the United States in a protest that went so far as to prohibit priests from using the L'viv *Liturgikon*. The bishops disliked wholeheartedly these "innovations," which would have forced them to change their daily habits. In addition, they were convinced that the liturgical changes promoted by Sheptyts'kyi could be introduced only by the pope, because they were not consonant with the Synod of Zamość (1720), which had become papal law by having received confirmation *in forma specifica*, and because they were not in agreement with the Synod of L'viv (1891), among other reasons. The opposition notified the pope promptly of its apprehensions. The Vatican decided to investigate the issue itself and resolved it by sponsoring a series of liturgical texts that were published in Rome.[37]

Whenever the authorities of an Eastern Catholic Church disagree on an issue, it is the custom of the Roman Curia to consult impartial specialists. In this case, the number of such individuals was limited. In the end, the Vatican sent the Reverend Jan Hudeček, a Czech Redemptorist, to Galicia, where he was to collect information that would enable the cardinals of the Congregation for Oriental Churches to arrive at a judgment on what to do with the problem of the liturgy among the Ukrainians. Hudeček undertook his journey in 1934. When he returned, he presented a report that was entirely supportive of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. Hudeček even specifically rejected the accusation of Bishop Khomyshyn that Sheptyts'kyi was introducing "Byzantinisms," which the bishop was using as a code for anti-Catholicism. Hudeček retorted that, in fact, the liturgical Latinizations were an obstacle to unity, that they were contrary to the spirit of the Eastern churches, and that they were opposed to the express instructions of the Vatican.[38]

At the same time Sheptyts'kyi submitted to Pope Pius XI a suggestion that he issue an encyclical approving the nascent liturgical movement in the Latin-rite church, which the Metropolitan hoped would become the guiding principle to help the Eastern Catholic churches appreciate their own liturgies. However, the question of liturgical reform was definitively placed into the hands of the Vatican as the result of a letter (1937) from all the five bishops of Galicia and Subcarpathia. Cardinal Tisserant, the head of the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches, responded at once and accepted on 10 January 1938 the general principles which the work of the editors would follow. These preparations were given papal approval on 15 March 1938, when Pius XI authorized the establishment of a special commission for the revision and publication of liturgical books for Ruthenian Catholics. Tisserant was himself well acquainted with the Ruthenian Catholic Church. He had met with Sheptyts'kyi and he had been in Ukraine. Moreover, he had at his side a friend and knowledgeable compatriot in the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky.

The men engaged in work on the Ruthenian version of the Slavonic texts joined forces with those of another commission that had been created to publish liturgical texts for the other Slavic Eastern-rite Catholics. Working in tandem, they were able to establish what was common and what was unique to the various traditions. In the end, two parallel editions were published: the so-called *Recensio Vulgata* for the Eastern Catholic Croats, Belorussians, Bulgarians, Russians, and Ukrainians outside the Ruthenian tradition; and the *Recensio Ruthena* for the Byzantine-rite Catholics of Galicia and Subcarpathia. For the Ruthenian, or Ukrainian edition, a return to the liturgy of the church of Kiev, before the Union of Brest, became the normative ideal. The new liturgy followed the text of the fourteenth-century divine liturgy used by Metropolitan Izydor of Kiev (1436-1458) when he celebrated in Slavonic.[39]

Despite the upheavals of World War II, work progressed with astonishing speed and the resultant texts were printed outside Rome in the Monastery of Grottaferrata: the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (*Liturhiia sv. Ioanna Zlatoustaho*) which is used daily, in both a pocket edition (1940) and a larger size (1942); the Liturgy of St. Basil (*Liturhiia sv. Vasiliia Velykaho*, 1941), which is celebrated ten times a year; the *Liturgikon siiest' Sluzhebnyk* (1942), containing all three eucharistic liturgies, the office of the hours, liturgical calendar, etc.; two Gospel books (*Sviatoie Evanheliie*, 1943 and *Evanhelia na nedily, praznyky i razlychnyia potreby*, 1943); an Epistle book (*Chteniia apostols'kiia na nedily, praznyky i razlychnyia potreby*, 1944), both for Sunday and holy day celebration that was for the use of travelling priests; a *Malyi Trebnyk* (1947); and a prayer book for priests (*Chasoslov*, 1950), in both full size and pocket size. In addition, various rites were published in separate smaller fascicles. In all, sixteen Ruthenian liturgical books in Church Slavonic were published.

On 10 September 1941, the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches notified by circular letter all Ruthenian and Ukrainian ordinaries of its progress and that the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom had already been published. Sheptyts'kyi received two copies in January 1942, and he informed his people in a letter of 25 March 1942 of this happy event. In addition, the Metropolitan ordered that the liturgy be reprinted in Vienna for his priests, since the Roman edition was soon out of print because many Orthodox bishops and priests began to use it themselves for its authentic texts and its handy size. First and foremost, Sheptyts'kyi valued the Roman liturgical books to the degree that they promoted union with the Eastern churches. As he expressed in a pastoral letter, the new books heralded "the beginning of a new epoch in ecumenical endeavors."[40] They also put an end forever to changes in the liturgy.

Among the most important of these Roman texts was the *Ordo Celebrationis* (1944).[41] It described for the clergy how to exercise its functions; how to make the sign of the cross; how and when to bow; how to incense; and other similar activities. It also described in detail the essential features of the interior of a church. For instance, it established that an iconostasis was prescribed for every celebration and it listed the items which might be placed on the altar. When the Metropolitan received a copy of *Ordo Celebrationis*, he wrote: "'Today, O Lord, you give your servant his discharge in peace' (Lk 2:29). I can now die because all questions of our liturgy are finally settled, and rule, order, and uniformity will be introduced into our church."[42]

While there were some omissions, with the publication of the Roman editions the liturgy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church finally returned to its authentic heritage. Moreover, for the first time the church had in its possession indisputably obligatory liturgical texts. They were *official*, coming from the highest authority of the pope; they were *typical*, providing a prototype from which no deviation was permitted; and they were *uniform* for all parts of the Ukrainian Church. They also rejected all extraneous intrusions, whether Latinizations or polonisms.[43]

In essence, the appearance of the Roman liturgical reform fulfilled the dreams and goals of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. The Ukrainian Catholic Church had finally retrieved its patrimony. It was now left to the church to introduce these reforms into the life of the community. However, the task of implementing the liturgical reforms was complicated by the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia and the dispersal of Ukrainian Catholics throughout the world in the wake of World War II. Even before this happened, those who had opposed Sheptyts'kyi's reforms before the war and who declared themselves motivated by fierce loyalty to Catholicism, found it difficult to accept the Roman verdict with equanimity. Bishop Khomyshyn even attempted to reverse the process by another intervention in Rome.[44] Analogously, the Superior General of the Basilian Fathers at Zhovkva, Dionysii Tkachuk, protested that the Ruthenians had for centuries enjoyed autonomy with respect to liturgical matters. Another proponent of the hybrid Ruthenian church rite, Dionysii Holovets'kyi, had to be removed from his post as rector of the Papal Ukrainian Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome.[45] On the other hand, a former opponent, the United States bishop and later metropolitan for Ukrainians, Constantine Bohachevs'kyi, ordered the full implementation of all the Roman reforms at once.

There were several reasons for the obstinate opposition of the two suffragan bishops (Kotsylovs'kyi and Khomyshyn) and also other ecclesiastics to the reform promoted by Sheptyts'kyi. One was deep personal animosity, especially on the part of Khomyshyn, toward the Metropolitan. Khomyshyn had no qualms about expressing to the clergy his low opinion of the Metropolitan. On the other hand, no such remarks were ever recorded from Sheptyts'kyi. The accusation of "Byzantinism" referred specifically to the many Latinisms listed above, which Sheptyts'kyi and all others interested in the return of a purified rite had succeeded in removing from the books. The anti-Byzantinists saw them as symbols that contradicted their own conviction. They felt those things they protected stood for Catholicism, while what their adversaries promoted was anti-Catholic Orthodoxy.

Several other considerations may also help to explain why the opposition to liturgical reform was so fierce: the deeply subjective and emotionally pious exercises borrowed from the Latin church; the introduction of celibacy in two eparchies as a compulsory institution (Sheptyts'kyi had advocated it only as a free choice to be made by candidates to the priesthood); and the unlimited acceptance of the Polish occupation of western Ukraine by Bishop Khomyshyn, in contrast to Sheptyts'kyi, who loyally submitted to what could not be escaped, but who nonetheless did not shrink from repeatedly raising his voice in public against the suppressive acts of the Polish government. In this awkward situation, Sheptyts'kyi could not expect any help from Rome, since this would have been interpreted as directed against the friends of the Polish government. Only in the area of liturgical reforms was Rome able and willing to confirm his stance, and this chiefly because of the influence of Cyril Korolevsky and Cardinal Eugène Tisserant.

It is encouraging to conclude that in the Ukrainian Catholic Church outside the homeland today, younger priests have with zeal and dedication embraced the reformed liturgical heritage. Until his death in 1984, this positive phenomenon was enhanced by Patriarch and Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi (1944-1984), whose own untiring support guaranteed the success of the liturgical reform which had been a major goal of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.

Notes

1. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), esp. chap. 10 and pp. 338-48. Lubomyr Husar also discussed Sheptyts'kyi's liturgical reforms and speaks of it as being "in the service of ecumenism." See his "Andrej Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of Halych, 1901-1944: A Pioneer of Ecumenism" (Unpublished Pontifical Urbanian University D.Th. thesis; Rome, 1972), pp. 828-44; and his "Ecumenical Mission of the Eastern Catholic Churches in the Vision of Metropolitan Sheptycky," *Euntes Docete*, XXVIII (Rome, 1975), pp. 125-59. See also Vasyl' Lentsyk, "Ideia tserkovnoï iednosty u Mytropolyta Sheptyts'koho," *Bohosloviia*, XXXV (Rome, 1971), pp. 175-201.
2. On some of these symbolic aspects, see J. Dwirnyk, *The Role of the Iconostasis in Divine Worship* (Montreal, 1960); Andriy Chirovsky, "Towards a Byzantine Liturgi-

cal Architecture," *Diakonia*, XVIII (New York, 1983), pp. 203-37 (where additional literature is cited); and Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982).

3. Patriarch Nikon of Moscow (1648-1666) made changes in the truly corrupt liturgical books of the Russian church. These changes were entirely justified and based on traditions of the Greek and other Orthodox churches, but his reforms became the rallying point for all those to whom new ideas symbolized the changeableness of human affairs in contrast to an ideal, theocentric world that should not be subject to change since God himself does not change. The result of such contrasting views was the *Raskol* (Schism), after which Old Ritualists, or Old Believers, continued their traditional pre-Nikonian form of worship despite the most draconian measures taken against them by the tsarist government.
4. A. Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis euisque auctorum (1590-1600)* (Rome, 1970), pp. 127-31. For an English translation of the entire document, see Russel R. Moroziuk, *Politics of a Church Union* (Chicago, 1983), pp. 17-22.
5. Bohdan Lyps'kyi, *Dukhovist' nashoho obriadu* (Toronto, 1974), p. 73. It was difficult for the Ukrainians to admit that the Latinization came from their own ranks; they preferred to blame Rome. However, the absence of documents testifying to the latter, and the publication of Latinized liturgical books since the seventeenth century, is sufficient evidence for seeing the phenomenon as originating with the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belorussian) hierarchy and clergy themselves. Even Russel P. Moroziuk, who in other respects severely criticizes the papacy, asserts that in relation to the liturgical conditions stipulated by the Ruthenian bishops at the time of the Union of Brest (1596) "the papacy has consistently upheld that position." Moroziuk, *Politics*, p. 56.
6. The first Slavonic liturgy was printed in a Serbian version in 1519 in Venice, followed by the first Greek version in 1526 in Rome. See Meletius M. Solovey, *Bozhestvenna Liturhiia: istoriia, rozvytok, poiasnennia* (Rome, 1964), p. 60.
7. M. M. Solovey, "The Ritual development of the Divine Liturgy: Forced Purgations of the Ukrainian Rite in the 19th Century," *Beacon*, XVIII, 3 (Toronto, 1984), pp. 27-8.
8. Joannes Bilanych, *Synodus Zamostiana an. 1720* (Rome, 1960); Jurii Fedoriv, "Zamois'kyi Synod 1970 r.," *Bohosloviia*, XXXV (Rome, 1971), pp. 5-71.
9. M. M. Solovey, *De Reformatione Liturgica Heraclii Lisowskyj, Archiepiscopi Polocensis (1784-1809)* (Rome, 1950).
10. See the recapitulation of the history of the ritual question in Solovey, *Bozhestvenna Liturhiia*, pp. 70-106.
11. L. Glinka, *Diocesi Ucraino-Cattolica di Cholm: Liquidazione ed incorporazione alla Chiesa russo-ortodossa* (Rome, 1975).
12. With regard to Vatican actions in the attempts at liturgical reform among the Ukrainians, a major source is Korolevsky's biography, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj*, which reflects the author's access to Vatican archives. Other documents were published by a former employee of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches and later papal diplomat, Archbishop Giuseppe Mojoli, in *Attività liturgica della S. C. di Propaganda Fide per il rito orientale 1862-1892* (Vicenza, 1977). Of the documents in that collection, 112 refer to Ukrainians.
13. Only in the twentieth century was it realized that Roman disciplinary norms determined at ecumenical councils apply to Eastern Catholics only when they are expressly included in the legislation. However, before this was realized, obligatory Sunday and holy day attendance at eucharistic liturgies had become law by force of legal custom. Cf. V. J. Pospishil, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum: The Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches of the II Council of Vatican* (New York, 1965), pp. 35-40.

14. Myroslav Marusyn, "Pohliad na vykhovannia kandydativ dukhovnoho stanu na Ukraïni," *Bohosloviia*, XXI-XXIV (Rome, 1963), pp. 40-94.
15. One should also mention candidates of the Latin rite to the Basilian Order, who not infrequently came from formerly Ukrainian and Belorussian families, but who were by then thoroughly Polonized and thereby prone to imitate the Latin rite. Cf. Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification: A Theoretical Framework Together with Case Studies from the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations* (Rome, 1974), p. 147 ff.
16. The Counter-Reformation had given to the Polish-Lithuanian state a marvelous system of schools founded and conducted first by the Jesuits, who were soon joined by other new active orders, such as the Piarists and the Theatines. A Ukrainian who enrolled in such a school arrived with no useful knowledge of his own language, which he only knew at the level of a peasant dialect. While Church Slavonic was still employed as an artificial language of higher communication, it could be learned only in a few places. The schools of the Jesuits were conducted in Latin, at that time still the language of diplomacy and international intercourse. Once a student mastered Latin, it became the linguistic instrument with which he could best and most naturally express his thoughts at a level that reflected his higher education. Latin became the gateway to the sciences, to the king's court, to the courts of law, and to the world of books and ideas. Nothing in his own home, nation, or church could even faintly be compared with the brilliance and usefulness of this Latinate world. Realizing this deficiency, (Orthodox) Metropolitan Petro Mohyla established a *collegium* at Kiev in 1632, where all teaching was done in Latin. The majority were secular students, which changed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when it became a clerical academy.
17. Fylymon Tarnavs'kyi, *Spohady* (Toronto, 1981), pp.80-2.
18. Among examples of Greek Catholic priests who turned to Orthodoxy and emigrated to the Russian empire were Ivan Naumovych (1826-1891), a popular parish priest, editor, and founder of the Kachkovs'kyi Society; and Ipolyt Terlets'kyi (1815-1889), a physician who became a Basilian monk and leader of a movement in Galicia for liturgical purity.
19. The anti-Roman mood of the Galician-Ukrainian community, which included prominent members of the clergy, came to the fore when the decision to entrust the reform of the Greek Catholic Basilian Order to the Latin-rite Jesuits became public knowledge (1882). See the documentation in M. Korovets', *Velyka Reforma Chyna sv. Vasiliia Velykoho*, 4 vols. (L'viv and Zhovkva, 1933-1938).
20. Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 522-3.
21. See Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 333.
22. A visible symbol of this hybrid rite is the *kolpak* or headgear of the clergy, a very practical appointment sanctioned by the L'viv Synod. It is not Eastern attire, but neither is it the Latin *biretta*. In the shape of an Eastern mitre, but segmented and collapsible, it was a hybrid creation incorporating features of both traditions.
23. The controversial fifth section did become the basis for the *Liturgikon* published in L'viv in 1905. It is also interesting to note that the papal delegate and presiding officer at the 1891 synod, Augustine Ciasca, opposed some of the far-reaching latinizations proposed by the Ukrainian participants.

    For the text of the L'viv Synod, see *Acta et Decreta Synodi Provincialis Ruthenorum Galiciae habitae anno 1891* (Rome, 1896), especially the section on the sacred liturgy, pp. 78-106.
24. See the chapter, "Liturgy at the service of ecumenism in the East," in Husar, "Andrej Sheptytsky," pp. 826-49. Sheptyts'kyi showed his pastoral interest in liturgical matters immediately after becoming metropolitan in *Poiasnennia obriadiv*

(Zhovkva, 1901).

25. Sheptyts'kyi, having entered the Basilians in 1888 after obtaining a doctorate in civil and canon law, undertook this visit while still a student in the Basilian monastery at Dobromyl'. The French Bishop Félix J. X. Jourdan de la Passardière was touring Galicia in 1891, and during a stay at Dobromil' recruited Sheptyts'kyi as a companion and interpreter on his visit to Bukovina's Old Believers.
26. Sheptyts'kyi's decision was approved by the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches (1923), which declared that the Studites should follow a pure rite, not only eliminating Latinizations but setting aside as well the liturgical modifications ordered by the Synod of Zamość. Korolevskij, *Métropolite* p. 338.
27. In 1917, Fëdorov was appointed by Sheptyts'kyi as the first exarch of the Russian Catholics. On Fëdorov, see Paul Mailleux, *Exarch Leonid Feodorov* (New York, 1964); Diakon Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov: zhizn' i deiatel'nost* (Rome, 1966); and below, Chapter 15.
28. A congregation is the highest administrative component in the Vatican's governing structure.
29. All Eastern Catholics, in particular Ukrainians, benefited from Tisserant's energetic and generous support during the twenty-three years of his tenure. See *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel Cinquantesimo della Fondazione, 1917-1967* (Rome, 1969).
30. C. Korolevskij, *L'Uniatisme*, Irénikon Collection, no. 5-6 (Chevetogne, 1927).
31. Korolevsky displayed throughout his life a penchant for sharp, unmitigated, mocking attacks on opposing views, while Sheptyts'kyi's aim, more in harmony with Christian charity, was to try to convince opponents, or at least not to antagonize them.
32. A. Raes, "Attività Liturgica svolta dalla S. Congregazione Orientale," in *La Sacra Congregazione*, p. 163.
33. As published in French, the work carried as compilers Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his brother, Archimandrite Klymentii: *Typikon/Typicon* (Rome, 1964).
34. The particular situation in the Lemko Region resulted in 1934 in the establishment of a Lemko Apostolic Administration separated from the Eparchy of Przemyśl. I disagree with Korolevsky's belief that this division was caused mainly by the liturgical question. In my view, it was an outgrowth of the policy of the Polish government, which also supported a movement toward Orthodoxy there, in order to weaken the spread of a Ukrainian national consciousness in this westernmost area of Ukrainian settlement.
35. Husar, "Ecumenical Mission," p. 147. See also *Meta* (L'viv), 19 April 1931, pp. 1-2, which published the text of the letter. Sheptyts'kyi had written a pastoral letter under the title of "Virnist' tradytsiï" (Fidelity to Tradition) a month earlier, in *Meta*, March 1931, pp. 81-85.
36. The pastoral was published in Stanyslaviv in 1931.
37. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 345. No documentation of this correspondence has been published.
38. While Ukrainians were awaiting the Vatican's decision, the Metropolitan had the full support of his coadjutor, Archbishop Iosyf Slipyi, who expressed his views in a pastoral letter of 23 December 1940, when he stated that "the chaos with which we had to deal was caused also by the fact that both the Synods of Zamość (1720) and L'viv (1891) considered unity in liturgical matters a necessity, called for liturgical uniformity, and therefore only tolerated in practice that which was contrary to the liturgical law as well as to the style of the Eastern Church." Metropolyt Josyf, "Obriadna odnoobraznist'," *Bohosloviia*, XVII-XX (L'viv, 1943), pp. 100-10.

    When Slipyi succeeded Sheptyts'kyi as metropolitan, he continued the work of his mentor, especially after he had reached the West (1963) and had been recognized by the Vatican as head of an autonomous major archiepiscopate or associated church of the Catholic Church. In particular, Slipyi initiated the translation of the Roman liturgical books into Ukrainian.

39. A copy of Izydor's *Liturgikon* is in the Vatican Library and was followed by the editors of the Rome edition, chiefly the Reverends Anthony Raes, S. J. and Iosyf Zaiachkivs'kyi, OSBM. Izydor's *Liturgikon* has subsequently been analyzed by Myroslav Marusyn, "Bozhestvenna liturhiia v Kyïvs'kii mytropoliï po spysku Izydorovoho Liturhikona z XV st.," *Bohosloviia*, XXV-XXVIII (Rome, 1964), pp. 33-61.
40. Reprinted in *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï, 1941-1944*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 122-30. Sheptyts'kyi had in the same year written other letters as well on the topic of liturgical celebration. Ibid., pp. 149-61 and 206-10.
41. *Ordo Celebrationis Vesperarum, Matutini et Divinae Liturgiae iuxta Recensionem Ruthenorum* (Rome, 1944). A survey of these liturgical editions and a list of the texts can be found in *Oriente Cattolico: Cenni storici e statistiche*, 4th ed. (Vatican City, 1974), pp. 41-3 and 51-4.
42. Lyps'kyi, *Dukhovist'*, p. 54.
43. Or, in the words of Lyps'kyi, *Dukhovist'*, p. 73: "We took over not a single Latinism directly from Rome. All our Latinisms are polonisms." Lyps'kyi was a former professor at the Theological Academy of L'viv and a firm supporter of the liturgical reform, but found that when he wrote the above (1970), there were still priests and faithful limping behind.
44. See Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 348. Since no documentation has been published as yet, we do not know how Khomyshyn justified his opposition, although the fact is attested by Korolevsky who was in charge of the correspondence in the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches.
45. The reluctance of some Ukrainian Catholics to embrace the Roman liturgical reform is explained by Petro B. T. Bilaniuk: "Incredibly enough, both the clergy and in many instances the laity resented their innovations and clung tenaciously to their Latinized form of worship. . . . The Ukrainian Catholic community in Europe was fully satisfied with their 'Mother Church' [meaning the Roman Church, V. J. P.] with the exception of the liturgical innovations, which were usually interpreted as an attempt to conform the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Russian liturgical tradition." *Studies in Eastern Christianity*, vol. I (Toronto, 1977), p. 163.

Chapter 11

Sheptyts'kyi and Three Converts from the West

Brian R. Keleher

Outside their traditional homelands, the Orthodox churches attracted little attention from Western Christians and virtually no converts before the latter half of the nineteenth century. Among Anglicans there was always some small effort at contact with the East, and a few Roman Catholic or Protestant scholars occasionally took notice of the Eastern churches in connection with liturgical or patristic studies. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, a definite movement began among some Western Christians to "discover" the Orthodox churches[1] and to enter into active communion with them. In many cases this proved to be traumatic, as with Joseph Overbeck and Stephen Hatherly, to mention only two of the early converts during the last century.[2] It is one thing to accept the theological ideas of Eastern Orthodoxy and quite another to immerse oneself into the realities of living Eastern churches.

Such traumatic experiences have caused "native-born" Orthodox frequently to view prospective converts with suspicion and even prejudice. Roman Catholics who are attracted to Eastern Orthodoxy often seek a relationship with one of the Greek Catholic churches. Yet these converts also soon discover that the pro-Union ideal is very different from the Uniate practice, and the consequences of that discovery can be quite difficult. Moreover, it was not until the Second Vatican Council that the Catholic Church recognized the legitimacy of the presence of different theological traditions among the particular churches comprising the *catholica*. So one may now state openly that one prefers, for instance, the Byzantine tradition to the Roman without laying oneself open to a charge of heresy or even worse.[3]

Until quite recently, the Roman authorities took it for granted that there was no legitimate reason why anyone belonging to the Roman rite should wish to join another. Such a change was considered degrading to the Roman rite and its *praestantia* and therefore it was forbidden.[4] Also, until recently the Roman authorities did not permit Roman Catholic laity who attended the Greek Catholic divine liturgy to receive Holy Communion at such celebrations, even though the Roman and Uniate churches were theoretically "in communion" with each other.[5]

One example of this comes from the life of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi himself. The Metropolitan's parents were Roman Catholics, but he was ordained a Greek Catholic priest at Przemyśl on 3 September 1892. He served his first divine liturgy at the Sheptyts'kyi family seat in Prylbychi, but because Rome still forbade Roman Catholics to receive the Holy Communion from a Greek Catholic priest, a special dispensation had to be obtained from Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). This allowed the new priest to give holy communion to his own father and mother on this one occasion, the day of his first divine liturgy. By the terms of the papal dispensation, the newly-ordained Reverend Sheptyts'kyi was allowed to give communion to his parents *before* celebrating the liturgy, but the papal dispensation required him to conduct in Latin the brief service of communicating his parents and to follow the Roman ritual using unleavened wafers which had previously been consecrated by some Roman priest and reserved for this purpose. After the brief Latin service of communion for his parents, which was conducted in private, Sheptyts'kyi went to the outdoor altar and celebrated the Byzantine divine liturgy in Church Slavonic.[6] Within such an atmosphere, it is perhaps easier to understand the difficulties faced by those Roman Catholics who sought to become Greek Catholics.

As priest, bishop, and metropolitan, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was a personage of many merits. Not least among his virtues and achievements was the fatherly care, encouragement, and assistance he gave to Western Christians who desired to become part of his church. This chapter will consider three figures, the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky, Archimandrite Lev Gillet, and Archbishop Alexis van der Mensbrugghe. These are only three of the associates and friends whom Andrei Sheptyts'kyi attracted and influenced, but they are particularly interesting as examples of the western encounter with the Christian East, of the spectrum of relationships between Uniates and other Orthodox, and of the manner in which Sheptyts'kyi's influence has spread through his spiritual sons to circles well beyond his own both during and after his lifetime.

Cyril Korolevsky

Most of our information about Cyril Korolevsky comes from the biography he wrote of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. Itself a monumental contribution to our knowledge of the Metropolitan and a mine of information about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the book is preceded by an editor's introduction apparently written by Iosyf Cardinal Slipyi, who described Korolevsky as "a great friend and co-worker of the late Metropolitan . . . who knew his most intimate secrets, his plans, his intentions, and his thoughts."[7] That recommendation alone from Sheptyts'kyi's successor would establish Korolevsky as an essential object of attention for all who wish to understand the Metropolitan. Fortunately, the book includes a biographical note on Korolevsky written by Eugène Cardinal Tisserant, former Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches.[8]

François Charon, who became Cyril Korolevsky, was born on 16 December 1878, in Caen, France, and baptized a Roman Catholic. Religiously speaking, his family was fairly typical of lower middle-class French of the time since his father was non-practicing and his mother was a pious Jansenist. By the age of ten, François was using a Latin-French missal; he preferred to read the Latin column, although he could not understand a word of it. When he made his "Solemn Communion" on 1 May 1890,[9] he perceived a vocation to the priesthood and never wavered from this goal. While still a youngster, he developed a great interest in liturgy and saved his money to purchase a complete Latin missal, a *Rituale*, a breviary, and a small *Pontificale*.

In 1893, however, François Charon chanced upon the Greek liturgy. Intrigued by the text, he began searching, and in January 1894 he attended Vespers one Saturday evening at the Greek Catholic Church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre in Paris. Although he knew nothing of the ritual and could not understand the language, he was attracted to it. This attraction endured and deepened for the rest of his life. Gradually, he ceased to attend Roman churches, frequenting Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre instead. By the autumn of 1894, his mind was made up, he would work in the East and be a Greek Catholic priest.

That François succeeded in his resolution is an eloquent witness to his tenacity. After several years of study with the Sulpicians in France, he was finally able to enter the Greek Catholic Patriarchal College at Damascus in September 1900. Living conditions were difficult and the educational level was such that the young student from France found himself teaching more than studying. As for the liturgical life, it was limited to the divine liturgy itself, served entirely in Arabic every morning. Despite these difficulties, Charon prepared a prayer-book which was published without his name in Beirut in 1902. Two years later, he published a French translation of the three liturgies, this time under the name of "Père Cyrille Charon," introducing a first name that henceforth he used exclusively. Meanwhile, he was ordained to the priesthood on 24 August 1902, by Patriarch Cyril VIII of Antioch and all the East.

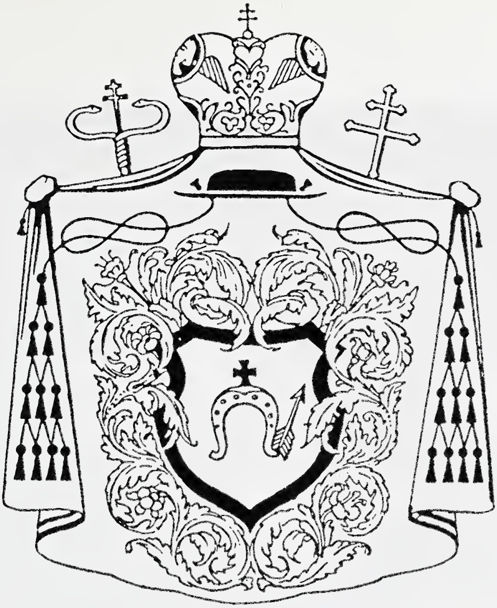
The Reverend Cyril Charon met Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi for the first time on 27 July 1906. They stayed at Pidluty, the Metropolitan's summer residence near Stryi,[10] and began a collaboration which lasted even beyond Sheptyts'kyi's death thirty-eight years later, since Korolevsky continued to work to advance the Metropolitan's intentions until his own death in 1959. During that first meeting, they considered the possibility of Charon working in Russia, where Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) had just granted limited freedom of religion. Sheptyts'kyi was always alert for any opportunity to promote church union in Russia, and Charon had somehow conceived a personal attraction towards the Russians. That, among other things, led him to change his surname from Charon to Korolevsky.[11]

Civil and canonical problems made it impossible for Korolevsky to live in Russia. However, he was formally released from the Patriarchate of Antioch, and Sheptyts'kyi incardinated him as a priest of the Eparchy of Kamianets'.[12] While this was being negotiated, Patriarch Cyril of Antioch, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, and Cyril Korolevsky were all in Rome for the great celebrations of the fifteenth centenary of the repose of Saint John Chrysostom.[13] Since Korolevsky could not live in Russia, Sheptyts'kyi assigned him to be his secretary resident in Rome and also commissioned him to work in Rome's libraries collecting documents of historic importance for the Church of Kiev-Halych. While Sheptyts'kyi's health still permitted, he often went to Rome and, in turn, Korolevsky visited L'viv fairly frequently. In addition he came to know other members of the Sheptyts'kyi family, so both the Metropolitan and his close relatives developed the habit of sending important documents and frequent letters to Korolevsky in Rome.[14]

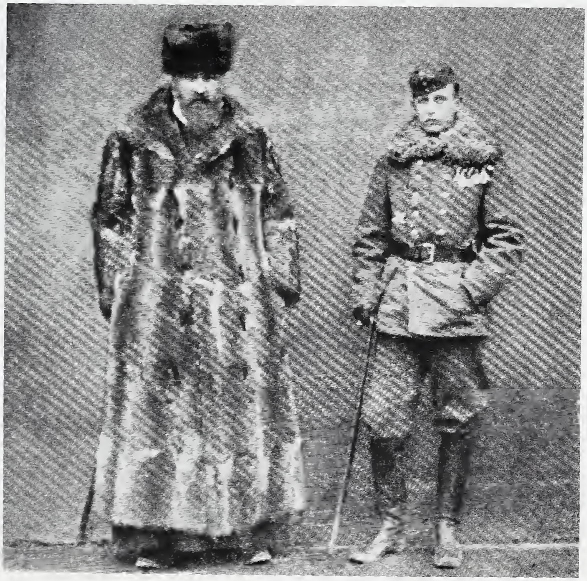
Korolevsky was conscripted into the French army during World War I. When he finally returned to Rome in 1919, he was posted to the Vatican Library, where he soon gained an unparalleled familiarity with the library's large collection of liturgical books for the various Eastern churches. It was in this period that Korolevsky, together with Tisserant, made the papal-sponsored trips to eastern Europe and the Near East in search of books. In October 1923, at Sheptyts'kyi's request, he visited the Old Believer community in Bukovina.[15]

After visiting Romania and Poland, Korolevsky arrived in L'viv on 13 January 1924. He stayed with the Metropolitan for a little over a month, and then went on to Prešov, Uzhhorod, and Mukachevo in neighboring Czechoslovakia. From there he went to Vienna and finally in April to Rome, carrying sixty-eight boxes of books. By August, he was back in eastern Europe, this time Bulgaria and Romania. Korolevsky's reports were very full and were read with great interest by Angelo Roncalli, who was assigned as papal nuncio in Bulgaria in 1925. Roncalli sought out Korolevsky in Rome, and they remained friends until Korolevsky died shortly after Roncalli became Pope John XXIII (1958-1963).

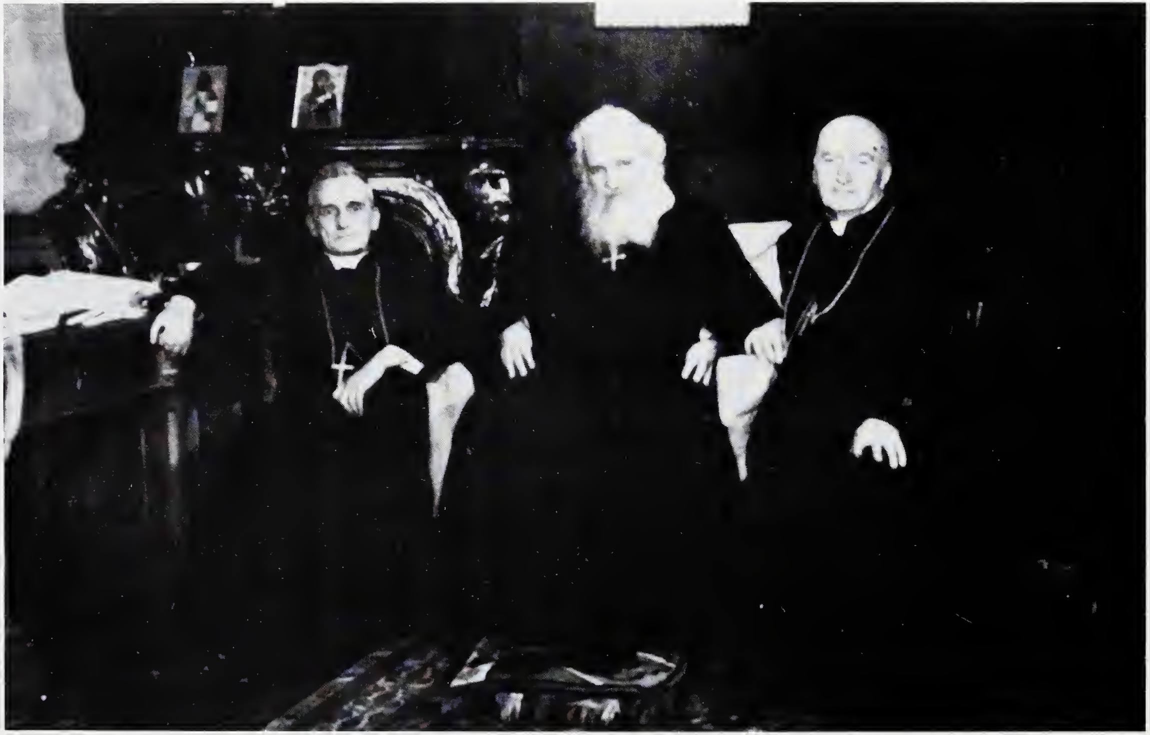
In Rome, Korolevsky continued to be at Sheptyts'kyi's service, even after Korolevsky was named consultor for the newly-created Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches in 1926. In this new capacity, it was largely Korolevsky who undertook the vast work of editing and publishing the typi-



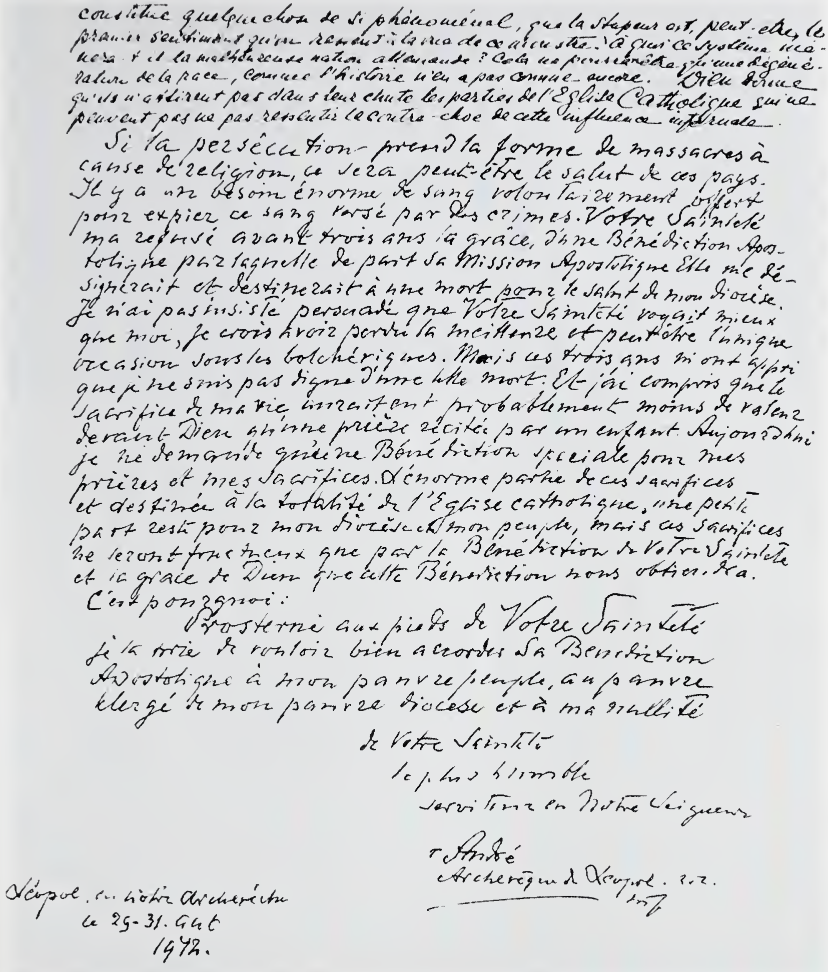
28. Coat of arms of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi.



29. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and Archduke Wilhelm von Habsburg (Vasyl' Vyshyvanyi), commander during 1918 in the southern Ukraine of the Austro-Hungarian army, which included units of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. Photograph 1918. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 108.



30. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi with fellow Catholic hierarchs at the metropolitan's residence on St. George's Hill. On the left, the Latin-rite Archbishop of Cracow, Adam Stefan Sapieha; on the right, Armenian-rite Archbishop of L'viv, Józef Teodorowicz. Photographed 1937. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.



constitue quelque chose de si phénoménal, que la stupeur est, peut-être, le premier sentiment qu'on ressent à la vue de ce monstre. A qui ce système mènera-t-il la malheureuse nation allemande? Cela ne pourra être qu'une dégénération de la race, comme l'histoire n'en a pas connue encore. Dieu donne qu'ils n'attirent pas dans leur chute les parties de l'Église Catholique qui ne peuvent pas ne pas ressentir le contre-choc de cette influence infernale.

Si la persécution prend la forme de massacres à cause de religion, ce sera peut-être le salut de ces pays. Il y a un besoin énorme de sang volontairement offert pour expier ce sang versé par des crimes. Votre Sainteté m'a refusé avant trois ans la grâce d'une Bénédiction Apostolique par laquelle de part sa Mission Apostolique Elle me désignerait et destinerait à une mort pour le salut de mon diocèse. Je n'ai pas insisté persuadé que Votre Sainteté voyait mieux que moi, je crois avoir perdu la meilleure et peut-être l'unique occasion sous les bolchéviques. Mais ces trois ans m'ont appris que je ne suis pas digne d'une telle mort. Et j'ai compris que le sacrifice de ma vie aurait probablement moins de valeur devant Dieu qu'une prière récitée par un enfant. Aujourd'hui je ne demande qu'une Bénédiction spéciale pour mes prières et mes sacrifices. L'énorme partie de ces sacrifices est destinée à la totalité de l'Église catholique, une petite part reste pour mon diocèse et mon peuple, mais ces sacrifices ne seront fructueux que par la Bénédiction de Votre Sainteté et la grâce de Dieu que cette Bénédiction nous obtiendra.

C'est pourquoi:

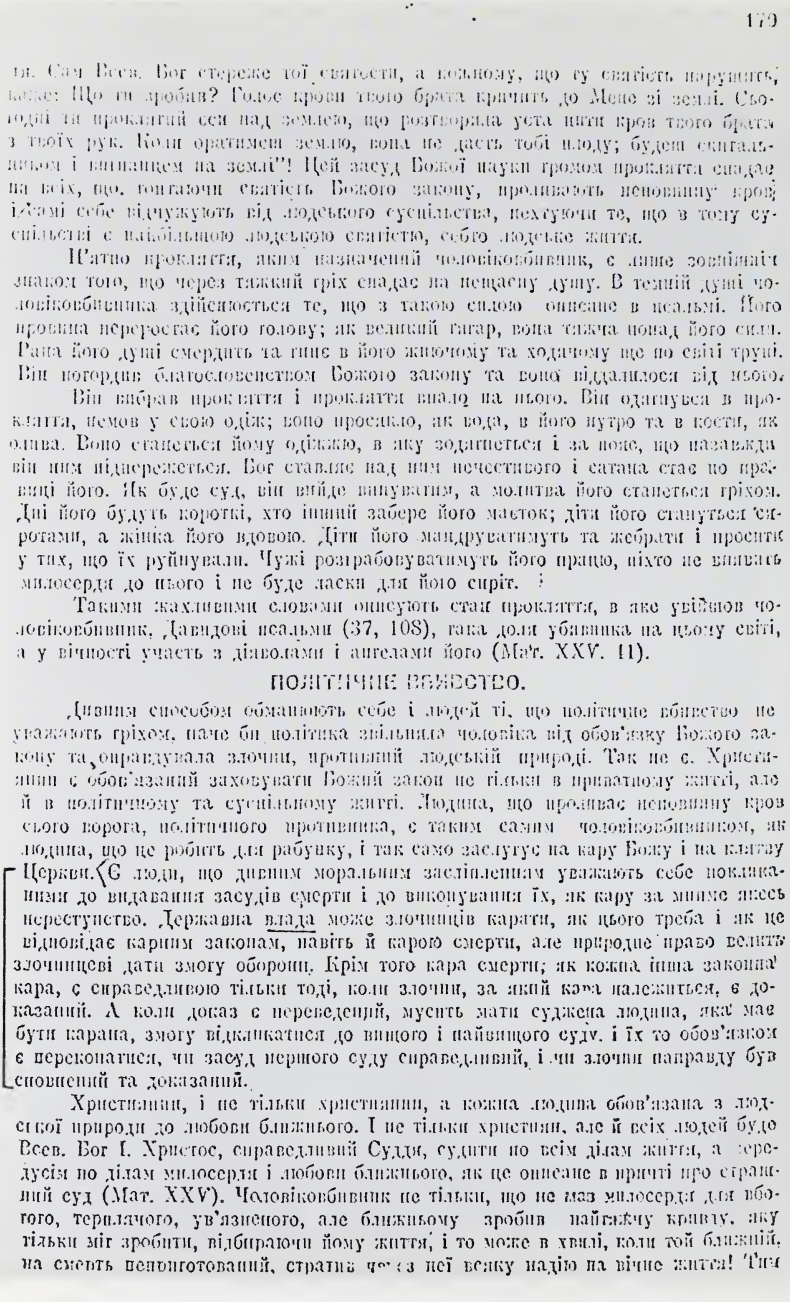
Prosterné aux pieds de Votre Sainteté je la prie de vouloir bien accorder Sa Bénédiction Apostolique à mon pauvre peuple, au pauvre clergé de mon pauvre diocèse et à ma nullité

de Votre Sainteté
le plus humble
serviteur en Notre Seigneur

+ André
Archevêque de Léopol. r.r.

Léopol, en notre Archevêché
le 29-31. Août
1942.

31. Facsimile of the last page of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Pope Pius XII, dated L'viv August 29–31, 1942, in which he refers to the German regime as a monster (*monstre*) and in which he states—in a hand that was obviously trembling—that he is "no longer worthy" of a martyr's death. Source: *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les Pays baltes, 1939–1945*, pt. 2: *1942–1945*, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde guerre mondiale, Vol. III (Vatican City, 1967), facing p. 628.



ти. Сам Всев. Бог стереже тої святости, а кожному, що су святість нарушить, каже: Що ти зробив? Голос крови твого брата кричить до Мене зі землі. Сьогодні ти проклятий єси над землею, що розтворила уста пити кров твого брата з твоїх рук. Коли оратимеш землю, вона не дасть тобі плоду; будеш скитальцем і вигнанцем на землі"! Цей засуд Божої науки громом прокляття спадає на всіх, що, топтаючи святість Божого закону, проливають неповинну кров і самі себе відчужують від людського суспільства, нехтуючи те, що в тому суспільстві є найбільшою людською святістю, себто людське життя.

П'ятно прокляття, яким назначений чоловіковбивник, є лише зовнішнім знаком того, що через тяжкий гріх спадає на нещасну душу. В темній душі чоловіковбивника здійснюється те, що з такою силою описане в псальмі. Його провина переростає його голову; як великий тягар, вона тяжча понад його сили. Рана його душі смердить та гниє в його живучому та ходячому ще по світі трупі. Він погордив благословенством Божого закону та воно віддалилося від нього.

Він вибрав прокляття і прокляття впало на нього. Він одягнувся в прокляття, немов у свою одіж; воно просякло, як вода, в його нутро та в кости, як олива. Воно станеться йому одіжжю, в яку зодягнеться і за пояс, що назавжди він ним підпережеться. Бог ставляє над ним нечестивого і сатана стає по правиці його. Як буде суд, він вийде винуватим, а молитва його станеться гріхом. Дні його будуть короткі, хто інший забере його маєток; діти його стануться сиротами, а жінка його вдовою. Діти його мандруватимуть та жебрати і просити у тих, що їх руйнували. Чужі розграбовуватимуть його працю, ніхто не виявить милосердя до нього і не буде ласки для його сиріт.

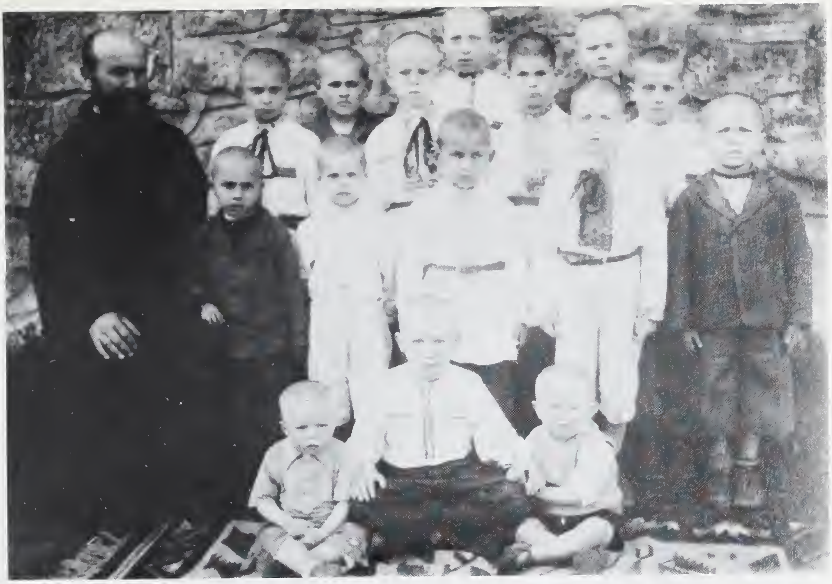
Такими жахливими словами описують стан прокляття, в яке увійшов чоловіковбивник, Давидові псальми (37, 108), така доля убивника на цьому світі, а у вічності участь з дияволами і ангелами його (Мат. XXV. 41).

ПОЛІТИЧНЕ ВБИВСТВО.

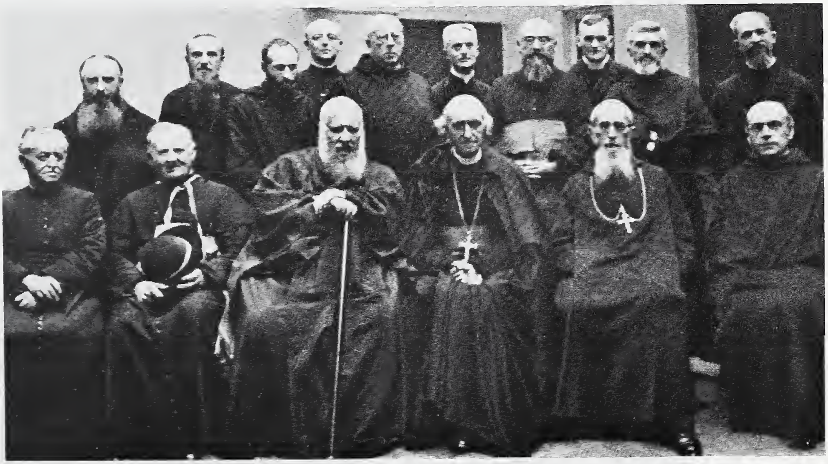
Дивним способом обманюють себе і людей ті, що політичне вбивство не уважають гріхом, наче би політика звільняла чоловіка від обов'язку Божого закону та оправдувала злочини, противний людській природі. Так не є. Християнин є обов'язаний заховувати Божий закон не тільки в приватному житті, але й в політичному та суспільному житті. Людина, що проливає неповинну кров свого ворога, політичного противника, є таким самим чоловіковбивником, як людина, що це робить для рабунку, і так само заслугує на кару Божу і на клятву Церкви. Є люди, що дивним моральним засліпленням уважають себе покликаними до видавання засудів смерти і до виконування їх, як кару за мниме якесь переступство. Державна влада може злочинців карати, як цього треба і як це відповідає карним законам, навіть й карою смерти, але природне право велить злочинцеві дати змогу оборони. Крім того кара смерти, як кожна інша законна кара, є справедливою тільки тоді, коли злочин, за який кара належиться, є доказаний. А коли доказ є переведений, мусить мати суджена людина, яка має бути карана, змогу відкликатися до вищого і найвищого суду, і їх то обов'язком є переконатися, чи засуд першого суду справедливий, і чи злочин направду був сповнений та доказаний.

Християнин, і не тільки християнин, а кожна людина обов'язана з людської природи до любови ближнього. І не тільки християн, але й всіх людей буде Всев. Бог І. Христос, справедливий Суддя, судити по всім ділам життя, а передусім по ділам милосердя і любови ближнього, як це описане в притчі про страшний суд (Мат. XXV). Чоловіковбивник не тільки, що не мав милосердя для вбогого, терплячого, ув'язненого, але ближньому зробив найтяжчу кривду, яку тільки міг зробити, відбираючи йому життя, і то може в хвилі, коли той ближній, на смерть неприготований, стратив через неї всяку надію на вічне життя! Тим

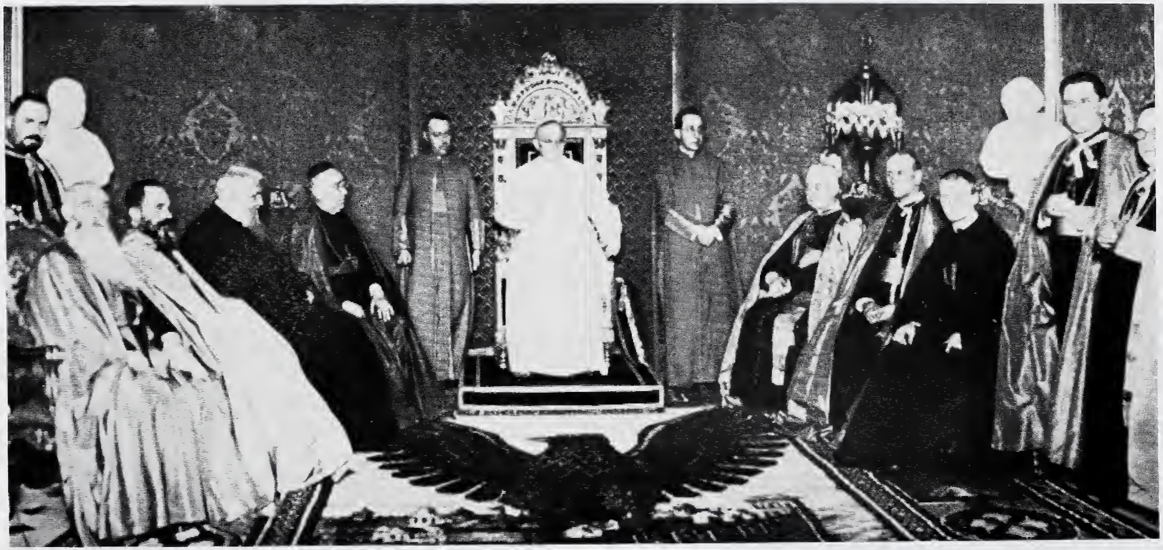
32. The section on political murder from the first uncensored version of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," in the *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosty*, LV, 11 (L'viv, 1942), p. 179. Courtesy of Hansjakob Stehle, Rome.



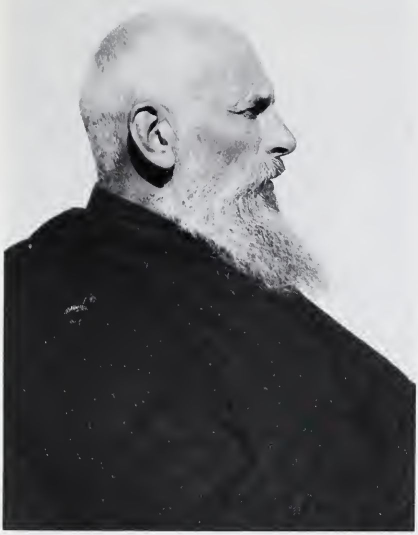
33. Children under the care of Studite monks at the Monastery of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Univ. Three of these children are Jewish and represent part of a small group of Jewish children saved by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. The third boy from the left in row three is Levko Chaminski (now Dr. Leon Chameides of West Hartford, Connecticut). The fourth boy from the left in row two is Oded Amarant (now living in Tel Aviv, Israel). The name and whereabouts of the third Jewish child—third from the left in row two—is unknown. Photographed probably in the fall of 1943. Courtesy of Dr. Leon Chameides, West Hartford, Connecticut.



34. A pro-Union conference in Belgium. Seated (left to right): Abbot Fernand Portal; Msgr. Joseph Schyrgens; Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi; Cardinal Désirée Joseph Mercier; Msgr. Gerard van Caloen, OSB; Dom Lambert Beauduin. Standing (left to right): Dom Alphonse, OSB; Reverend Stanisław Tyszkiewicz, SJ; Reverend Lev Gillet, Studite; Reverend Willaet, SJ; Reverend Augustin von Gallen, OSB; Reverend de la Taille, SJ; Msgr. Sipiuguine; Reverend Nikoloff. Photographed September 1925. Courtesy of the Reverend Ivan Muzyczka, Rome.

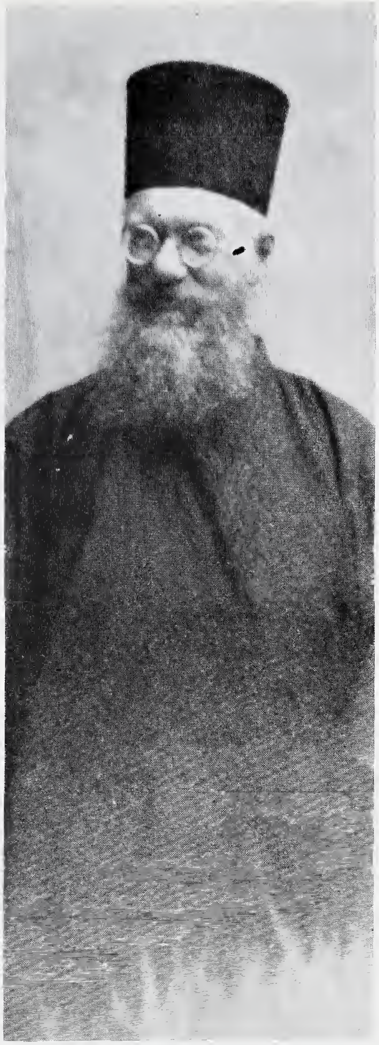


35. Audience of Pope Pius XI with the Greek Catholic hierarchy on the occasion of its episcopal congress convened by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in Rome. From the left: Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky (standing), Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'kyi, Bishop Dionysii Niaradii, Cardinal Sincero, Pope Pius XI, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn (seated to right of Pope), Bishop Hryhorii Lakota, Bishop Pavlo Goidych, Bishop Ivan Liatyshevs'kyi (standing), Bishop Ivan Buchko. Photographed October 29, 1929. Source: Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustranta*, Vol. II (Rome, 1954), plate opposite p. 144.

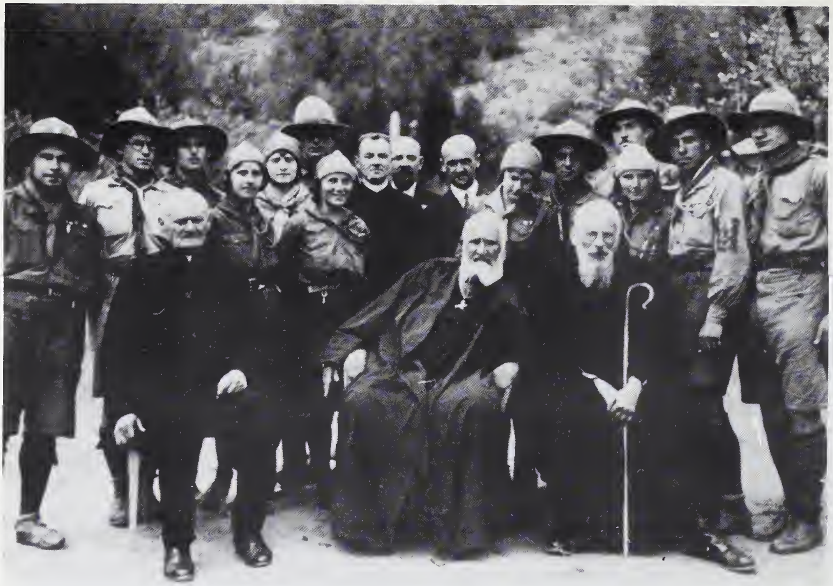


36. Kazimierz/Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, brother of the Metropolitan, archimandrite of the Studite order, during a visit to the family home in Prylbychi. Photographed 1936. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

38. Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, Archbishop of Düsseldorf of the Moscow Patriarchate's Exarchate in western Europe. Photographed circa 1976. Courtesy of the Reverend Brian Keleher.



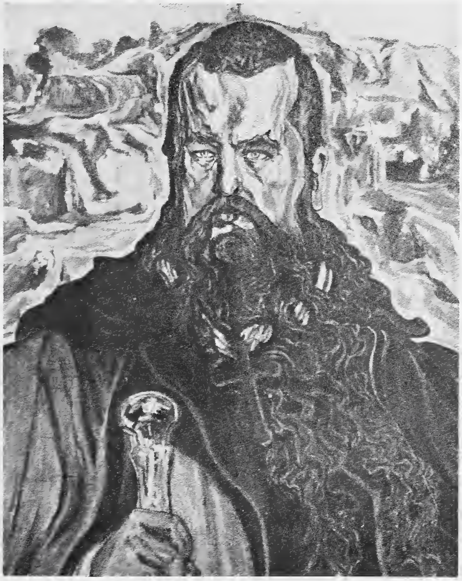
37. Reverend Cyril Korolevsky (François Charon). Photographed circa 1924. Source: *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, XIII, 2 (London, 1959), plate opposite p. 88.



39. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his brother, Archimandrite Klymentii, at the Metropolitan's estate in Pidliute, donated in 1927 for the use of the Ukrainian scouting organization Plast. Photographed c. 1928. Courtesy of Joyce Chyrski, Toronto.

40. The Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi Ukrainian Hospital in L'viv opened in 1938 in part with funding from the Metropolitan as a continuation of the Narodna Lichnytsia (People's Clinic). Courtesy of Joyce Chyrski.

41. The Ukrainian National Museum, L'viv, founded 1913. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 250.



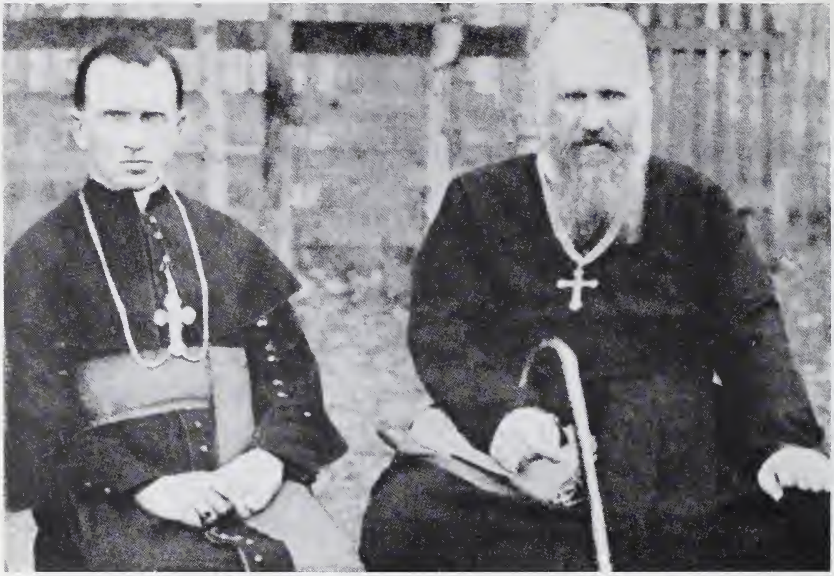
42. "Moses," portrait of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi by Oleksa Novakivs'kyi, 1925. Source: Ursula Maria Schuver, *De reus op de Sint-Jorisberg* (Rotterdam, 1959), plate opposite page 64.

43. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi posing for his portrait by Mykhailo Moroz. Photographed circa 1930. Courtesy of Joyce Chyrski, Toronto.

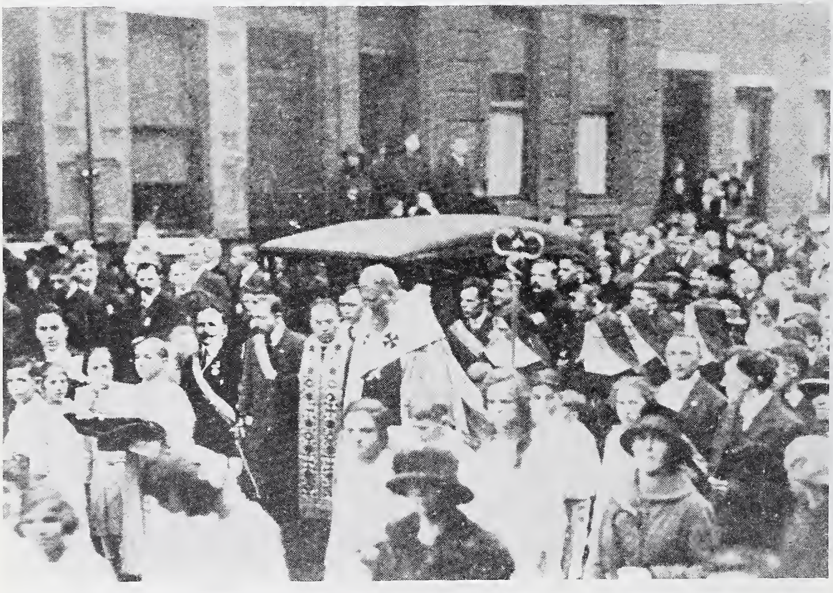
44. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in Moscow on the eve of his departure from the Russian Empire. Left to right: the Reverends Kwiatkowski, Polish Catholic (standing); Ziliński, Polish Catholic; Br. Irynei Hotra; the Metropolitan Paušta, Lithuanian Catholic (standing); Harasimovich, Belorussian Catholic. Source: Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1955), p. 112.

45. Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi (right) meets with former activists in the Russian Catholic Church in St. Petersburg, Prince Volkonskii and Princess Elizaveta Volkonskaia, outside the metropolitan's residence on St. George's Hill, L'viv. Photographed 1936. Courtesy of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Szeptycki Family Archive, Warsaw.

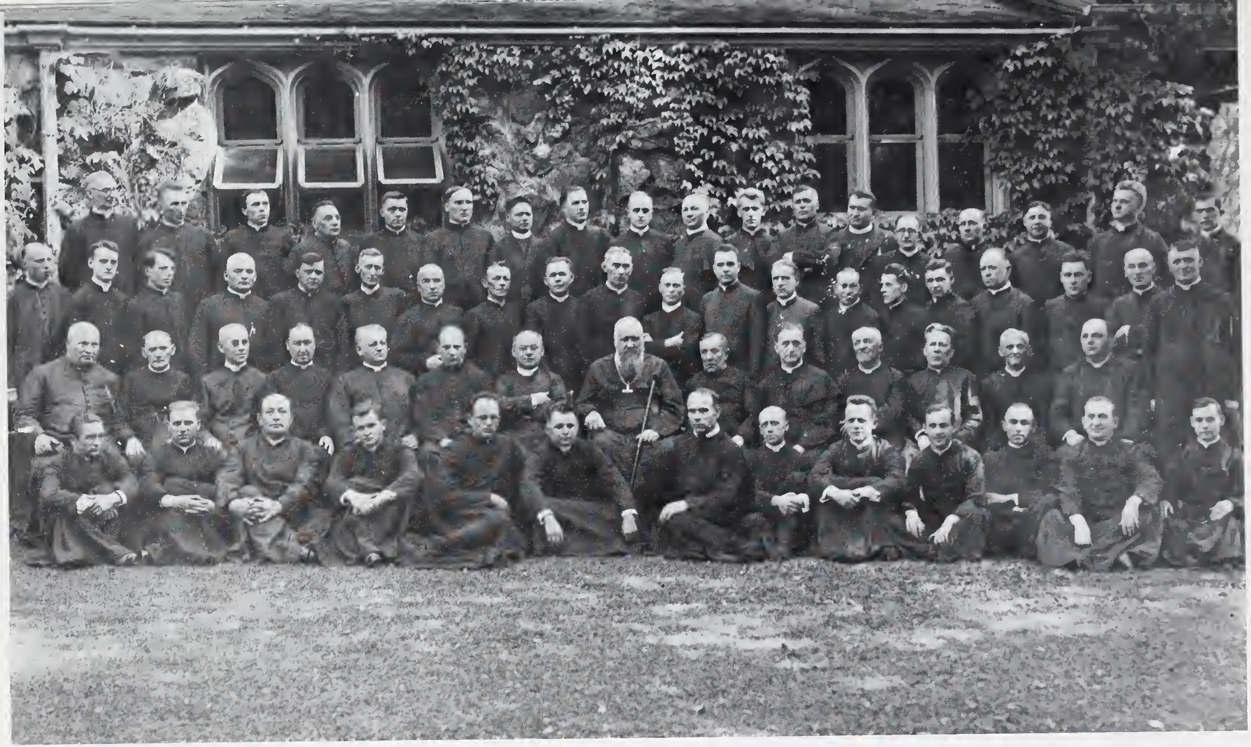
46. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi with the Redemptorist community in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. First row: the Reverends N. Decamps (second from left), Achilles Delaere, the Metropolitan, Henrich Boels, and Brother Idesbald. Photographed 1910. Source: *Memories of a Mother* (Winnipeg, 1982), p. 42.



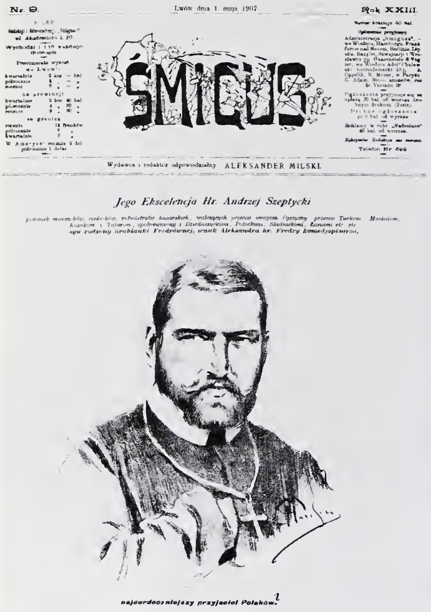
47. Bishop Nykyta Budka and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi during the latter's second visit to Canada. Photographed 1922. Courtesy of Joyce Chyrski, Toronto.



48. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in the procession to consecrate the Greek Catholic (today Ukrainian Catholic) Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photographed October 2, 1910. Courtesy of the Ukrainian Museum Archives, New York.



49. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi at a retreat for Greek Catholic priests in the United States at the Catholic Home in Bernardsville, New Jersey. To the immediate right of the Metropolitan is the Reverend Peter Poniatyshyn, administrator of the Galician (Ukrainian) jurisdiction; on his left is the Reverend Gabriel Martyak, administrator of the Carpatho-Rusyn (Byzantine Ruthenian) jurisdiction. Photographed September 1922. Courtesy of the Heritage Institute, Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Diocese of Passaic.



Nr. 9. Lwów dnia 1 maja 1907 Rok XXIII.

ŚMIGUS

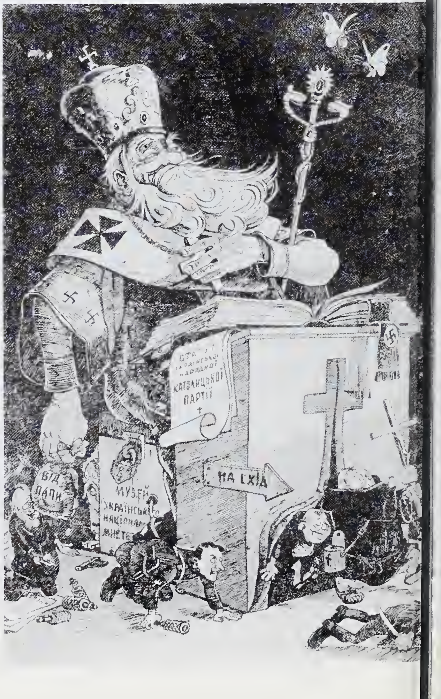
Wydawca i redaktor odpowiedzialny ALEKSANDER MILSKI

Jego Ekscelencja Hr. Andrzej Szeptycki

potomek mieczników, cześników, rotmistrzów husarskich, walczących przeciw wrogom Ojczyzny przeciw Turkom, Moskalom, Kozakom i Tatarom, spokrewniony z Dzieduszyckimi, Potockimi, Stadnickimi, Łosiami etc. etc. syn rodzony hrabianki Fredrówny, wnuk Aleksandra hr. Fredry komedjopisarza,

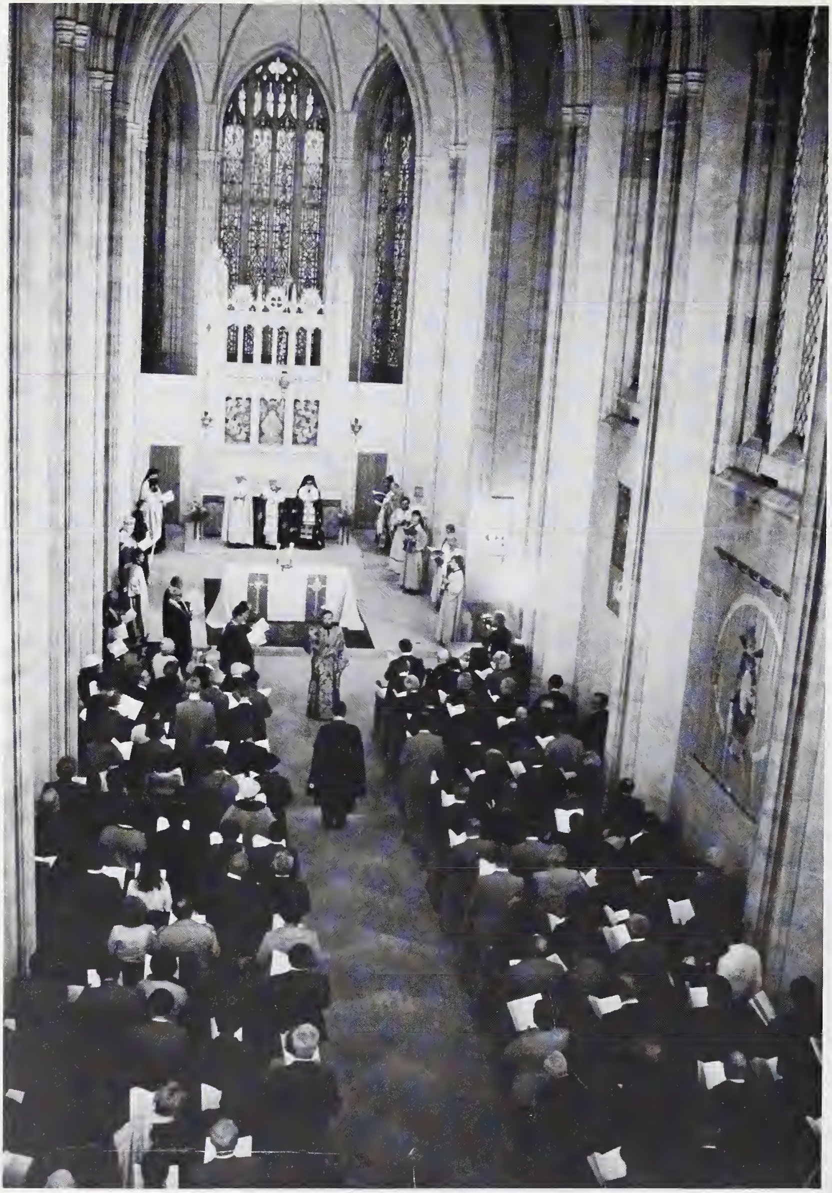
najserdeczniejszy przyjaciel Polaków.

50. Title page from the Polish satirical journal *Śmigus* (L'viv), May 1, 1907, reflecting the critical attitude of the Polish National Democratic Party (Endecja) toward the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. The ironic caption above and below the caricature reads: His Excellency, Count Andrzej Szeptycki, descendant of the sword-bearers, cup-bearers, captains of the Husar guard, defenders against the enemies of the Fatherland, against the Turks, the Muscovites, the Cossacks and the Tatars; related to the Dzieduszyckis, Potockis, Stadnickis, Łośes, etc., etc.; the son of Countess Fredro and grandson of the author of comedies Count Aleksander Fredro; and the most sincere friend of the Poles. The initial list of military ranks is an allusion to characters in the comedies of Sheptyts'kyi's maternal grandfather, Aleksander Fredro, one of the most popular nineteenth-century Polish writers. Courtesy of Andrzej Zięba, Cracow.


СТАТУТ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАРОДНОЇ КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ПАРТІЇ
НА ЛХІА
МУЗЕЙ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАЦІОНАЛІСТІВ
ВІД ПАПИ

51. A caricature of the Metropolitan by V. Hryhorii and K. Poliankova entitled, "The Velvet Dictator," that is typical of recent Soviet publications. Source: V. Beliaev and M. Rudnyts'kyi, *Pid chuzhymy praporamy* (Kiev, 1958), p. 195.

52. Robarts Library Exhibit to Commemorate Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1865–1944, on the Occasion of the International Conference, "Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: His Life and Work," University of Toronto. Photographed, November 22, 1984. Courtesy of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto.



53. Ecumenical prayer service (*moleben*) in memory of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, Trinity College Anglican Chapel, University of Toronto. Presiding clergy (before the altar): Bishop Isidore Borecky, Ukrainian Catholic Church; Bishop Henry Hill, Anglican Church; Archbishop Joseph Raya, Greek Melkite Church. Participating clergy: Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk and Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn, Ukrainian Catholic Church; Bishop J. Niemiński, Polish National Catholic Church; Reverend Hans Skoutajan, United Church of Canada. Photographed November 24, 1984. Courtesy of Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto.

cal editions of the service-books for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, with the accompanying purification of the liturgy which was so close to Sheptyts'kyi's heart. This project consumed most of Korolevsky's time from about 1930 until the end of his life.[16]

The desire to restore liturgical authenticity was as dear to Korolevsky as to the Metropolitan. This became quite evident as early as 1927, when Korolevsky published in *Irénikon*, a sixty-four page study entitled simply *L'Uniatisme*. It was an analysis of liturgical and spiritual corruption in the Eastern Catholic churches. The booklet raised a furor. The Basilians were especially vitriolic in their attack upon the author,[17] and in a private conversation with Korolevsky even Sheptyts'kyi suggested that the booklet was lacking in charity.[18] The controversy over *L'Uniatisme* has still not fully subsided, even though his analysis of the problem remains very cogent. As Korolevsky himself emphasized: "Those most determined to carry out the purification of the Eastern Catholic rites are precisely those who are of Latin origin and have joined the Eastern rites . . . Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi is not the least among the initiators of this movement."[19]

Despite the close of World War II, the death of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, and the imprisonment by the Soviet authorities of his successor Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi (1944-1984), Korolevsky continued to collect historical documents on the Church of Kiev-Halych as Sheptyts'kyi had commissioned him forty years earlier. When Korolevsky died in 1959, Metropolitan Slipyi was still in prison. However, when Slipyi was released and arrived in Rome in 1963, he was able to repossess and publish most of the documents collected by Korolevsky, which remain an invaluable source for Ukrainian history.[20] Korolevsky's last important project was his biography of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, written between 1955 and 1957 but not published until after the author's death.

Besides the activities mentioned here, related as they are to Sheptyts'kyi, Korolevsky accomplished much more. Perhaps this will become known when a full-length biography of Korolevsky is written. In the interim, it might be mentioned that Korolevsky was certainly eccentric, as his own writings and numerous anecdotes told by his friends demonstrate. In the early part of his life he was "unstable," in the sense in which superiors who prize conformity and malleability above everything else like to use the word. Korolevsky did not suffer fools gladly. He had strong opinions which he did not hesitate to express, and he supported them with solid research and facts.[21]

However, once given, Korolevsky's loyalty was never withdrawn. He served the Metropolitan in everything to his own dying day. This resulted in a prodigious reform of liturgical books, the collection of several volumes of precious documents, and invaluable help to Sheptyts'kyi in many projects, especially those involving Rome. In turn, Korolevsky had an incalculable effect on the direction of the Eastern churches in this century. For the French convert Cyril Korolevsky, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi epitomized the Eastern Christian world. His devotion is expressed in the closing words of his monumental biography of the Metropolitan: "I have never wished to pray for Metropolitan Andrei, because I am certain that after all he did and suffered, God received him at once into heavenly blessedness. More than that, I pray to him myself every day."[22]

Lev Gillet

Like François Charon, Louis (Lev) Gillet was French. He was associated with Sheptyts'kyi in the restoration of the Studites, in the effort to involve the Benedictines in work for and with the Eastern churches, and in ecumenical relations. Gillet also served the Metropolitan in L'viv for a time as secretary for matters in western European languages.

Gillet was born on 8 August 1892 in the town of Saint Marcellin in south-central France.[23] He attended university for a time in Geneva, and just after World War I he entered Farnborough Abbey (a Benedictine House founded by the Empress Eugénie) in England. The Abbey sent him to San Anselmo, in Rome, where he became associated with Dom Lambert Beauduin.[24] Although the exact chronology of Gillet's career in this period is very uncertain, it is thought that he met Sheptyts'kyi when the Metropolitan visited Farnborough Abbey.[25] In the summer of 1924, after a change in administration at Farnborough, the new abbot would not admit Gillet to final vows because of his involvement with Beauduin's ecumenical work.[26] Gillet thereupon went to L'viv, where he joined the Studites and Sheptyts'kyi ordained him hieromonk with the name of "Father Lev." Sheptyts'kyi then appointed Gillet his secretary for correspondence in western European languages.

Because Gillet was a Studite, he served the liturgy according to the pure Byzantine-Slav recension and not the hybrid form common in Galicia. Forty years later, Gillet recounted to me how, on one occasion when he was serving in the Metropolitan's chapel in L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi himself came in and noted Gillet carefully cutting the nine triangular-shaped particles of bread at the prothesis table to represent the nine ranks of saints as prescribed by the *Liturgikon*. When Gillet had finished, the Metropolitan smiled and asked: "Do you think the divine liturgy would still be valid had you only used *eight* particles for the saints?!"

Forty years after the event, Gillet recounted a confidential mission he had carried out for the Metropolitan in 1925. According to Gillet (admittedly I have never seen anything to corroborate this story, although it is not inherently unbelievable), Sheptyts'kyi sent him to a private meeting with "Emperor" Cyril, the surviving Romanov claimant to the Russian throne, with a proposal to bring the Patriarchate of Moscow into communion with Rome and to establish what would now be termed "Major Archbishops" at Kiev and Minsk for the Ukrainians and Belorussians respectively. According to Gillet, Cyril Romanov accepted this proposal. Nothing ever came of it, of course, and everyone involved is now dead.

Gillet was a prolific writer, although most of his articles and books were published anonymously (often simply by "a monk of the Eastern Church"), and no one has yet compiled a bibliography. However, the writings do provide some insight into his relations with Sheptyts'kyi. In an article published on the eve of the Metropolitan's death, Gillet mentioned that he had been involved with Sheptyts'kyi in drafting the apostolic letter, "*Equidem Verba*," to Abbot Primate Fidelis von Stotzingen in 1923. In that letter, Pius XI (1922-1939) requested that the Benedictines take on the apostolate of working for reunion with the Eastern churches. According to the article, two years later Sheptyts'kyi and Gillet were together closely involved in the foundation of the Benedictine Priory of Amay (now at Chevetogne) in Belgium for the same work.[27]

Like his spiritual father Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, Gillet was fully committed to the ecumenical movement. As a result, he was deeply troubled by the encyclical letter, "*Mortalium Animos*" (6 January 1928), in which Pope Pius XI discouraged further Catholic participation in ecumenical encounters.[28] Gillet turned to Sheptyts'kyi for help and counsel. What eventually took place had Sheptyts'kyi's knowledge and approval, according to Gillet. Even though there is no documentary evidence, the Metropolitan never denied Gillet's version of the events. On Sunday, 25 May 1928, Gillet concelebrated the divine liturgy in a small chapel at Clamart, near Paris, with Metropolitan Evlogii Georgievskii (1921-1946) of the Russian Orthodox Church in western Europe. The service involved some famous Orthodox names, including Nikolai Berdiaev, Sergei Bulgakov, and Georges Florovsky. Gillet was not required to undergo any act of reception or conversion, nor to recant anything, and Metropolitan Evlogii formally invited Gillet to continue commemorating Sheptyts'kyi in the divine liturgy. Evlogii had a warm relationship with the Metropolitan, so it is probable that he acted on the basis of some sort of understanding with Sheptyts'kyi in the matter.[29]

In principle, Lev Gillet had adopted Vladimir Solov'ëv's position of establishing communion with one church without breaking with the other.[30] Gillet pointed out that according to Uniate canon law there was no ipso facto sanction against a priest for *communicatio in sacris*; that no declaratory sentence was ever made against him; and, therefore, that he remained a Catholic priest in good standing, serving in the Russian Orthodox Church by the mutual agreements of the two hierarchs initially involved. While this is certainly exceptional, it is not quite unprecedented.

This must have placed Sheptyts'kyi in a delicate position in view of the anti-ecumenical stand of Rome. To some degree, this explains the lack of documentation on the matter and the resultant controversy over the affair that still exists. Georgiadis had this to say in her obituary for Gillet:

> Those with knowledge of his ecclesiastical background were puzzled by his canonical status: a priest recognized as belonging to the Orthodox Com-

> munion who yet insisted that when he joined the Russian Orthodox Church in France in the 1920s he had never been asked to abjure his Roman Catholic faith. Nor was he ever to do so.
>
> The evident paradoxes in his situation were all the more striking because he had a very precise and tenacious adherence to the formal requirements of ecclesiastical canon law.
>
> . . . . .
>
> His transfer in 1928 to the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Evlogii in Paris 'by concelebration' is one of the mysteries of Fr Lev's life, and his friends have placed various interpretations on his adherence to the Orthodox Church. His personal affirmation was that he identified himself with Solov'ëv's position: that there is no intrinsic incompatibility in being Catholic and in communion with the Russian Orthodox Church because the two Churches were separated only by historical vicissitudes and not by any canonical impediment.
>
> Metropolitan Szeptytski and the then Archbishop Evlogii had known one another in Lvov, and Fr Lev maintained that his move had the full knowledge and approval of Szeptytski. It would seem from Fr Lev's address at Metropolitan Evlogii's memorial service in 1945 that this understanding was also shared by Evlogii . . . His vocation was visionary and prophetic rather than an invitation to others to copy his example.[31]

David Balfour, with some evident reluctance, supports the account and interpretation presented by Georgiadis and adds the information that Gillet continued to avail himself of sacramental confession at the hands of Roman Catholic priests.[32]

Until his death on 29 March 1980, Lev Gillet continued in the service of the ecumenical movement, especially through the Fellowship of Saints Alban and Sergius.[33] He spent two full days testifying under oath about the sanctity of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi before a tribunal which convened at Westminster Cathedral in London in order to take testimony on behalf of the postulator for the Metropolitan's beatification at Rome.[34] Despite such devotion, it is distressing to note that as late as 1974 no one in the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate in England was aware that Lev Gillet was residing in London, nor did any other Ukrainian Catholics seem to realize who he was in relation to Sheptyts'kyi. Such estrangement toward converts from the West may be characteristic of the Eastern churches, which Gillet once described in terms which many who came from the West will appreciate:

> . . . a strange Church, so poor and so weak . . . a Church of contrasts, at the same time so traditional and so free, so archaic and so alive, so ritualistic and so personally mystical, a Church where the pearl of great price is so preciously preserved, sometimes under a layer of dust, a Church

> which has often been unable to act, but which can sing out the joy of Easter like no other. . . [35]

Yet it was figures like Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi who continued to attract people like Lev Gillet. In Gillet's own words:

> Only he who has seen the metropolitan living among his people at Lvov can clearly picture the life of one of the great Eastern bishops of the fourth century. The people surround him with their veneration; they press forward to kiss his hands or his robe. He orders his diocese less by methods of administration than by long and intimate conversations: *cor ad cor loquitur*. His is a great heart, full of generosity and nobility; he is a man of prayer and faith, without a trace of sentimentality, but with the strength, goodness and realism of a patriarch. Young men from Holland, France, and England have sought from him formation and spiritual direction. It may have happened, in certain cases, that the circumstances of life have painfully severed the external link, but the interior bond with "Father Metropolitan" (as he likes to be called), the impression he leaves, and affection remain unchanged.[36]

Alexis van der Mensbrugghe

Unlike the French-born Charon and Gillet, Albert Gerard Joseph van der Mensbrugghe was Belgian, born on 9 July 1899, into a very old aristocratic Flemish Catholic family, in the eastern Flanders village of Saint Nicholas-Waas. Two of his uncles were priests, two of his brothers became priests, and three sisters became nuns. Others from his family were in the Belgian diplomatic service. French was the usual language of the household but he eventually learned Flemish, English, German, Latin, Greek, and Church-Slavonic, to say nothing of other languages which he did not really speak but "could manage."[37]

In 1919, van der Mensbrugghe entered the Benedictine Abbey of Saint André at Brugge, taking the monastic name of Maurus. He studied at Mont César (the Benedictine house of studies at the University of Louvain) until 1925. In August of that year, Desirée-Joseph Cardinal Mercier, archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, ordained him priest. Cardinal Mercier was a great friend and supporter of Sheptyts'kyi, and it was he who introduced van der Mensbrugghe to the Metropolitan.

At that very time, Sheptyts'kyi was in the process of restoring Studite monastic life, and he wanted the assistance of some good Benedictine monks. He requested the Abbot of St. André to assign Dom Maurus van der Mensbrugghe to assist him. In 1925 or 1926, the Belgian priest-monk went to L'viv and soon became acquainted with the whole group of Sheptyts'kyi's associates, including Gillet and Korolevsky from the West, and Ukrainians such as Havriïl Kostel'nyk and Iosyf Slipyi. Dom Lambert Beauduin, another Belgian, came to L'viv in connection with the project to organize the Priory at Amay. Beauduin convinced Sheptyts'kyi to release van der Mensbrugghe to Amay. So van der Mensbrugghe left L'viv, and did not return until 1960, when he went as a newly-consecrated bishop of the Moscow Patriarchate to serve a *panachida* over Sheptyts'kyi's relics in the crypt of Saint George's Cathedral. Alexis van der Mensbrugghe treasured a small portrait of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and carried it everywhere until his own death in 1980.

At some point in the latter 1920s, van der Mensbrugghe and Sheptyts'kyi met in Rome, and the two stopped by chance in one of the churches of the city. On discovering that devotions in progress involved a large glass heart filled with some red fluid, with a blinking light bulb behind the apparatus, the two of them hastily withdrew, and when they were back on the street, Sheptyts'kyi commented: "if that is not idolatry, I don't know what is!"[38]

Early in 1928, van der Mensbrugghe had virtually decided to enter the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Evlogii, the same bishop who had received Lev Gillet. In an effort to dissuade van der Mensbrugghe from this intention, Beauduin assigned him to spend a year as chaplain to the Benedictine nuns of Kylemore Abbey, in the west of Ireland. He went and rather enjoyed the experience. Meanwhile, however, the Amay Priory reached near-collapse and Dom Lambert was removed. So his own abbot summoned van der Mensbrugghe back to Saint-André. There, the abbot inquired into van der Mensbrugghe's theological opinions. On learning what they were, the abbot told van der Mensbrugghe that he did not belong in the Roman Catholic Church. Metropolitan Evlogii received him on Easter, 1929, at Saint Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Paris, with the name of Alexis.

For the next ten years van der Mensbrugghe was chaplain for two Scottish ladies in Gloucestershire, England. During the 1930s, he also worked closely with the Fellowship of Saints Alban and Sergius (contributing much to their well-known *Prayer-Book*) as well as studying at Oxford and the British Museum. He published a study of sophiology, *From Dyad to Triad* (1935), and contributed to such journals as *Sobornost* and *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, although, like Korolevsky and Gillet, he often did not sign his work.[39] During his stay in England, van der Mensbrugghe became a British subject, and when World War II erupted, he (as the only Orthodox priest in the country with a British passport) became Orthodox chaplain for the British armed forces. At first there were very few Orthodox, but as troops arrived from Canada, where there is a large Orthodox population, and also from eastern Europe, van der Mensbrugghe found himself with a large, diverse, and scattered flock to look after. As if that were not enough, he was also assigned to serve the Romanian Orthodox parish in London. The practical consequence was that Alexis van der Mensbrugghe spent the war years serving in London on weekends and travelling by boat and rail all over the United Kingdom to serve scattered groups of Orthodox during the week.

When the war ended, he was assigned first as professor of patristics and ancient liturgy, and then in 1959 as professor of dogmatic theology at an Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris. On 31 August 1960, the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow elected van der Mensbrugghe bishop of Meudon and vicar of the Moscow Patriarchate's Exarchate in western Europe. He was consecrated bishop in Paris on 1 November 1960. Eight years later, Bishop van der Mensbrugghe was transferred to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Like many others who have come from Europe to North America, van der Mensbrugghe was startled by the differences in church life on the two continents, and he never became accustomed to the situation. He found a lack of effective belief in the divine authority of the episcopate among Orthodox in North America, and what he considered a shocking neglect of divine services.

Van der Mensbrugghe's criticisms of Orthodoxy in North America became most important in 1969, with the proposal to grant autocephaly to the Russian Metropolia in the United States and the resultant great uncertainty as to the eventual fate of the parishes of the Moscow Exarchate. He did not like the secret negotiations which were taking place and he did not consider that the proposed autocephaly would be for the ultimate good of the church in North America. These conclusions placed him in opposition to the evident wishes of powerful figures in the hierarchy. When eventually the entire episcopate of the Moscow Patriarchate was formally asked to vote in writing on the granting of the autocephaly, Bishop van der Mensbrugghe cast the only known negative ballot.[40] After van der Mensbrugghe refused to enter the autocephalous Orthodox Church in America (the former Russian Metropolia), the Holy Synod of Moscow raised him to the rank of archbishop in April 1970 and assigned him temporarily to Mexico and then to Düsseldorf, West Germany, where he acquired a cathedral church with the generous material help of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cologne. His flock were mostly transient migratory workers, whom he served until his death in 1980.

Van der Mensbrugghe was a prolific writer on rather obscure questions of theology and liturgiology, but he does not seem to have written anything directly about Sheptyts'kyi. He *spoke* of the Metropolitan frequently and at length, regarding him as an ideal figure of a bishop and as the great prophet of the patristic Christianity that van der Mensbrugghe loved and championed. When the movements of ecumenism, liturgical reform, and church renewal took directions that van der Mensbrugghe disapproved, he would often invoke the name of Sheptyts'kyi in his argumentation. It was clear to everyone who knew van der Mensbrugghe that the encounter with Sheptyts'kyi had completely changed the course of his life, and that his desire to approach the standard the Metropolitan had set remained for him a dynamic motivating force until his own death. Van der Mensbrugghe certainly tried to reflect

Sheptyts'kyi in his own work, albeit under quite different conditions. Like the Metropolitan himself, Archbishop van der Mensbrugghe had the gift of appreciating talented but difficult people, and inspiring them to fruitful work. Finally, during his service in America, van der Mensbrugghe brought the living tradition of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to the New World, where many people who had only heard vaguely of the Metropolitan were moved by van der Mensbrugghe to learn much more of the great Metropolitan's thought and activity.

The three figures discussed in this chapter reveal the ability of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to guide very strong personalities. He could inspire loyalty and love which endured over great distances and ecclesiastical divisions, even decades after the Metropolitan himself had left this world. Such spiritual paternity would alone make Sheptyts'kyi an outstanding hierarch in the history of the church. He could accept, love, and help "difficult" people whom other superiors would probably have dismissed. Each of these three was eccentric and unusual, but the *interior* stability of each of them in the midst of the general chaos of twentieth-century Eastern Christianity is most impressive.

Those who knew Korolevsky personally often described him as a brilliant madman, and it is apparent from his writings that he managed to be simultaneously more Catholic than the pope and more Russian than the tsar,[41] but with Sheptyts'kyi's guidance, Korolevsky was able to make accomplishments for the good of the Church of Kiev-Halych that have earned him a permanent place of honor in Ukrainian ecclesiastical history.[42] Once Sheptyts'kyi had assigned Korolevsky to Rome, he worked faithfully through fifty years of turmoil.

Analogously, Lev Gillet's spiritual writings and his fidelity to his work in London prove clearly that this monk was no gyrovague. Finally, the still-to-be-written history of Bishop Alexis van der Mensbrugghe's stay in America would reveal that in painful and difficult circumstances he gave an example of obedience to ecclesiastical superiors which has rarely been equalled on this continent. On a happier note, van der Mensbrugghe's influence on his students and his numerous friends continues.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was a prophetic figure, far ahead of his own time and milieu. As part of his visionary approach, he associated with other such persons of his own generation, including Cardinal Mercier, Lord Halifax, and Lambert Beauduin. Together, Sheptyts'kyi and his spiritual associates were "watchmen before the dawn," often misunderstood by more conventional ecclesiastical bureaucrats. Sheptyts'kyi's attraction for Korolevsky, Gillet, and van der Mensbrugghe was no accident. Each of them continued and elaborated the Metropolitan's work in important dimensions.

Korolevsky 's passionate devotion to honest history and liturgical authenticity brought about the publication of two whole series of service-books in

Church Slavonic, which in turn have contributed much to ecumenism. Gillet's refusal to accept the Great Schism continued the work which Sheptyts'kyi had done much to encourage—work which the Ukrainian church itself has largely forgotten since the Metropolitan's death. Van der Mensbrugghe, almost the reverse of Gillet, yet still very much the image of the Metropolitan, conveyed the same kind of deep respect and love for the church, with all its imperfections, that characterized Sheptyts'kyi. In becoming a bishop (albeit of the Moscow Patriarchate), van der Mensbrugghe fulfilled a promise of Sheptyts'kyi that the Eastern churches would realize their vocation to reach out beyond specific ethnic communities to all those who sought the patristic Christianity which these churches have retained.

The account of these three spiritual sons of the Metropolitan portrays some essential aspects of Sheptyts'kyi himself. Although Korolevsky, Gillet, and van der Mensbrugghe were quite peripheral figures in the organized structure of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, they were important to Sheptyts'kyi, who considered that what they stood for was crucial if his wider hopes were to be realized. Through the accomplishments, the influence, and the memory of Cyril Korolevsky, Lev Gillet, and Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, the work of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi continues to grow and flourish and the ideas for which he lived and struggled continue to influence newer generations.

Notes

1. "Orthodox" as used here includes Greek Catholics. Such a use of the term is not new; it occurs, for example, throughout the official service-book of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church: Joseph Raya and Jose de Vinck, *Byzantine Daily Worship* (Allendale, N. J., 1968). This book carries the approval of Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople and Patriarch Maximos V of Antioch, and hence may be considered authoritative. In his letter of approbation, Patriarch Maximos V specifically commended this use of the terms "Orthodox" and "Orthodoxy."

   Andrei Sheptyts'kyi used the term in the same way. His letter to the Old-Believer Bishop Innocent (dated 1 July 1907) stated plainly: "I am whole-heartedly Russian Orthodox," without in the least implying that the Metropolitan wished to sever his connections with Rome. The full text of the letter (in Russian) appears in Diakon Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov: zhizn' i deiatel'nost*, Nauchni i literaturnyi publikatsiï 'Studion' studyts'kykh monastyriv, vol. III-V (Rome, 1966), pp. 770-1. That book also used the same quotation for the caption under the photograph of Sheptyts'kyi which faces p. 24.

   Patriarch Iosyf Slipyi concurred on this point. See his article, "Vyholoshuvannia slovo 'pravoslavnyi' na Bohosluzhenniakh," in *Litterae-Nuntiae Archiepiscopi Maioris*, vol. III-IV (Castelgandolfo, 1967), pp. 270-3. Slipyi regarded this article as sufficiently important to publish it again in *De synodis archiepiscopalibus episcopatus catholici ucrainorum earimque fundamento iuridico expositiones*, Litterae-Nuntiae Archiepiscopi Maioris, no. 1 (Castelgandolfo, 1970), pp. 25-9.

In this article, Slipyi described the origins of "Orthodox" as a name for the church; its continuous use as a term since the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D.; and its distinct meaning (which differs from such euphemisms as "true-believing"). Moreover, he insisted that "Orthodox" was not merely a common adjective (as it might be in such a phrase as "orthodox Marxist"), but a proper name which those in union with Roman may not renounce, particularly because the appropriate and correct use of the term "Orthodox" unites those who bear this name. If there are divisions within that community, this need not cause some to abandon their name—all the bearers of the name "Christian" are not perfectly united. Members of a given nationality may belong to diametrically opposed political groupings without forfeiting their national identity. Slipyi concluded his article with the sentence: "United in Christ through the Church, under the visible Head, the Pope of Rome, thus Orthodox we are and Orthodox we shall remain!" Ibid., p. 29.

"Orthodox" is therefore employed in this study as a proper name and is capitalized in accordance with English usage.

2. See the chapter on Overbeck and Hatherly in Peter F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (London, 1963), pp. 48–56.
3. See the "Commentary on the Decree on Ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council" (*Unitatis Regintegratio*, para. 17), in Bernard Leeming, *The Vatican Council and Christian Unity* (London, 1966), pp. 14-15.
4. A historical discussion of this premise is found in Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944* (Rome, 1964), pp. 284-322.
5. See Eugène Cardinal Tisserant's untitled biographical note on Cyril Korolevsky, in ibid., p. ix.
6. Ibid., pp. 34-5.
7. Ibid., p. v.
8. Tisserant and Korolevsky were in almost daily contact after 1923, when Pope Pius XI commissioned them both to travel to Eastern Europe and to the Near East to purchase rare books for the library of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. Users of that library are very familiar with the logo "TK" in a circle, which marks the books Tisserant and Korolevsky obtained.
9. French Catholic children receive their First Communion in a simple way and then have a "Solemn Communion" around the age of ten.
10. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. xxviii.
11. The derivations of the two surnames are remotely similar. It seems the change was to Cyrille Karalevskiy, as indicated on the title page to his study of St. John Chrysostom (1909). In subsequent publications, the spelling varied depending on the language and (in posthumous works) the preference of the publisher—Karalevskiy, Karalevsky, Korolevsky, Korolevskij. In this essay, as throughout the text of the present volume (but not in note references), the form Cyril Korolevsky is used, reflecting the usage in English-language works published during (and therefore, presumably, with his consent) and after Korolevsky's own lifetime. It is interesting to note (as Lev Gillet told me many years later) that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi reacted to Charon's adopted surname with exasperated amusement.
12. Since the suppression of the Greek Catholic Church in the Russian empire, the Eparchy of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi has existed only on paper. Since Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi was geographically located inside the Russian empire, the preservation of the title "Bishop of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi" by the Greek Catholic (Uniate) metropolitans was a means of asserting their rights to the Metropolia of Kiev. The question and significance of this title is discussed by Korolevsky in his *Métropolite*, pp. 196-7.
13. Korolevsky played a large role in planning the Pontifical divine liturgy which

Patriarch Cyril VIII, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, three other metropolitans, two bishops, ten archimandrites, ten priests (including Korolevsky himself), and seven deacons (including the future Italo-Albanian Bishop John Mele) served in the presence of Pope Pius X on 12 February 1908, in the Hall of Beatifications. Among the acolytes were Julius Hossu, the future Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Romania and Leonid Fëdorov, whom Sheptyts'kyi later appointed as the first Russian Catholic Exarch. To mark this occasion, Korolevsky edited a substantial book with a copious description of the Pontifical Divine Liturgy that included minute points of the ceremonial and many very valuable photographs, among them a full-figure portrait of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as a young bishop, with black beard and *klobuk*. Cyrille Charon [C. P. Karalevskiy], *Le Quinzième Centenaire de S. Jean Chrysostome (407-1907) et ses conséquences pour l'action catholique dans l'orient gréco-slave* (Rome, 1909).

14. After World War II, when Greek Catholic archival materials in western Ukraine were inaccessible or destroyed, Korolevsky's holdings in Rome included the only available copies of such documents as the Studite *Typicon* and the memoirs of the Metropolitan's mother, Countess Zofia Fredro Szeptycka.
15. Korolevsky gives an account of this visit in "Chez les starovères de Bucovine: notes de voyage (octobre 1923)," *Stoudion*, III (Rome, 1926), pp. 123-37. Further information on Sheptyts'kyi and the Old-Believer community appears below, in Chapter 19.
16. Cyril Korolevsky, "Liturgical Publications of the Congregation for the Eastern Church," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI (London, 1945-1946), pp. 87-96 and 388-99. For more detail on the books intended for the Ukrainian church, see chapter 14 in this volume.
17. See, for example, the review by Ivan Skruten' in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, III, 1–2 (Zhovkva, 1928), reprinted in *Irénikon*, VI (Amay, 1927), pp. 233–237, and the extensive commentary by Theodose Haluschynskyj (including comments by Korolevsky), "Réflexions sur l'Uniatisme," in ibid., pp. 239–260.
18. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 323.
19. Ibid., p. 348.
20. Andreas Septyckyj and Joseph Slipyi, eds., *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, 14 vols. (1075-1856), Editiones Universitates Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, Series I: Documenta (Rome, 1964-1977).
21. The leading early twentieth-century Catholic scholar on the Eastern churches wrote of Korolevsky: "I am indebted, most of all, to the admirable work of Father Cyril Charon. . . . He commands an astonishing number of languages, to which he adds an intimate knowledge of the Melkite clergy and people, and a sound historical, theological, and liturgical instinct. Nothing could exceed his care to verify his facts from the original documents, the patience of his research, and the accuracy of his transcription." Adrian Fortescue, *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (New York, [1923]), p. 185.
22. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 401.
23. Much of this biographical data comes from Gillet's obituary by Helle Georgiadis, "Lev Gillet," *Sobornost*, II, 2 (London, 1980), pp. 79-85, and from my own knowledge of the man.
24. Dom Lambert Beauduin, the founder of the Benedictine Priory of Amay (later Chevetogne) Belgium, figures in the history of Sheptyts'kyi frequently during the 1920s. Knowledge of the life and thought of Beauduin—an important and fascinating character in his own right—is necessary for an understanding of Sheptyts'kyi. Beauduin suffered cruelly at the hands of Roman authorities who did not share his appreciation of ecumenism. He was exiled from his own monastery and only permitted to return there in his old age. His patience, however, was rewarded. Like

Korolevsky, Beauduin was a friend of Angelo Roncalli, and lived to see Roncalli become Pope John XXIII.

Perhaps because of the apprehensions of many of those who lived through the time of "Mortalium Animos" (the pope's discouragement of further Catholic participation in ecumenical encounters), the records of that period are maddeningly incomplete. As a result, we may never learn the full history of the relationship of Beauduin with Sheptyts'kyi, but it was certainly very close. One biography of Beauduin, by Sonya Quitsland, *Beauduin: A Prophet Vindicated* (New York and Toronto, 1973), misunderstands his relationship with Sheptyts'kyi. Cf. Osyp Kravcheniuk, "Dom Liambert Boduen i Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi," in Ivan Khoma and Ivan Muzychka, eds., *Intrepido Pastori: naukovyi zbirnyk na chest' blazhennishoho Patriiarkha Iosyfa,* Ukraïns'kyi Katolyts'kyi Universytet: Naukovyi zbirnyk, Vol. LXII (Rome, 1984), pp. 431–444.

25. Georgiadis, "Lev Gillet," p. 83.
26. David Balfour, "Memories of Fr Lev Gillet," *Sobornost*, IV, 2 (London, 1982), p. 205.
27. Testis [Gillet], "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, V, 11 (London, 1944), pp. 343-8. Gillet and others mentioned to me that he was the actual author of this article, and internal evidence confirms this.
28. The encyclical appears to have been intended as a rebuke against the Malines Conversations between British Anglicans and Belgian Catholics. Sheptyts'kyi had been closely involved in these meetings through Cardinal Mercier and Dom Lambert Beauduin.
29. Sheptyts'kyi's friendship with Evlogii went back to the immediate postwar period. In June 1919, Sheptyts'kyi provided Evlogii, then Russian Orthodox Bishop of Chełm and Zhytomyr (1903-1919), with an apartment at the palace of the Greek Catholic metropolitans in L'viv. At the time Evlogii was a refugee, fleeing from the Russian Revolution. A warm relationship developed between the two hierarchs, and this continued after Evlogii moved to Paris to become metropolitan for the Russian Orthodox in France and Britain.

    Their cooperation took different forms. Sheptyts'kyi arranged for the Stauropegial Press in L'viv to publish some Russian Orthodox liturgical books for Evlogii. Evlogii, in turn, invited Sheptyts'kyi to be his guest in Paris, where the Greek Catholic Metropolitan was received—with the full liturgical honors due a hierarch—at the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Saint Alexander Nevsky and the Orthodox Theological Institute of Saint Sergius. These visits took place in 1925, and it appears that Gillet accompanied Sheptyts'kyi on both occasions.

    On Evlogii and Sheptyts'kyi, see Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 175-6; and Evlogii, *Put' moiei zhizni* (Paris, 1947), pp. 327-34. On Sheptyts'kyi among the Orthodox in Paris, see [Gillet], "Metropolitan," p. 347. As for Gillet's unusual inter-church position, there may be no *documentary* evidence, but he was not reticent; he knew everyone active in ecumenical circles in western Europe between 1925 and 1980 and often spoke to them of this matter.
30. In this context, it should be remembered that among the faculties Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi received from Pius X was that of accepting Eastern Orthodox clergy into communion with the Catholic Church without requiring them to sever communion with their Orthodox superiors. Solov'ëv's position and some of its practical results are well set forth in Irene Posnoff, "Russian Catholics and Ecumenism in the Twentieth Century," *Rediscovering Eastern Christendom* (London, 1963), pp. 135-53. The same volume includes a negative evaluation of Solov'ëv's ideas on this subject, George Florovsky, "The Problem of Ecumenical Encounter," pp. 63-76.
31. Georgiadis, "Lev Gillet," pp. 80 and 83.

32. Balfour, "Memories," p. 210.
33. The Fellowship of Saints Alban and Sergius is an ecumenical group founded on 2 January 1928. Originally limited to the Eastern Orthodox and Anglicans, the Fellowship has since broadened its membership policy to include other Christians as well, but it has always worked to advance the unity of Eastern and Western Christians. The first co-presidents of the Fellowship were Metropolitan Evlogii and Walter Frere, the Anglican liturgical scholar and Bishop of Truro. The Fellowship publishes *Sobornost* (since 1978 *Sobornost* has incorporated the *Eastern Churches Review*), which has been and is one of the most important journals in English on the Eastern Churches. Headquarters of the Fellowship are in London, with branches in western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

    Sheptyts'kyi was not directly connected with the Fellowship (and could not have been, given the restrictions of the time), but he was an important figure in the lives of many who have led the Fellowship in its sixty years, and it has often been a vehicle for the Metropolitan's thought and influence.
34. Gillet himself described the experience of testifying in a conversation with me in September 1974. The dates and transcript of his testimony are not published, although they should be in the possession of Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn, the postulator for the beatification of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi.
35. Gillet, as quoted by Elizabeth Behr-Sigel, "The Concelebrant at Clamart," *Sobornost*, III, 1 (London, 1981), p. 50.
36. [Gillet], "Metropolitan," pp 347-8.
37. I knew Alexis van der Mensbrugghe from 1967 until the Archbishop's death in 1980. Much information appears in W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "Archbishop Alexis van der Mensbrugghe," *Sobornost*, IV, 2 (London, 1982), pp. 212-16.
38. This anecdote was recounted to me several times by Alexis van der Mensbrugghe between 1968 and 1971.
39. The late Nikos Nissiotis (of the World Council of Churches headquarters, Geneva) started to compile a complete bibliography of the writings of Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, but it was not published.
40. I am well aware that the official announcement from Moscow and the *Tomos* of autocephaly both claim that the hierarchs voted unanimously in favor of the proposal. However, I have read Alexis van der Mensbrugghe's letter, in which he cast an unmistakably negative vote, and I saw the bishop seal the letter and post it to Moscow.
41. The acclamation for the pope in Korolevsky's *Sluzhebnik* (Rome, 1942), pp. 22*–23*, is a striking example of Korolevsky's ultramontane liturgical eccentricity. The original Church-Slavonic reads, in my English translation: ". . . our most holy, most blessed, ecumenical High Priest and father. . . . pastor of pastors, unshakable rock and foundation of faith and piety, holder of the keys of the heavenly kingdom, Bishop of the God-saved city of Ancient Rome, *Pope and Patriarch of All the Universe* [our emphasis], successor of the holy and all-praised chief Apostle Peter and Representative on earth of Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . "
42. Or in the words of Metropolitan and Patriarch Iosyf Slipyi: "Certum magnum hic resplendet meritum Servi Dei Metropolitae Andrae et fidelis adiutoris eius P. C. Korolevskyj." *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica,* vol. V (Rome, 1968), pp. vi and x.

Sheptyts'kyi and Society

Chapter 12

Sheptyts'kyi and the Ethics of Christian Social Action*

Andrii Krawchuk

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* (On the social question, 1904) was the first serious attempt by a Greek Catholic hierarch of Austrian Galicia to elaborate a Christian social program which took into account changes that were occurring in the social fabric of Europe as it entered into the twentieth century.[1] This essay will examine the text and context of this key document, which set forth the main lines of Sheptyts'kyi's social thought. For the most part, the focus will be on the period during which *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* was written, although occasional reference will also be made to Sheptyts'kyi's subsequent thought and activity.

Inspired by Pope Leo XIII's (1878-1903) encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Sheptyts'kyi set out for his priests a path that would enable them to address pressing economic concerns, without neglecting to minister to the religious needs of the faithful.[2] *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* is comprised of three sections: (1) an analysis of the social question and an explanation of the Christian principles that the church employed in responding to it; (2) a critique of socialism from the standpoint of natural law theory; and (3) guidelines for the social activity of Greek Catholic pastors in Galicia.

Whereas western Europe came to know the "social question" as the result of industrialization and the attendant processes of social and economic change, Austrian Galicia was significantly different. Austrian economic policy did not favor industrial development in that province, but instead perpetuated a quasi-colonial agricultural economy there that was subservient to the interests and priorities of the empire as a whole.[3]

However, in addition to economic concerns, an array of social issues challenged the Greek Catholic Church, both internally and externally. Internally, the reform of the Basilian Order (1882) and the provincial Synod of L'viv (1891) had not fully succeeded in overcoming the inveterate East-West polarity among the clergy.[4] The involvement of priests in partisan politics further complicated the internal life of the church.[5] External forces challenged the church as well. A secularizing tendency had arisen in the form of a politically effective intelligentsia. Also, the emergence of socialism had introduced a compelling program for social change and more equitable economic relationships, although it was perceived by the church as a threat to the church's hitherto exclusive moral hold on the popular mind.[6] Indeed, by the turn of the century, the movement had made significant strides in advancing and speaking for the main social stratum among Galician Ukrainians, primarily peasants, and thereby loosened the clerical grip on the population. Consequently the church in its turn resorted to a variety of countermeasures. Religious periodicals, for example, published polemical tracts directed against the "enemies of the church," and tried to expose their methods and alleged goals to the public.[7] Hence, it was the church's struggle with socialism that provided the ideological context in which Sheptyts'kyi wrote his social pastoral.[8]

Even as this battle of ideas was being waged and, ironically, perhaps in part as a result of that struggle, social issues also began to win the attention of the Greek Catholic Church, a spiritual institution now intent on improving its record of social concern. Sheptyts'kyi personally addressed such key issues in Galicia as electoral reform and education.[9] Those efforts culminated in the Metropolitan's speech to the Galician diet in 1914, which contained proposals that served as the basis for a Polish-Ukrainian compromise on electoral reform.[10] Sheptyts'kyi also showed an ongoing interest in seasonal workers and émigrés from Galicia; he maintained pastoral links through pastoral letters and brochures and saw that their financial and social needs were served while they were abroad.[11]

Sheptyts'kyi's Approach to the Social Question

The Greek Catholic Church's response to the social question was informed by evangelical principles. Although the church avoided alliances with any particular class, in cases of conflict between the rich and the poor, Sheptyts'kyi considered it a duty to side with the poor, "so that, through Christian and legal action, we might improve their lot" (9:24; 32-3:103). The preferential option for the poor meant protecting them against exploitation and ensuring good working conditions and a just wage. The rationale for this position was the Christian virtue of charity. In addition to its place in individual lives, it had a social application that promoted a more equitable distribution of rights and duties amongst all classes of society. In this social application, charity was the factor that would unify the various classes, not by unleashing a revolutionary struggle, but by upholding the dignity of human labor.

The Metropolitan did not approach the social question from only a theological perspective. He was aware that the changes that European society had undergone were traceable to the industrial revolution; that in the new social order capital was taking precedence over labor; that capital and power were concentrated in the hands of a few; and that the result was mutual hatred between the social classes (7:14-15). In Galicia, this was further complicated by other factors. As Sheptyts'kyi observed, "The situation in our region is becoming even more difficult: this is because of the insupportable economic situation of the entire land, endless political struggles, excessive taxes, and a level of education among the peasants that is lower than anywhere else" (7:16). For Sheptyts'kyi this crisis was indicative of a precarious state of affairs and one which called for meticulous reflection; facile solutions would only exacerbate the lot of the poor (8:19). The social question was real, not metaphysical, hence the solution would also have to be tangible and concrete.

Having spelled out the church's commitment to the poor, Sheptyts'kyi felt it necessary to distinguish that commitment clearly from the socialist position and program for social change. The church argued for what it saw as the natural right to enjoy the fruits of one's labor and to own property for subsistence (20:62), whereas socialism stood for the abolition of private property. Because of this position, socialism failed to consider the natural human inclination to regard property as an incentive to work (20:63) and as a necessary security for an uncertain future (23:74). Moreover, socialism posited a utopian and ultimately illusory ideal of absolute equality (17-18:50-2), and it did not appear aware that the collectivization of property would confer upon the state powers that did not naturally belong to it (28:92).[12]

The Christian approach was also critical of the liberal school of economics and the capitalism which it had engendered. Although capitalism was in its heyday at the time of Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral on the social question, the Metropolitan argued that this economic order had not delivered on its promise to bring freedom (21:65). On the contrary, by regarding labor as a mere commodity whose value hinged primarily upon fluctuating market factors (36:115), it had created a system in which labor was being trampled by capital and workers were being exploited by unfairly low wages.

Sheptyts'kyi's guidelines for social action by the church were grounded in Catholic theology, and he employed traditional themes such as patience, suffering, and the brotherhood of humanity (29-35:94-113) to provide the setting for a moderate, reformist approach to social questions. Yet the Metropolitan also drew attention to the practical implications of the notions of the preferential option for the poor and of the dignity of human labor. For example, he reproved those priests who exploited the good will of their parishioners by paying them either inadequately or not at all for work done on church lands (39-40:130). Sheptyts'kyi had levelled such constructive criticism in applying Christian principles to social reality since his first days as bishop of Stanyslaviv. When he addressed the wealthy Greek Catholics of Stanyslaviv in 1899, he challenged their narrow view of charity as simply giving alms and directed their attention instead to the more profound social dimension of Christian charity:

> When you set out to help your poorer brother, remember he needs not only your money. Even more than that he often needs your active assistance; that is, your advice and comforting reassurance. Do not help the poor man in merely a sporadic way but, in so far as you are able, in such a way as *to enable him to raise himself up out of his misfortune and to stand on his own feet*. Give the poor the opportunity to earn a fair wage—*teach them, show them how to improve their lot.*[13]

The church itself tried to put that teaching into practice and, by 1904, Sheptyts'kyi could speak of an array of social and economic institutions that had been established by the church for the purpose of improving the conditions of the working class and the poor (29:94). Such were the farm and commercial cooperatives and credit unions which, by the turn of the century, were in almost every village in East Galicia (69:231).[14] In addition, an association of priests had been formed which focussed special attention on socioeconomic issues,[15] and Greek Catholic priests became involved in the agrarian strike of 1902 and other efforts to improve the wages of farm workers.[16]

In Sheptyts'kyi's formulation, the social question should be approached through an appeal to the individual conscience (43-4:140-4). That appeal was motivated by the Christian understanding of the "social significance" of love (46-7:151) with its goal of a united humanity (53-4:171-2). In order to put this fundamental Christian dimension of social action into practice, the Metropolitan developed a more specific set of guidelines for his own clergy by proposing four principles for the proper conduct of Catholic social action in Galicia: solidarity, zeal (*revnist'*), study, and prudence (*rozvaha* or *blahorozumiia*).

Solidarity was essentially a call to overcome the clerical disunity that had resulted from party politics. Quarrels among the clergy not only were a scandal to the faithful, they also undermined the faith and weakened the church's defenses against anticlerical onslaughts which were expected from the socialist camp (55-6:178-9). As for "priestly zeal," Sheptyts'kyi had in mind a priest's specifically spiritual duties as opposed to religious fanaticism or charlatanism. "Fervor with regard to saving souls is the foundation of our unity and solidarity. We shall engage in social and economic matters, but only for the love of our faithful, and that love demands first of all that we care for their souls" (57:186-7).

Sheptyts'kyi's call for study stemmed from his recognition that a more professional approach was needed in order to come to grips with the social question in Galicia. Only solid study of the facts of the situation could ensure effective social action; theoretical principles alone did not suffice (60:201-2). This directive, too, was geared toward the particular problem of politically-charged sermons. While the Metropolitan encouraged his priests to transmit some of their political acumen to the people, this was not to be done from the pulpit. Finally, prudence referred to the caution and the perspicacity that were necessary to ensure that social action remained constantly in tune with divine wisdom and that it did not degenerate into unwise conduct (*neblahorozumne postupovannia*, 62:207, 65:216). The underlying problem here was twofold. There was both partisan infighting among the clerics which Sheptyts'kyi admitted, "unfortunately, does exist amongst us," and an excessive immersion in secular affairs by certain priests to the extent of neglecting their sacerdotal responsibilities.

Committed to reforming the church from within, Sheptyts'kyi did not limit himself to passive exhortations. He developed a thoroughgoing critique of clerical abuses that had reduced the role of the parish priest to a "caricature of pastoral work" (67:221). He singled out three specific instances of the secularization that he considered the bane of the Christian community: (1) the neglect of spiritual matters in favor of material concerns; (2) the transformation of spiritual duties into an exclusively political exercise; and (3) the fomenting of class antagonisms through inordinate association with either the rich or the poor (67-8:221-4). In the third case, Sheptyts'kyi rejected both extremes as contrary to Christian fraternal love:

> As it is abusive and excessive to become intimate (*skhlibliuvanie*) with the rich and to clutch the door-knobs of the nobility, but not to admit a peasant into one's kitchen; so too it is the same kind of excess, although to the opposite extreme, to kiss every peasant on both cheeks but to put on airs before anyone who may own some property (67:223).

It is scarcely surprising that Sheptyts'kyi's serious and candid commitment to change in the church would be noticed by Ivan Franko, one of the central figures in the history of Galician socialism. In the very same year that *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* was published, Franko's critical review of it appeared under the title "Sotsiial'na aktsiia, sotsiial'ne pytannia i sotsiializm" (Social Action, the Social Question, and Socialism).[17] A keen observer, Franko was intrigued that issues of such importance were being raised in the Greek Catholic Church and thought that Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral merited serious discussion.

Franko had followed Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letters ever since they first began to appear, and he perceived in them a significant shift in the church's thinking. He noted that they contained innovative stylistic and substantive qualities that distinguished Sheptyts'kyi's writings from those of his predecessors. The stylistic qualities included such elements as the use of the vernacular and illustrations from everyday life, an unpretentious tone, clear thinking, and a logical presentation. The substantive qualities were the uncanny accuracy (*trafnist'*) of the Metropolitan's observations about life and his warm affection, particularly toward the common folk.[18] Franko seemed to be saying that this Greek Catholic archbishop was close to the people. Although critical of Sheptyts'kyi's social analysis and proposals, Franko did not question the religious underpinnings of the Metropolitan's program. Rather, his charges were directed toward inveterate abuses by the church as an institution and not toward the substance of the faith.[19] Indeed, Franko was well enough versed in the scriptures to be able to quote pertinent passages in support of his own argument.[20]

Franko's critical questions do bring into relief four major ethical themes present in the Metropolitan's elaboration of Christian social action: (1) the consideration of consequences; (2) the place of the Christian conscience in civil society; (3) ethically preferred paths to social change; and (4) the divine law as the standard for civil dictates.

Attentiveness to Consequences as a Guideline for Social Action

In his critique of the conditions prevailing in his church, Sheptyts'kyi at one point admonished those priests who "even unconsciously incite people to jealousy, pride, and hatred" (64:214). From the context of the remark, this was but one of the seven instances of pastoral neglect that Sheptyts'kyi sought to eliminate. These included: playing up to popular feelings; emphasizing people's rights without mentioning their duties; giving free rein to the public's passions; stirring up a ferment of eternal dissatisfaction and "even unconsciously" inciting people to jealousy, pride, and hatred; tolerating evil so as not to rock the boat; relying on personal prestige and ignoring the teaching authority of the church; and showing more zeal in social activity than in one's catechetical and sacramental activity. Sheptyts'kyi felt that the presence of each of these was causing turmoil inside the church.

Franko, however, took issue with the Metropolitan's suggestion that people (in this particular case, priests) should be held morally responsible for "even unconscious" acts. He therefore raised two fundamental questions about the ethics that Sheptyts'kyi had tried to outline: "What kind of morality is it that punishes unconscious acts?" and "Can a man be aware of all the consequences entailed by his every deed?"[21]

The first question probed into Sheptyts'kyi's views on the limits of individual ethical responsibility. However, nowhere in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* did Sheptyts'kyi speak of punishment for involuntary misdeeds. The only corrective measure he suggested was a rereading of James (3:14-9), which distinguishes between human wisdom (*mudrist' zems'ka*) and divine wisdom (*premudrist' svyshe*). Human wisdom is always susceptible to petty bickering because of its link to the passions, but when enlightened by divine wisdom it acquires the humility, pliability, and sincerity which lead to peace rather than conflict. For, "the fruits of justice are sown to the degree that they observe peace" (65:215). His point was that this Biblical distinction ought to serve as a self-critical principle for those priests who had been in the habit of conveniently attributing their secular activities to supernatural inspiration. Sheptyts'kyi preferred to inculcate Christian ethics through a pedagogy of fraternal correction, rather than through deterrence by punitive sanctions.[22]

Franko's second objection went closer to the heart of the matter. Taking account of the tremendous complexity of factors underlying human action (i.e., the overwhelming variety of possible hereditary and environmental causal factors, and the multiplicity of unforeseeable consequences), he doubted whether one could ever be aware, in advance, of the precise consequences of one's actions.[23] From Franko's perspective, Sheptyts'kyi's use of a scriptural criterion for judging the wisdom of social action might indeed have appeared simplistic, but it was in fact a powerful empirical instrument. To judge social action by asking about its "fruits" meant evaluating it according to whether it promoted unity or aggravated discord in actual human relations. Although the scriptural criterion did not presume to predict the consequences of actions, it did point out what kinds of consequences were always desirable from a Christian perspective.[24]

If one were to set aside the consideration of consequences in ethical deliberation, a possible alternative would be to focus on human intentionality. Yet Sheptyts'kyi was reluctant to accept expressed motives, or intentions, as the exclusive criterion for evaluating social actions. Although a conscious element of decision-making, intentions were not a reliable touchstone in social ethics because quite often they turned out to be merely self-serving pretexts that indicated an individualistic, subjective ethic.[25] Sheptyts'kyi did recognize the immense complexity of the causes and effects of human moral action, but a Christian ethic that aspired to objectivity could not be grounded in human intentionality. Sheptyts'kyi thought that a more pragmatic principle was necessary—one that would be attentive to the practical consequences of human acts. His approach attempted to bridge the gap between a theoretical Christian ethic derived from the notions of duty, virtue, and the law, and a more practically-oriented ethic which required that decision-making include some consideration of the potential effects of actions.

This balance is evident in Sheptyts'kyi's understanding of the place of motives in the ethical scheme. Although he did consider motives to be unreliable as an independent ethical criterion, those which flowed out of genuinely Christian principles had morally binding force. For it was internal ethical motivation that distinguished Christian ethics from secular ethics.[26] In the sociopolitical sphere, it also provided a possible solution to the ubiquitous problem of the abuse of political power and the resulting social antagonisms (5-6:10). Civil legislation could never guarantee a truly equitable distribution of rights and duties in society, because in order for justice to occur, the law needed to be supplemented with a dynamic Christian notion of good will. Such a notion was the only really effective countermeasure against the risk, present in all societies, that those in power could manipulate the law to their own advantage. Christian ethical values provided civil law with a human element that it did not of itself possess.

Despite Franko's concerns, therefore, the Christian social program outlined in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* was not a punitive, legalistic moralism that expected priests to foresee all the consequences of their actions. Sheptyts'kyi was enough of an ethical realist to recognize the fallibility of human nature (which was evident in the mutability of intentions and in the imperfection of human laws). After all, it was Christianity that imbued human ethical motives with an objective, spiritual content. At the same time, Christian social ethics was worked out within a context of social history, and Sheptyts'kyi emphasized the need for attentiveness to the potential consequences of actions. In the particular case of priests, this meant that they were to choose courses of action that were closely linked to Christian social goals, rather than ones that could only depart from those goals and antagonize or scandalize the faithful.

The Place of Christian Conscience in Civil Society

The emergent social reflection of the church was by no means limited to matters of internal reform. It extended as well to external social matters. Consequently, the Metropolitan devoted particular attention to the relationship between the Greek Catholic Church and the state. In the Austrian sociopolitical environment, the loyalty of the Greek Catholic hierarchy and clergy to the imperial throne and to the government in Vienna had been assured by a variety of privileges conferred by the civil authorities which included salaries from the state, tracts of arable land, equal status with Roman Catholic clergy, and exemptions from the law. For the hierarchy, which was nominated by the emperor, there was ex officio membership in the Austrian parliament. Therefore, it is scarcely surprising that in his social pastoral Sheptyts'kyi spoke forcefully about the need for "obedience to the just dictates of civil authority" (68:226).[27] Ivan Franko concurred with this and even went a step further, saying that the Christian is bound to obey just dictates regardless of their source and to promote justice even in the absence of any dictates.[28] He then raised two questions: who decides whether a command is just and what a priest should do when he considers a law to be unjust or in conflict with his conscience.[29] These two related questions and the responses to them that may be derived from Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral are crucial to an understanding of the Metropolitan's ethics of social action.

Given the importance Sheptyts'kyi assigned to obedience to civil laws, one might well wonder whether he was ever able to stand critically outside of loyalty to the Austrian status quo and thereby to avoid political and legal conservatism. If so, what did he consider to be the limit of that duty of obedience? In other words, did his interpretation of Christian morality include or exclude the possibility of civil disobedience?

Such were the concerns Franko had raised. That Sheptyts'kyi did not place implicit trust in civil laws is clear from his own remarks: "After examining our codes and statutes, we often have to admit that the measure of what we refer to in legal terms as justice is not in fact just" (42:136). Such a position was by no means antinomian, however, for even the best of all possible legal systems was not without the risk of social conflicts. Even within the limits of the law, it was possible to perpetrate injustice (43-4:142-3). The risk of injustice existed because of "the extreme difficulty in determining and delineating what, according to justice, is a person's due" (43:139). Another inherent limitation of civil laws was that they always remained vulnerable to manipulation. According to Sheptyts'kyi: "When those in authority and power act in bad faith, it is possible for them to circumvent even the most equitable of statutes in such a way that, proceeding quite legally, they nevertheless perpetrate a very real offence" (5-6:10). Hence in his view, the ideal of justice to which humanity aspired transcended temporal formulations. In short, human laws could approximate but never achieve the ideal.

It was precisely in cases that went beyond the reach of civil law that the church made its appeal to an internal criterion, the conscience. Defining it simply as the "internal awareness of duty" (*vnutrenna svidomist' oboviazku*, 45:145), Sheptyts'kyi illustrated how it transcended legalism and served as a guide for moral conduct. Those who follow their conscience "do not violate another's rights, nor do they add any rights to their own, not even given a case that could be won in a court of law" (43:141). Thus, although Sheptyts'kyi was not developing a definitive statement on civil disobedience, his elaboration of the Christian conscience indicated that this was the principle that came into play when civil laws fell short of their purpose or when narrow legalism threatened to compromise true justice. In cases of conflict between the state and the Christian conscience, the Metropolitan gave the greater weight to conscience. As the discourse on conscience in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* (43:140 - 45:145) clearly indicated, he was indeed able to "step outside" the historical particularities that favored loyalty to the Austrian state and to adopt a critical posture by appealing to a higher authority.

On the basis of *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii*, the response to Franko's hypothetical question would be that inasmuch as the justice of particular laws is a matter to be decided by the individual conscience, individual priests were expected to follow the dictates of their conscience. One might have expected Sheptyts'kyi to mention the corporate dynamics of the Christian conscience, whether in its interaction with the teaching church (*magistra*) or in its participation in the ethical deliberation of the community of faith (*sensus fidelium*), but he did not cover that topic. Nor, consequently, did he address Franko's second question of what, precisely, a priest was to do if he felt that a particular law violated his conscience. The answer to that question would have to be sought in Sheptyts'kyi's subsequent social writings and activity.

In effect, the rudimentary theoretical basis for conscientious objection provided in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* was defined more clearly only in later years as Sheptyts'kyi applied it in actual situations. For instance, two pastorals that followed shortly after *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* focused specifically on the problem of the political divisions among the clergy and the question of the acceptable level of political involvement by priests.[30] While trying to stamp out an excessively politicized image of the priesthood, Sheptyts'kyi also hoped to promote political solidarity among the clergy. So in 1906, the Metropolitan's chancery office convoked a special conference of priests in order to work out a common position for the upcoming election,[31] and that same year, he addressed the faithful with an appeal to protest against a proposed divorce law.[32]

Hence, in Sheptyts'kyi's understanding, the Christian conscience, both in its individual and collective manifestations, had a very definite role to play in society and in the political process. Its independence from the civil law was guaranteed by the principle *de internis non iudicat praetor* (45:145). The Metropolitan applied this view of conscience in practice, and his activity and pronouncements throughout his career testify to his unflinching commitment to basic human rights and religious freedoms.[33]

Ethically Preferred Paths to Social Change: Negotiation and Realism

Another issue in church-state relations was the question of the means and extent of the church's participation in the struggle for justice. Sheptyts'kyi recognized that powerful forces of democratic change were underway, and he welcomed the new efforts to improve the lot of the poor and the oppressed. Indeed, he felt strongly enough about this to open his social pastoral with the words:

> The democratic movement, which throughout Europe is rallying all people of good will to the defence of the poor and the oppressed, is not foreign to the church but, on the contrary, is very much favored (*iest' sympatychnym*) by priests of all countries, for the spirit of Christ's Gospel is also democratic through and through (3:1).

Yet at the same time, Sheptyts'kyi also saw problems associated with the new social consciousness. The traditionally hierarchical, monarchic structures of both the state and the church were being shaken by a sustained criticism and bold new alternatives, and this collision of establishment and innovation resulted in a crisis of authority. As a hierarch of the church, he was concerned that matters could get out of hand:

> A spirit of disobedience to authority—which in our time is spreading throughout Europe, which is gaining momentum through the diffusion of a theory of exaggerated freedom and of absolute equality, and whose flame is fuelled by every abuse by organs of power, every illegality and injustice—is but one facet of a revolutionary spirit that has won adherents among our own people and which could possibly push our people into an abyss of misfortune (68-9:227).

Given these two very different appraisals of the sociopolitical situation—the one positive and the other negative—how did Sheptyts'kyi reconcile them?

Franko focused on the second passage and responded to it polemically, labelling the Metropolitan a "bad historian" and an "opportunist." Yet despite its undeniably polemical tone, Franko's response revealed the crucial difference between the two competing interpretations of contemporary social reality. Whereas Sheptyts'kyi criticized the "spirit of disobedience" and attributed it to the "diffusion of a theory of exaggerated freedom and absolute equality," Franko saw it as a positive development that indicated a new sense of justice among the masses.[34] On this point, Franko posed a number of questions which may be condensed into two. Did Sheptyts'kyi mean that justice is promoted by suppressing one's sense of fairness and by cringing in the face of injustice? Just what precisely is the "abyss of misfortune" into which people would fall if they took up the uncompromising struggle (*bezohliadna borot'ba*) against injustice? Franko was clearly concerned that Sheptyts'kyi's cautionary statement might indicate an unwillingness to allow the social action of the church to have any force.

Sheptyts'kyi had used the phrase "abyss of misfortune" to say that from the church's perspective the spirit of revolutionary upheaval would only bear negative consequences if it were allowed to run its course. He attached great importance to the consideration of consequences in decision-making, and this necessarily applied to ethical deliberation as the preferred means of achieving justice. The church could not condone violence as an ethically acceptable means to social or political ends. Sheptyts'kyi took the position that it was incompatible with the Christian perspective to base the struggle for justice on violent revolution and the rejection of authority. Although this argument was not developed at length in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii*, there is ample evidence that he consistently rejected violence throughout his career.[35]

The key reason the church opposed the kind of radical structural change that could be expected from revolutionary upheaval was the concern that such change would further undermine the stability of the ecclesiastical structure. The social movements already in place in Galicia and, in particular, the way that anticlerical tendencies had begun to erode the church's authority, indicated the direction that democratization could take when it proceeded simultaneously with secularization. Thus, the church voiced its commitment to promote social change, but only by way of moderate reforms, because "through needless schisms it is possible to do more harm to the cause than good" (69:228).

The church would take pains to maintain a modus vivendi with the state, "for without perspicacity we could expose the church and the people to harm" (69:230). Consistent with this approach, the Metropolitan considered the possibility that "imprudent action" might have negative consequences. If the church were to oppose the Austrian state, it would surely run the risk of persecution by the civil authorities (69:229). Looking at the situation from a long-term perspective, he was therefore willing to tolerate some state interference in certain church affairs in order to preserve harmonious relations with the state. There were, after all, tangible benefits to an accommodationist stance. Despite legislative shortcomings, the Greek Catholic Church still enjoyed a position of prestige and privileges that had been bestowed by the Austrian state which it was unwilling to undermine. From this it would appear that Sheptyts'kyi's statement that "we cannot come into conflict (*borby zachynaty*) with the state" (68-9:225,230) essentially agreed with Franko's assertion that "the state has the full right to intervene in parish administration in precisely those matters where such administration is not exclusively ecclesiastical but also civil."[36]

Sheptyts'kyi also foresaw potential misfortune arising out of the doctrines of absolute egalitarianism and absolute libertarianism, which he considered to be false ideals. Absolute egalitarianism, he maintained, was nothing more than wishful thinking with no basis in human nature (18-9:54). In support of this contention, he cited the distinction between natural and necessary human inequalities (health, longevity, talents, 29-30:96-7), which had been made by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Of course, the notion of natural inequalities did not entail the passive acceptance of social inequalities, which were clearly an injustice. When, for instance, the Catholic Church invoked the concept of natural inequalities, it did so less to affirm a fundamental precept of Christian social ethics than as a device to draw lines of demarcation in its ideological debate with socialism. Having stressed for those ideological purposes that the church could not subscribe to absolute egalitarianism, Sheptyts'kyi necessarily returned to the primary Christian social principle of universal human equality. The importance of this principle was not to be underestimated, and it was indispensable to broaden and give new meaning to secular ideas of justice. Christian teaching "proclaims human rights and considers all people as equals with respect to those universal laws (*pravakh zahal'no liudskykh*) that are independent of all social and civil institutions" (41:134). In this regard, the Metropolitan was in line with mainstream Catholic teaching. Christian social ethics affirmed the universality, but not the absoluteness, of human equality.

Nor was an absolute principle of liberty any more realistic. Liberalism, Sheptyts'kyi noted, had erred by exaggerating the idea of individual autonomy to the detriment of society as a whole (21-2:66). Moreover, the liberal view of freedom disregarded the legitimate needs and rights of the poor and the powerless:

> Liberal theory seemed like an ideal to many freethinkers, but it led to the system of capitalism. It too spoke of freedom, but led to slavery. It proclaimed the rights of individuals, yet gave over weaker individuals into enslavement by the strong. It promised the freedom of earning a living (*zarobkovania*), free trade, the freedom to work, but ended up being more oppressive than the former slavery (21:65).

On both equality and liberty, the Metropolitan objected not so much to the principle as to the attempt to make it absolute in the life of a society. To do so, he argued, would only exacerbate social antagonisms, not alleviate them. Such was the "abyss of misfortune" into which Sheptyts'kyi feared society was headed. In its commitment to social justice, the church favored the way of legitimate and peaceful intervention with the state authority. It pursued a course of dialogue, negotiation, and if necessary, even protest, but it avoided direct confrontation. The church's endorsement of the process of democratization, therefore, presupposed neither excessive idealism nor a built-in program of revolution.

Divine Law as the Christian Standard for Civil Dictates

The discussion of church-state relations in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* necessarily touched on Austrian law. Although he affirmed the fundamental Christian duty of obedience to the just dictates of the civil authority and subscribed to a hierarchical notion of authority conferred by God Himself, Sheptyts'kyi was not a proponent of blind obedience to the state. Christian civic loyalty hinged on the notion of "just dictates," that is, those laws and directives of the state which did not transgress divine law. The Metropolitan stressed that "we [priests] need to protect ourselves and the people against potential abuses; we must demand our rights, for [it is said] *vigilantibus iura*" (68:225).

By way of illustration, Sheptyts'kyi cited an instance of Austrian legislation that was objectionable from the standpoint of the Catholic Church, the so-called May Laws, which had asserted the state's jurisdiction over matters formerly left up to the church:[37]

> Within the framework of our May Laws—by virtue of which the government received the authority, contrary to divine law, to meddle in all matters of church life—[church-state] relations could become intolerable and a veritable persecution of the church could ensue. For example, the govern-

> ment has been granted the power to oppose the appointment of a priest to a parish, the power to discontinue a priest's salary, and so on. And so, constrained by our circumstances, we cannot start up any struggle, but rather we must try to observe a modus vivendi, lest for lack of discernment we should expose the church and our people to harm (69:229-30).

Franko wondered how there could be any talk of a modus vivendi if the May Laws indeed contravened divine precepts. Did this mean that human laws could overrule divine laws? Secondly, Franko asked whether Sheptyts'kyi was overlooking the possibility of employing legal means to change unjust laws without coming to blows with the government.[38] Franko's first point was well taken, for it may indeed have appeared that the Metropolitan had contradicted himself. But Sheptyts'kyi's critical comment on the May Laws had not led him to condemn the civil authority, for the Biblical principle, according to which there is no authority but from God (Romans 13:1), remained the operative guideline (68:225). Although the May Laws were not favorable to the church, this in itself did not warrant disloyalty toward the Austrian state, since the Pauline teaching took precedence. Given a choice between loyalty to the state and adherence to divine law, Christian citizens were of course expected to obey the latter first and foremost, but as long as civil laws did not contravene divine law, they were deemed just.

With the benefit of hindsight, Franko's charge of opportunism should also be tested against Sheptyts'kyi's record of activity at other times in his career. During World War II, for example, Sheptyts'kyi invoked that same principle of obedience to just dictates during the first Soviet occupation of western Ukraine, and then again following the Nazi takeover. In the first case, Sheptyts'kyi issued a pastoral letter which contained the passage: "We will submit to the [Soviet civil] authority, we will obey the laws *in so far as they are not contrary to divine law*. . . "[39] Likewise, shortly after the Nazi invasion, the Metropolitan issued a pastoral to the Ukrainian people which contained the following statement: "The sacrifices which are essential for the accomplishment of our goal will consist first and foremost of obedient submission to the just dictates of the [German civil] authority *which are not contrary to divine laws*."[40]

Although the latter statement has become a standard citation in the polemical literature to support the charge of Nazi collaboration, it is clear that Sheptyts'kyi understood the principle of obedience to just dictates as open-ended, conditional and, in that way, applicable to all situations. The very same rule cut both ways, however. As soon as divine law was violated or gross miscarriages of justice occurred, Sheptyts'kyi did not hesitate to take a strong stand, be it to protest against and to mount resistance to Soviet restrictions of religious freedom, or to protest against the Nazi extermination policy and to affirm both in word and deed the Christian duty to protect human life.[41] Moreover, regardless of the political environment, the requirement that the church be allowed freely to fulfil its role as teacher of the faith remained a *sine qua* *non* for sustaining some degree of church-state harmony. On this there was no room for compromise:

> The secular authority . . . ought not to meddle in matters which are proper to the mission of the church. . . . In disciplinary matters [the church] can adapt to a variety of conditions of time and space, though she is obviously not free to alter the immutable principles of the faith and the unchanging truths of revelation. For it is her charge, her mission to maintain untouched the treasure of revealed truths which were conferred to her by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.[42]

Without the benefit of a fuller picture, Ivan Franko was bound to be disturbed by the position on church-state relations that was expressed in *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii*. The church appeared to be choosing to preserve a modus vivendi with the state largely out of self-interest, proceeding more by way of an assessment of the relative costs and benefits rather than by adherence to a consistent set of principles, but other considerations were also likely at play. In the sociopolitical context of turn-of-the-century Austria, the church was beginning to learn that the price of democratization was the erosion of its own social authority; that it would no longer be able to exert unquestioned moral influence over the direction of civil legislation as it had before; and that, as secular and pluralistic values became entrenched within the law (civil marriage and divorce laws being cases in point), the church would have to face up to its inability to restore the old order. In a civil society that was slowly yet inexorably moving away from allowing a privileged place for the church, that same institution saw many of its old absolutes put to the test. In the case of the May Laws, Sheptyts'kyi decided that there was some room for accommodation and compromise. It is only in light of the Metropolitan's later activity that this decision could clearly be seen to have been a judgment call, particular to the moment and context, rather than as the surrender of the church's rights.

Conclusion

Jaroslav Pelikan has observed very astutely that Sheptyts'kyi's ecumenical thought was worked out between the poles of universality and particularity, and that the Metropolitan refused to limit himself to either one of those paths in a way that would exclude the other. The same may be said of his elaboration of Christian social ethics in an East European context. While he maintained a link with the essence of the social teaching that was then emerging from the Vatican, Sheptyts'kyi's substantive analysis of socioeconomic problems looked also to the specificity of the Galician context. His pastoral proposals were a conscious attempt to answer specific, pressing needs of the Greek Catholic Church and Galician society.[43]

In the spirit of Pope Leo XIII's call "to look upon the world as it really is,"[44] Sheptyts'kyi's social reflection and program of Christian social action was contextually sensitive and empirical. The church's program of social action, in his formulation, reflected a pragmatic realism that recognized the limits of human laws but did not impose itself upon the temporal order. The solution was not another form of legalism, but at the same time the church had to remain faithful to its own spiritual mission. An important part of that mission was to cultivate a sense of conscience and divine law, both of which had a crucial role to play in the social order, for they were the main criteria by which Christians could discern ethical problems in society.

Radical social change was not part of this program. Rather, in the face of changes which were occurring (such as democratization and secularization), Sheptyts'kyi sought to revitalize his church in order to participate in improving the lot of the impoverished and oppressed peasants. In its social action, therefore, the church would continue to promote economic and social development and would struggle for democratic rights and freedoms, but it would refrain from entering into outright confrontation with the state as long as civil laws did not encroach upon the dictates of conscience or of the divine law.

Sheptyts'kyi's social program was double-edged. It included a constructive critique of the internal life of the Greek Catholic Church as well as a clarification of its external relations with the Austrian state. Internally, it attempted to delineate a path of social and economic activity that did not exceed the bounds of the pastoral ministry or compromise the image of the priest. Externally, it was an affirmation of fundamental loyalty to the state, a loyalty which nevertheless was not stated in absolute terms since, from a Christian perspective, civil dictates and laws remained subordinate to the superior authority of the conscience and divine law. Therefore, grounded solidly as it was in Christian principles, Sheptyts'kyi's social teaching was neither a self-enclosed, pious ethic of virtues nor a fatalistic acceptance of the social and economic disparities in Galicia. Above and beyond affirming such basic categories of Christian ethics as charity and conscience, it also introduced a new image of the Greek Catholic Church as socially and politically conscious, and committed to the cause of its people.

The Metropolitan was well aware of the immensity of that collective task, yet it was perhaps for that very reason that the church could not but become involved:

> In our cultural and economic life there is not a single area in which we have achieved even one hundredth of what is needed. One hundred times more than any other people we need to reflect on the laying of the foundations of our home, [that is,] on the whole economic side of our social life, for without that, even the most glorious of political conditions will be meaningless and barren.[45]

This historically-conscious, constructively-critical perspective is perhaps what Ivan Franko found most intriguing—and subsequent Soviet critics so subversive—about the social thought of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Although it is true that Sheptyts'kyi continued to develop his social reflection and action throughout his entire career, the 1904 pastoral letter *O kvestiï sotsiial'nii* charted a course from which he did not stray in the remaining four decades of service to his church and to his people.

Notes

* I am grateful to John-Paul Himka and Paul R. Magocsi for their helpful suggestions and critical comments on an early draft of this essay. I would also like to thank Judit R. Ács for her thoughtful insights.

1. Andrei Sheptytskii, *Poslaniie pastŷrske . . . : o kvestiy sotsiial'nôi* ((Zhovkva, 1904). See also the official Polish translation, Andrzej Szeptycki, *O kwestji socyalnej* (Zhovkva, 1905). All references in the text and notes of this essay are to the original Ukrainian edition, hereinafter cited as *OKS*. The text references include the page numbers followed by paragraph numbers.
2. In writing *OKS*, Sheptyts'kyi drew on the discussion of private property and the critique of socialism that is given in *Rerum Novarum*. A detailed assessment of the Metropolitan's indebtedness to the social thought of Pope Leo XIII awaits future study.

   A synoptic abstract of *OKS* and brief comments are given in Iosyf Botsian, "Pastyrs'ki lysty Mytropolyta Andreia," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4, (L'viv, 1926), pp. 117-18. Anatol' M. Bazylevych, "Pysannia na suspil'ni temy," in his introduction ("Vvedennia") to [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: Pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Tovarystva, vol. XV (Toronto, 1965), pp. B/191-B/231, identifies the pastoral as part of the corpus of Sheptyts'kyi's social writings and surveys that corpus. Iurii Rybak, "*Rerum Novarum* ta Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi," in *Dzvony*, IV, 3-4 (Rome, 1980), pp. 75-84, briefly examines *OKS* within the context of Sheptyts'kyi's early social writings (1899-1901) but does not analyze the influence of *Rerum Novarum* on the Metropolitan. For a broader survey of Sheptyts'kyi's socioeconomic activity, see Iurii Rybak, "Kyr Andrei u hromads'ko-ekonomichnomu dovkilli (ohliad plianiv i diial'nosty)," in *Al'manakh 'Provydinnia'* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 219-36.
3. See Andrii Zhuk, *Suspil'no-ekonomichni vidnosyny v Halychyni i kul'turno-ekonomichna pratsia halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv* (L'viv, 1911); and Illia Vytanovych, "Sotsiial'no-ekonomichni idei v zmahanniakh halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv na perelomi XIX-XX vv.," in *Ukraïns'kyi Tekhnichno-hospodars'kyi Instytut: Naukovi zapysky*, XXI (Munich, 1970), pp. 3-70.
4. The reform of the Basilian Order, carried out by Jesuits, was perceived as an effort to Latinize and Polonize the Greek Catholic Church. In the same year, 1882, the Greek Catholic priest Ivan Naumovych and the entire village of Hnylychky converted to Orthodoxy. The provincial synod of L'viv (1891) was also criticized for attempting to Latinize the rite and to impose compulsory clerical celibacy. See Severyn Matkovs'kyi, *Try synodal'ni arkhiiereï* (L'viv, 1932), p. 63; and Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoï dumky halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv 1848-1914* (L'viv, 1926), pp. 213-5, 238.
5. A regulation issued by the Metropolitan's chancery (dated 27 June 1908) prohibited priests from meddling in each other's parishes. Kost' Levyts'kyi explained that Russophile priests had complained about interference in their parishes by Ukrainian activist clerics who organized communities along national lines. Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoï dumky*, pp. 494-5.

6. See John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).
7. The semi-monthly catechetical journal, *Misionar* (Zhovkva, 1897-1944), published a lengthy series of articles in 1899 under the title "Pro vorohiv tserkvy i narodu." Although these articles were unsigned, it is quite possible that their author was one of the founding editors of the periodical, the Reverend Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, OSBM.
8. The Catholic Church in eastern Europe was not alone in the struggle with socialism; the Russian Orthodox Church took an active interest in the social question as well. It sent Vladimir Karlovich Sabler from its Procurator General's office to western Europe in order to study the Catholic workers' movement. Sabler later wrote a book entitled *O mirnoi borbe s sotsiializmom* (St. Petersburg, 1908).
9. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *O reformi vybornoho prava* (Zhovkva, 1913). Calls for electoral reform had arisen out of the flagrant disparities resulting from an electoral system that was dominated and manipulated by large landowners. See Józef Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji, 1905-1914* (Warsaw, 1956). On the question of a Ukrainian university, see Andreas Scheptytzkyj, "Die Notwendigkeit einer ruthenischen Universität in Lemberg," *Stenographische Protokolle*, Herrenhaus, XX Session, 11 Sitzung: 28 June 1910 (Vienna, 1910), pp. 286-8; Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Galicia, 1867-1914* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1980); and her essay in Chapter 13 of this volume.
10. The full text of Sheptyts'kyi's speech is given in Kost' Levyts'kyi, "Z natsional'noï diial'nosty Mytropolyta Andreia hrafa Sheptyts'koho," in *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 41-4.
11. See Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Rusynam osilym u Kanadi* ([Zhovkva], 1901); his "V spravi opiky nad emigrantamy," in *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XXIII, 7 (L'viv, 1911), pp. 80-4; and his *Pamiatka dlia ruskykh robitnykiv v Nimechchyni, Frantsiï, Spoluchenykh Derzhavakh, Kanadi, Brazyliï i Argentyni* (Zhovkva, 1912). This particular aspect of the Metropolitan's social and pastoral activity has been studied by Bohdan Kazymyra, "Pastyrs'ki lysty ta inshi pys'ma Mytropolyta Andreia do kanads'kykh ukraïntsiv," *Lohos*, IX, 3 (Yorkton, Sask., 1958), pp. 217-24; and his "Starannia pro sezonovykh robitnykiv u frankomovnykh kraïnakh," *Lohos*, XXXII, 3 (Yorkton, Sask., 1981), pp. 202-14.
12. Despite this difference of opinion with utopian socialism, which he considered to be illusory and unrealistic (*OKS*, 19-20:56-9), Sheptyts'kyi nevertheless limited himself to a critique of socialist ideas and attenuated the critique considerably when it came to actual socialists in Galicia. See note 18 below.
13. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Khrystiians'ka robota* (Zhovkva, 1900), p. 16. Emphasis added.
14. The first cooperatives in western Ukraine had been organized in the 1870s by priests who were inspired by the German cooperative movement and who wanted to alleviate the economic depression in the Galician countryside through community cooperation. The cooperative philosophy represented a significant departure from profit-oriented capitalism that characterized the prevailing economic relationships in Galicia. Credit unions granted credit on the basis of a borrower's character, rather than on capital holdings; they consciously tried to assist borrowers to achieve economic independence; profits were shared among members; and the credit unions had a democratic organizational structure, allocating one vote to each member at annual meetings. When the first farm cooperatives began to appear in 1904 (dairy cooperatives in the Stryi region), priests again played a prominent role in their organization. On the links between the cooperative movement and the Ukrainian national movement, see Petro Stavenko, "Pro kooperatsiiu za kordonom i na Ukraïni," in *Rozvaha: kalendar polonenykh ukraïntsiv na roky 1916 i 1917* (Freistadt, [1916]), pp. 221-2.

15. The association, known as the "Bohoslovs'kyi suspil'no-ekonomichnyi kruzhok" and headed by the Reverend Amvrozii Redkevych, translated into Ukrainian and published a major German treatise on the social question, Iosyf Biderliak [Joseph Biederlack, SJ], *Suspil'ne pytanie: prychynok do rozuminia ieho suty i ieho rozviazania* (L'viv, 1910).
16. For instance, the Reverend Ivan Iavors'kyi, a member of the Galician provincial diet, was an organizer of the agrarian strike. Other clerics noted for their involvement in the promotion of workers' rights were the Reverend Stefan Onyshkevych, also a member of the diet, and the Basilian hegumen Soter Ortyns'kyi, who later became bishop of the Greek Catholic Church in the United States. Cf. Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka tserkva mizh skhodom i zakhodom: narys istoriï ukraïns'koï tserkvy* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 679, n. 353.
17. Ivan Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia, sotsiial'ne pytannia i sotsiializm," *Literaturnonaukovyi vistnyk*, XXVIII, 10 (L'viv, 1904), pp. 1-23; reprinted in full in Bohdan Kravtsiv, ed., *Ivan Franko pro sotsiializm i marksyzm: (retsenziï i statti, 1897-1906)*, Suspil'no-politychna Biblioteka, vol. XVII (New York, 1966). All references are to the reprinted version, hereinafter cited as "Sotsiial'na aktsiia."

    To date, no Soviet edition of Franko's collected works has ever reprinted more than the second section of this article, concerning the nature of the social question. In the third section (p. 188), Franko contended that as a Christian, Sheptyts'kyi was on some issues more in accord with socialist tenets than he perhaps himself realized. Franko may have had in mind Sheptyts'kyi's description of a monastery as a "small communist society" (*mala komunistychna hromada*) and the Metropolitan's affirmation that "we who live the monastic life know what communism is and what is necessary to maintain it." *OKS*, 25:78.

    This dimension of Sheptyts'kyi's social thought (including Franko's favorable opinion of it) continues to be ignored in Soviet scholarly literature, in order to lend credence to the erroneous view that Franko saw nothing positive in *OKS*. Soviet studies typically refer to *OKS* as "anti-socialist demagoguery" and consider it to have been effectively dismantled by Franko. See Vasyl' L. Mykytas', *Ivan Franko—doslidnyk ukraïns'koï polemichnoï literatury* (Kiev, 1983), p. 218; and Mykola Virnyi, "Kinets' odniieï mistyfikatsiï," in *Vidhomin mynuloho*, XXXII, 7 (Kiev, 1954), pp. 139-40. This line of thought has its origin in a statement by the L'viv writer and contemporary of Franko, Denys Lukiianovych. Barely containing his glee, Lukiianovych wrote: "With his arguments, Franko has dragged the doctor of theology down from St. George's Hill, reducing his churchly, theoretical (*tserkovnoteoretychne*), and threadbare pastoral [i.e., *OKS*] to the level of a semi-literate sermon of a rural priest. . . . The mask of erudition was removed from the 'holy priest.' His authority was deeply shaken, and one had to live in L'viv at that time to witness the happiness that progressive people felt over the completely shredded [*rozkrytykovanym*] Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi." Cited in ibid., p. 140.

    In light of this tradition, it is quite surprising that a recent Polish-language monograph on Sheptyts'kyi, which draws heavily on Soviet sources and which claims to present the Metropolitan's socio-political activity, makes no mention whatsoever of *OKS*. See Edward Prus, *Władyka świętojurski: rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim (1865-1944)* (Warsaw, 1985).
18. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," pp. 154-6. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi addressed many of his early pastorals to specific groups or segments of Galician society, for example: *Napimnenia i nauky vsim Vozliublennym moïm hutsulam* (Zhovkva, 1900); *Rusynam osilym u Kanadi* (Zhovkva, 1901); *Virnym na Bukovyni* (Zhovkva, 1901); and *Do ruskoi intelihentsiï* (Zhovkva, 1901). Sheptyts'kyi took pains to modify his style to suit each audience, writing to the Hutsuls in their local dialect and to the intelligentsia in a more literary style. The Metropolitan made a point of reaching out to non-

Ukrainians as well. Many of his pastoral letters were translated into Polish and printed by the Jesuit publishing house "Czas" in Cracow. In addition, a special pastoral was issued only in Polish, *Do Polaków obrządku grecko-katolickiego* (Zhovkva, 1904), and there is evidence that Sheptyts'kyi occasionally addressed Jewish groups as well; see, for example, the section, "Moï ievreiski movy," in his pastoral, *O kanonichnoi vizytatsiï* (Zhovkva, 1902).

Franko would no doubt also have taken note of Sheptyts'kyi's ability, in the debate with socialism, to distinguish between the critique of doctrine and a more conciliatory attitude towards people who espoused a contrary view. Offering an explanation for why so many Christians were entering the socialist ranks, the Metropolitan remarked: "They are drawn by the theory of human equality and also by the fervent commitment to action (*rukhlyvist'*) and the honesty (*blahorodnist'*) of some within that camp who work sincerely for the sake of their idea." *OKS*, 15:43. In light of this, L'ongin Tsehel's'kyi's declaration that Mykhailo Pavlyk and Ivan Franko often visited the Metropolitan and "had the greatest respect for him" does not appear far-fetched. Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi: korotkyi zhyttiepys i ohliad ioho tserkovno-narodnoï diial'nosty* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 16.

19. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," pp. 169-70 and 177-8. Among those abuses, Franko alleged simony and the subjugation of women within the Christian family and within the church. In answer to Franko's charges that Sheptyts'kyi was vague and superficial on some points, one contemporary writer pointed out that *OKS* was not intended as a comprehensive and exhaustive treatment of the social question, but rather, in the Metropolitan's own words, "as a preliminary orientation for his clergy" and as a subject to which he wanted to return in the future. See Botsian, "Pastyrs'ki lysty," p. 118; and *OKS*, 71:234.
20. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," pp. 177 and 179.
21. Ibid., p. 162.
22. Sheptyts'kyi's purpose was not to pronounce a universal principle of Christian ethics whereby people would be held responsible for unconscious acts but rather to correct specific instances of pastoral neglect by certain priests who seemed to be losing sight of their spiritual charge. In the Metropolitan's view, that kind of neglect had far-reaching and detrimental consequences among the faithful (scandal, apostasy) and therefore, even if those consequences were not immediately apparent to their perpetrators, Sheptyts'kyi felt that it was part of a pastor's duty to be sharp enough to foresee and avoid activities that could do real harm to the Christian community.
23. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," pp. 162, 176-7.
24. Sheptyts'kyi later honed this to a finer point by incorporating attentiveness to consequences into an ethical reading of history. Reflecting on the history of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, he noted that certain historical patterns of behavior which were consistent with scriptural teaching had promoted unity, while others had aggravated discord and hatred. See his 1941 pastoral, "Idealom nashoho natsional'noho zhyttia. . . " (L'viv, 1941); reprinted as "Za iednist' sv[iatoï] Viry, Tserkvy i Natsiï," *Lohos*, I, 4 (Yorkton, Sask., 1950), pp. 241-8; II, 2,3, and 4 (1951), pp. 81-7, 161-7, and 241-6.
25. In this connection, Sheptyts'kyi called for caution in dealing with agitators who abused the principle of the "common good" to further their own ends. *OKS*, 21:64.
26. Considering charity to be "one of the most important social duties," both according to the Gospel and to philosophers, Sheptyts'kyi pointed out a formal distinction between the Christian and secular views: "For the Christian, such assistance is an act of love of one's neighbor, an act performed out of love for God, or at least in the presence of God. In material terms, the sociologist and the Christian [consider] almsgiving as assistance that is given to one's neighbor in need, but formally the Christian act

of charity has a higher, spiritual meaning; it is commanded by a higher, supernatural motive; it is illuminated by the light of the Christian faith and by divine grace." Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Pro myloserdia," in *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï, 1941-1944*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), p. 171.

27. Other occasional reminders of this fundamental loyalty toward the Austrian empire were pastoral letters issued by the Metropolitan, such as *O tsisars'kim iuvyleiu* (Zhovkva, 1908); and "Dorohi, v nezvychaino vazhlyvu... " (L'viv, 21 August 1914), in V. Iu. Malanchuk et al., eds., *Pravda pro Uniiu: dokumenty i materiialy* (L'viv, 1968), doc. 85, pp. 135-6, calling upon the faithful to be steadfast in their loyalty toward the emperor.
28. This is quite in line with Sheptyts'kyi's earlier affirmation about "true Christians" who "adhere to divine law by virtue of their own experience and their conscience." *OKS*, 43:141.
29. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," pp. 164-5. As an illustration of an unjust law, Franko cited the practice of *prezentatsiia* (benefices), whereby wealthy community patrons selected priests for local parishes and the bishop's role was relegated to mere approval. Franko seemed genuinely disturbed by this practice, calling it a feudal relic that amounted to simony (p. 169). In 1901, Sheptyts'kyi had partially addressed that problem with an administrative directive aimed at standardizing the transfers of priests from one parish to another. See his "Dlia skorshoho obsadzhuvannia... ," M. O. no. 299, 14 September 1901 (L'viv, 1901). Nevertheless, the issue continued to be debated in public; see Ierei K., "V spravi patronatu (holos z kruhiv dukhoven'stva)," *Dilo* (L'viv), 4 September 1902, p. 1.
30. Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi et al., *O solidarnosty* (Zhovkva, 1905) and *Rik mynaie vid khvyli...* (Zhovkva, 1906).
31. The document convoking the meeting of priests was attached to the pastoral *Rik mynaie vid khvyli*. On Sheptyts'kyi's efforts to mobilize clerical solidarity in view of elections, see also his pastoral to the faithful, *O vyborakh do parliamentu* (Zhovkva, 1907); the pastoral to the clergy, *Khotiai pered poslidnimy...* (Zhovkva, 1907); and the pastoral to the clergy, "Zblyzhaiut' sia vybory... ," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XXIII, 5 (L'viv, 1911), pp. 67-9.
32. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Donoshu vam...* ([Zhovkva], 1906).
33. See his pastoral letters, "Ukraïna v peredsmertnykh sudorohakh... ," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XLVI, 7 (L'viv, 1933), pp. 101-2, and "Protestuiuchy nedavno... ," *Dilo*, 28 October 1933, p. 1—both on the famine in Soviet Ukraine; and *Potriasaiuchi podiï...* (L'viv, 1938), on the persecution of the Orthodox Church in Poland. Copies of the original Ukrainian editions of this last pastoral letter were confiscated by Polish authorities, but French translations appeared in France in 1938. The Ukrainian text is reprinted in Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947), pp. 108-10; and in Mykhailo Ostroverkha, *Velykyi Vasyliianyn* (New York, 1960), pp. 32-5, while a French translation is given in Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865–1944* Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), pp. 412-4.

    This assertiveness before civil authorities is overlooked by Soviet writers, who simplistically portray Sheptyts'kyi as an exponent of blind obedience and unqualified submission to the state. Cf. Anatolii Shysh, *Antyhumannyi kharakter morali uniiatstva* (Kiev, 1973), p. 49.
34. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," p. 166.
35. During the agrarian strike of 1902, Sheptyts'kyi's chancery office issued a decree to the clergy, instructing them to see that the strike was carried out without violence.

See "Poruchaiet'sia vsechestnym dushpastyriam... ," in Malanchuk, *Pravda pro Uniiu*, doc. 75, p. 120. In later years, Sheptyts'kyi had occasion to speak out on specific acts of violence. See, for example, his pastorals, *My vzhe neraz...* (Zhovkva, 1908), on the assassination of Count Andrzej Potocki; "Dyrektor Babii upav zhertvoiu... ," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XLVII, 7 (L'viv, 1934), pp. 170-1, on fratricide; and the exhortation on the sanctity of human life, "Ne ubyi," ibid., LV, 11 (L'viv, 1942), reprinted in Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, pp. 222-31.

36. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," p. 169.
37. The May Laws were the culmination of a pattern of liberal legislative reaction to the Austrian-Vatican Concordat of 1855. In 1868, schools were removed from the jurisdiction of the church and marriage was placed under civil jurisdiction. In 1870, Austria unilaterally abrogated its Concordat with the Vatican, citing as a pretext its opposition to the dogma of papal infallibility.
38. Franko, "Sotsiial'na aktsiia," pp. 168-9.
39. It was issued on the feast day of St. John the Theologian, 9 October 1939. "Obernulasia kartka istoriï... ," in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia: z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï, 1939-1940*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1961), pp. 1-2. Emphasis added.
40. It was issued on 1 July 1941. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Do ukraïns'koho narodu," in Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu* (New York and Toronto, 1957), p. 120. Emphasis added.
41. For a more comprehensive treatment of church-state relations in western Ukraine during World War II, see above chapters 5 and 6. On Sheptyts'kyi's efforts to save Jews, see chapter 7.
42. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Pro tserkvu," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XLIX, 1 (L'viv, 1936), pp. 8-9.
43. The theologian Tommaso Federici has also noted this synthetic quality in Sheptyts'kyi's social writings—"a sense of that rare Oriental equilibrium that is affirmed in the heart of a praying, worshipping, and contemplative church. . . . [This] pastoral and social thought does not emerge from any ideology, but from the celebration of the faith (*la fede celebrata*). And in its totality, the teaching of Metropolitan Andrei . . . splendidly reconciles tradition with prevailing necessities and strides boldly forward in addressing issues of the day, while remaining ever faithful to its sources." Tommaso Federici, "Due colonne della Chiesa ucraina nel XX secolo," *Bohosloviia*, XLVIII (Rome, 1984), p. 18.
44. "Nothing is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is—and at the same time to seek elsewhere for the solace to its troubles." Pope Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum," in Etienne Gilson, ed., *The Church Speaks to the Modern World: The Social Teachings of Leo XIII* (New York, 1954), p. 214, art. 18.
45. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Do ruskoi intelihentsii* (Zhovkva, 1901), p. 45. See also the modernized version, "Do ukraïns'koï inteligentsiï," in Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty*, p. 213.

Chapter 13

Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy

Ann Slusarczuk Sirka

Education is one of the most powerful tools used by the church toward its ultimate aim of saving human souls. Hence Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi perceived his vocation as that of an educator who not only saved souls, but who enriched minds as well. This chapter will examine his role as priest, teacher, and promoter of education. Sheptyts'kyi viewed that teaching role as God-given. He made this clear in a series of articles for the eparchial monthly bulletin, *L'vivs'ki arkhieparchiial'ni vidomosti*: "Christ said: 'Teach all nations . . . teaching them to obey all that I have taught you' (Matthew 28:19). These last words of Christ, stated . . . to the Apostles, underline fully the educational function of the Church."[1] In his sermons, the Metropolitan also frequently quoted the New Testament in order to underline the importance and sanctity of education as well as the clergy's role as educators.

He expressed this attitude towards education best in his pastoral letters, but it is evident as a continuous thread in all his activities, from the establishment of educational institutions, and the founding of religious periodicals and organizations, to support of monastic life. In his first letter as bishop of Stanyslaviv (dated 2 August 1899), Sheptyts'kyi wrote of philanthropy and education. The ninth paragraph of that letter contained a special admonition to the wealthy:

> Be thrifty, but not miserly. Remember that what goods you possess, you have from God. And God commanded to give alms. . . .

> And when you help your lesser brother, remember, he not only needs your money. Even more he needs your moral support, your advice, your consolation.
> Help the poor one not only occasionally, but so that he can help himself out of his poverty and stand on his own two feet. Give him the chance to earn money, teach him and show him how he can improve his own fate.[2]

Sheptyts'kyi presented a summary of the relationship between education and wealth in the tenth and eleventh paragraphs:

> Concerning scholarship and education: You will not acquire wealth without true education. And without it, you will easily lose that which you possess.
> That is why people justly value scholarship and education. Because education for the higher classes of society is power, in some respects even greater than wealth!
> A nation which has scholars wins respect and honor among other nations. And other nations must reckon with such a nation.
> And for people in the villages, education is an item of almost primary need. A dark uneducated people easily wastes all that it has and lets itself be misled in every way. Such a nation is unapproachable with even the best idea. It doesn't know its own faith. . . .
> Acquire education, my dear brothers. Work on it, value it. . . . Establish, my brothers, reading rooms and kindergartens for children in the villages. And see to it that your children attend school.[3]

Finally, Sheptyts'kyi summarized his attitude towards education in his "Word to Teachers" in the twelfth paragraph:

> Give youth such education which will teach it not only the theoretical, but the practical as well.
> Teach it how it must live. . . .
> Let the future generation take into its hands trade and industry. For the nation that does not have its own industry and where trade is in the hands of foreigners, is a poor nation. . . .
> Teach your youth to be independent and individualistic. Teach them to rely on themselves more than on others. Teach them not to await help from the government but to achieve an independent existence through their own initiative.[4]

This theme of attaining wealth through education is also evident in Sheptyts'kyi's other early pastoral letters. It is, however, merely the theoretical basis of his philosophy, which found practical expression in the his educational and philanthropic activities. Sheptyts'kyi sought to deepen the religious and moral character of the population not only directly, through preaching, but also indirectly, through his support of education, culture, and economic well-being. In that sense, he attempted to have the church in Galicia play a role similar to that of the church in the Middle Ages when it was the economic and cultural focal point for the populace as well as its spiritual leader.

The Metropolitan placed such emphasis on quality education, in particular its practical and vocational aspects, because he viewed education not merely as time in classes but as encompassing the total life of the individual, including such facets as dormitory life, cultural needs, and scholarly institutions. Above all, however, for him education meant Christian education, and in this aspect the role of the clergy became paramount. Therefore, he considered the training of a highly educated clergy the first step in providing education for the Ukrainian masses in Galicia.[5]

Sheptyts'kyi was particularly well suited to furthering the cause of education and scholarship. He held three doctoral degrees (law, theology, and philosophy); had studied about a dozen foreign languages (including Polish, Ukrainian, German, and French to the level of native speaker, and Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Church Slavonic, English, Italian, and Russian to a lesser level of proficiency); had travelled extensively; had lectured as professor (church art and architecture at the L'viv Theological Academy, Greek at the monastery at Dobromil', and moral theology in Krystonopil'); was a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society; and was the author and editor of scholarly works (about the Fathers of the Eastern Church and a volume of documents pertaining to the history of church union). Throughout his career, he also collected a huge library of manuscripts, archival material, old prints, and rare editions. In short, Sheptyts'kyi was truly a Renaissance man.

The Metropolitan felt that the broad classical education he had experienced should be instilled in his Ukrainian clergy. Consequently, he undertook to educate the clergy by providing suitable educational institutions. While he had served as novice master in the Dobromil' monastery, his position as bishop of the Stanyslaviv eparchy (1899-1900), first gave him new avenues for the advancement of education. Then he foresaw the need for an eparchial seminary and bought land bordering the eparchial rectory for a sum of $4000.[6] In addition, he was able to acquire from the Austrian government the sum of 280,000 crowns ($37,300) for a structure, which was erected by his successor, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn (1904-1945). On 12 April 1901, he donated to the eparchy a library consisting of 3870 volumes which he had started accumulating as bishop. This library, which contained many valuable old imprints and was valued at 8216 złoty ($1642), served as a valuable resource for the clergy and students at the Theological Seminary in Stanyslaviv. To insure that the library would continue to acquire all the books it needed, Sheptyts'kyi also established an endowment to fund the library.[7] His concern with quality education for the clergy continued after his move to

L'viv in 1900 as metropolitan archbishop. There he founded the Naukovyi Instytut (Scholarly Institute), where theology students studied Ukrainian, Slavic, and Eastern Byzantine church history. The Metropolitan donated a building and a 4000 volume library to that institute, which subsequently was united with the Theological Academy he founded in 1928.

Sheptyts'kyi's concern for a well-educated clergy extended to the monastic orders as well. By supporting the various orders, he furthered the cause of lay education because nuns and monks ran educational institutions while monastery grounds provided opportunities for vocational and trade school training. He realized the social as well as religious functions of monasteries, so he donated land and/or buildings to found over twenty monasteries. His first gift, in 1901, was land in the Stryi suburb of L'viv (at Vulka) valued at $20,000, which he donated to the Basilian fathers for a new church and monastery.

Among the Metropolitan's other monastic projects was the restoration of the ancient monastic order of St. Theodore the Studite (1904).[8] He provided the order with the necessary lands and funds to develop its religious and educational work. Prior to World War I, he purchased twenty-eight morgs (thirty-nine acres) of land in Sknyliv for $4500, and with an additional $6000 he built a monastery. That monastery supported various workshops and served as an educational center for the neighboring population. During World War I, the monastery was totally destroyed, and the monks moved to the Metropolitan's summer residence in Univ. These supposedly temporary quarters eventually became the permanent home of the order, and the sixty monks living there established an orphanage school which cared for forty boys orphaned by the war.[9] In 1913, the Metropolitan purchased about 1,130 morgs (1,578 acres) of land in Zarvanytsia for $180,000.[10] The Metropolitan donated thirty morgs (forty-two acres) to the Studite brothers, for a monastery and trade school (1918) and 232 morgs (324 acres) for the support of an orphanage, while the eparchy administered the remainder. The Studite brothers were able to move into their new monastery in 1921. In 1925, a new Studite community was built in the L'viv suburb of Luchakiv-Kaiserwald. There the monks erected the Lavra of St. John the Baptist. It included several smaller houses of an orphanage housing forty children and a dormitory. In 1930, the Metropolitan had a beautiful wooden church from the village of Kryky (Turka district) transported to the monastery. In 1936, Sheptyts'kyi donated a large building on Skarga Street in L'viv (the former cantor's dormitory) to the Studites.[11] Sheptyts'kyi also provided financial support to the Studite nuns. In 1921, he founded the first Studite monastery for nuns in Iaktorove near Univ, which administered a nursery and orphanage for thirty children up to age seven. The Metropolitan established two other Studite monasteries in L'viv in 1939-1941.[12]

Sheptyts'kyi also supported orders which were not eastern. He invited the Redemptorist Fathers, a Belgian order, to Galicia. He purchased for them eight morgs (11 acres) of field and eight morgs of garden land for $32,000 in Zboisko and Holoska. On this land the Redemptorist Fathers built their monastery and the Juvenat, an educational center-*gymnasium* for youth. The Metropolitan especially cared for the Order of Basilian nuns.[13] He had overseen the reform of the order, which was active in the field of education, and his generosity enabled the nuns to enlarge their scope of activities. When in 1911, the Russophile National Home (Narodnyi Dom) gave notice to the Basilian nuns to evacuate the monastery premises on Zublikevych Street in L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi provided them with temporary quarters in the archeparchy rectory. He purchased a building, which had been a dormitory, from the Pedagogical Society (Pedahohichne Tovarystvo) on Potocki Street for the sum of $155,000 and donated this structure to the order for use as a monastery. Until 1920, the building also housed a *gymnasium* for girls and dormitory.[14] After Sheptyts'kyi paid for the renovation of the Academic Home, the *gymnasium* was relocated there. The Metropolitan also purchased two morgs (2.8 acres) adjacent to the monastery for $8000 and donated them to the nuns to be used for a vegetable garden, and he spent $6000 to build a new monastery wing for the Basilian monastery of nuns in Slovite.

The Basilian nuns cared for orphans, work which the Metropolitan enabled the order to continue through his generous donations. In 1918, he purchased land for some $8700 to support the orphanage, and later, when there were insufficient operating funds because of inflation or unexpected expenses, he provided emergency subsidies, most of which went unrecorded. For example, in 1924 and 1925, he gave respectively $2664 and 3000 Swiss francs to improve the orphans' nutrition. His numerous gifts to the orphans can only be gleaned from memoirs,[15] which indicate large and small donations, such as that in 1924 in the amount of $100 for sleds, so that older children could take a trip to Pidliute.

Besides his interest and financial support for schools, research institutions, and publications that were intended for, or operated by, clergy, monks, and nuns, Sheptyts'kyi also devoted much attention to all phases of secular education for Ukrainians in Galicia from the elementary through the university level. The question of a Ukrainian university, which had been raised for the first time in the Austrian parliament less than a year before he became bishop of Stanyslaviv, became a major issue for him.[16] Although there were at the time over 500 Ukrainian students at L'viv University (representing about 25 percent of the student body), the Ukrainian community had limited opportunities to train and nurture a corps of scholars for a future Ukrainian university because under Austrian rule most classes were taught in Polish or Latin, only a few in Ukrainian. In post-World War I Poland, however, L'viv University became a completely Polonized institution. This meant, for example, that theology students were unable to study either Church Slavonic or comparative theology of the Latin and Byzantine rites. Courses on the works of the Eastern scholastics and Byzantine church law were simply not offered.

The resourceful Metropolitan, however, devised other ways of insuring the availability of an Eastern-rite higher education, and the real test of his position on the university issue occurred shortly after he became Metropolitan. Student demonstrations in November 1901 (following a parliamentary resolution calling for the creation of a separate Ukrainian university) led to a hearing by the university senate whereby five Ukrainian students were found guilty of taking part in an illegal student meeting and demonstration. In a show of solidarity, 420 Ukrainian students demanded that they all be punished, as they had all participated in the demonstration. Deputies Iuliian Romanchuk and Oleksander Barvins'kyi on 25 November sent an inquiry to the government on their behalf. On 29 November, however, the government condemned the action of the students, refused to promise a separate Ukrainian university until qualified faculty was trained, and stated that classes were to resume.

In response, on the first day of classes (8 December), a delegation of Ukrainian students presented a declaration signed by 400 students who were seceding from the university until the problem of a separate Ukrainian university was satisfactorily resolved. Of these, about half were theology students who acted with the full support of the Metropolitan.[17] These theology students returned only when the other students returned to L'viv. This was the first manifestation of Sheptyts'kyi's support for a separate Ukrainian university.[18] Following this demonstration of solidarity, the Metropolitan became an ardent supporter of the idea of a separate Ukrainian university. During the next decade, Ukrainian parliamentary deputies tried—unsuccessfully—to establish such an institution. Then, on 28 June 1910, the Metropolitan broke his apolitical stance and made a speech in defense of a university in the upper house of the Austrian Parliament.[19]

However, Sheptyts'kyi's most significant contribution to the cause of a separate Ukrainian university occurred four years later, when the question was discussed in conjunction with electoral reform, the other major demand of Ukrainians. Early in 1914 there was an impasse between Poles and Ukrainians in the Galician diet. The presiding officer, Count Adam Gołuchowski, invited the leaders of both clubs to a conference on electoral reform. Dr. Kost' Levyts'kyi took the initiative and requested that the Metropolitan act as an intermediary between the two groups. When Galicia's Viceroy Korytowski was unable to offer any common ground for negotiations, he also turned to Sheptyts'kyi in an attempt to bring unity to the two factions. Sheptyts'kyi responded by presenting a compromise proposal for electoral reform which also included the establishment of a separate Ukrainian university.[20] The formal compromise that was signed 28 January 1914 called for the immediate creation of such a university.

However, neither electoral reform nor a Ukrainian university ever saw the light of day, because within six months World War I broke out, which ended with the demise of the Habsburg Empire. Since East Galicia subsequently became part of a centralized Polish state, there was no real possibility of creating in L'viv a Ukrainian university. In such unfavorable circumstances, Ukrainian academics set up an underground university which functioned from 1920 to 1925. Sheptyts'kyi came to their aid, allowing lectures (including those in subjects other than theology) to be held in archeparchial buildings but the underground university was finally forced by Polish authorities to shut down entirely.[21]

Consequently, when the Polish-Vatican Concordat, signed 10 February 1925, granted Catholic bishops in Poland the right to establish educational institutions, Sheptyts'kyi attempted to establish a private Ukrainian Catholic university. When the Polish government came out forcefully against this plan, and even threatened to abrogate the Concordat should the Vatican approve the Ukrainian university, Sheptyts'kyi instead set up separate theological classes in the Theological Seminary. In 1928, under the leadership of the Reverend Iosyf Slipyi, this became the Theological Academy (Bohoslovs'ka Akademiia). Modeled on West European universities which train scholars through a system of seminars, proseminars, and habilitation, the Academy provided an alternative to sending theology students to the Polonized L'viv University.

The vehement opposition of the Polish government prevented the Vatican from recognizing the Theological Academy as a university, so it never formally granted degrees. The Metropolitan, however, continued to plan for the day when the academy would form the nucleus of a Ukrainian university. Hence instruction was in Ukrainian and Latin, and the administrative language was Ukrainian. The academy comprised two faculties (theology and philosophy); a basic law course was offered; and the Metropolitan foresaw the need for a medical faculty.[22] By World War II, there were over 300 students enrolled at the Theological Academy.[23] Sheptyts'kyi also reached out beyond the borders of Galicia in an effort to provide candidates for the priesthood with a solid basis in theology, history, and philosophy. He provided scholarships to bright students for study at universities in Vienna, Freiburg (Switzerland), Rome (Collegium Ruthenum), and Innsbruck (Canissianum).[24]

Sheptyts'kyi's activities in the field of secondary education were likewise significant under both regimes.[25] This became important because the position of Ukrainian education in postwar Polish Galicia was even less favorable than under the Austrian government. The six state-supported Ukrainian *gymnasia* which existed before the war were transformed into Polish schools.[26] What Ukrainian education did exist could only function with difficulty and only if privately financed. In practice, as in the nineteenth century, the church once again took the leading role in the national life of Ukrainians because in inflation-ridden Poland the church was the only Ukrainian institution with enough income to carry on actively educational or cultural activities.[27]

In these new circumstances, Sheptyts'kyi was willing actively to foster educational and cultural activities. In L'viv he established the Minor Seminary

(Mala Seminariia, 1919), a classical eight-grade *gymnasium* whose professed purpose was to prepare candidates for the religious life.[28] The graduates, however, generally chose lay professions. Moreover, the seminary became a haven for students who were expelled from Polish schools for Ukrainian political activities, especially those who were members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.[29] Furthermore, education minister Czerwiński forbade other Ukrainian schools from accepting these students, and Polish *gymnasia* would do so only if they first changed their religious rite. Most, however, were offered an alternative by Sheptyts'kyi. He not only accepted them at the Minor Seminary in L'viv, he founded a second one in Rohatyn. Although Poland did not recognize the diplomas of these schools, all universities in western Europe did. In the end, many graduates continued their studies abroad with the financial assistance of the Metropolitan.[30]

Sheptyts'kyi's generosity extended as well to elementary and preschool education. In L'viv, he gave four buildings for Ukrainian elementary schools, and a fifth, the Hrinchenko elementary school, was housed in the eparchial buildings. The Metropolitan saw preschool nurseries as a vital step in preventing the denationalization of Ukrainian children of working parents, which was inevitable in Polish-run institutions. Therefore, these schools provided young Ukrainian children with a religious and national upbringing in their native language. Sheptyts'kyi supported numerous kindergartens run by the Basilian nuns, Sisters of Mercy, Studites, Josephites, and Sisters Myronosytsi.[31] These orders of nuns also ran orphanages, which were closely tied to and sometimes inseparable from the schools.

Sheptyts'kyi's role in vocational and trade education was especially noteworthy. In the nineteenth century, such education was not popular with Ukrainians and attendance declined.[32] Thus, vocational/technical/trade education among Ukrainians in Galicia was poor and reflected the weak economic position that Ukrainians held in the province. The Metropolitan worked in cooperation with Ukrainian organizations to change this situation, and he helped found and/or finance a series of Ukrainian vocational and trade schools.

The first was at the Studite monastery in Zarvanytsia, founded in 1921. Others followed, such as the shoemaking, woodcarving, and tanning schools at the Studite monastery in Univ (near Peremyshliany). Under the auspices of the popular enlightenment Prosvita Society, an agricultural school was founded in Milovane (near Halych). Sheptyts'kyi bought a manor with ten morgs (fourteen acres) of land for the school which permitted dairy farming, agriculture, and a nursery. In Korshiv, the Metropolitan donated an eighteen morg (twenty-five acre) orchard worth $10,000 to the organization Sils'kyi Hospodar, which included a nursery.[33] In addition, he provided financial support to the private trade schools organized by the Prosvita Society. The Metropolitan also founded and maintained the numerous cantor's schools for young boys where the boarders learned a trade in addition to cantoring. The most famous of these was on Skarga Street in L'viv (closed 1936). Sheptyts'kyi's concern even extended to summer vacations. To help children spend a part of their vacation in summer camps at church grounds in the Carpathian Mountains, the Metropolitan was the first to sign the charter of the society, Vakatsiini Oseli, and he donated $300 to its inaugural fund. He also provided housing for the children's camps in Milovane and Pidliute.

The Metropolitan also helped youth by being a great patron of Plast, the Ukrainian scouting organization.[34] In 1924, he donated 125 acres of land for Plast camps on Mount Sokil', and he provided the lumber to build the necessary structures. Beginning in 1927, the youngest scouts (*novaky*) were permitted to use all the buildings at the Metropolitan's estate in Pidliute. In 1929, he donated land in Ostodor along with building material for a second Plast camp, which was named in his honor. Sheptyts'kyi personally visited the Plast camps and took an active interest in their activities. In recognition of his long-standing financial and moral support, the Plast leadership awarded him the "Cross of Gratitude" (*svastyka vdiachnosty*).[35] When the organization was dissolved by the Polish government in September 1930, he helped found Orly, a youth organization spiritually close to the forbidden Plast.

In 1917, the fate of orphans became Sheptyts'kyi's favorite and largest project. When he returned from exile in the Russian Empire, Galicia had thousands of war orphans. That same year, Ukrainians presented him with a donation of $41,650 as a "Fund in honor of Andrei von Sheptyts'kyi for Ukrainian orphans." He was touched by this gesture, and in his acceptance speech modestly noted that "the fund has only one flaw, namely that it carries my name."[36] Several months later he founded the Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi Orphan Defense Fund (Zakhyst im. Mytropolyta Andreia hr. Sheptyts'koho dlia Syrit) in L'viv.[37] In March 1918, it purchased 3670 morgs (5127 acres) of forest land for $320,000 (2,400,000 crowns) and in May an additional 390 morgs (545 acres) of forest land for $203,000 (1,521,000 crowns). In order to finance these purchases, the Metropolitan supplemented the $41,650 donated by the Ukrainian community with his own contribution of $214,000 (1,600,000 crowns). Then in 1920, he gave the fund 232 morgs (324 acres) of the best agricultural land in Zarvanytsia worth $43,000 (324,000 crowns), property which subsequently became the basis for an agricultural-vocational school. In order to provide even more help, in 1920-1923, Sheptyts'kyi travelled to western Europe and North and South America with the primary objective of gathering funds for Ukrainian war orphans in Galicia.[38]

By 1924/1925, the fund was able to support the orphanage for 110 girls at Potocki Street in L'viv from the profits of its many holdings. Before the defense fund paid off its mortgage, the Metropolitan provided additional financial help for the orphanages. For example, in the year 1924/1925, he donated $1600 (12,000 crowns) in cash and ten wagonloads of firewood. The building which housed the girls' *gymnasium* was also given to 120 war orphans, mostly children of priests. In 1917, Sheptyts'kyi purchased an estate in Posich Maidan for war orphans at a price of $333,000 (2,500,000 crowns). In total, the Metropolitan donated over half a million dollars for the cause of children orphaned by the war.

The St. Josaphat Institute, another of Sheptyts'kyi's projects, also housed orphans. Until 1923, the orphanage dormitory was located at the building on Skarga Street which housed the Studion. Then, in 1924, it was moved to a wing of the seminary at Slet Street. The Metropolitan provided the money and three wagonloads of lumber to rebuild the war-damaged seminary. The dormitory housed many orphans, twenty of whom were supported exclusively by the Metropolitan, who paid $100 monthly for their upkeep.

Priest's widows likewise faced hardships. Because the majority of the clergy, under both Austria and Poland, were of the Latin rite and therefore celibate, there was no pension provision in the government's social program for these women and their children. On the advice of the Metropolitan, the question was raised in the Viennese parliament by two deputies, the Reverend Stefan Onyshkevych and the Reverend Iosyf Folys, while Sheptyts'kyi himself raised it in the House of Lords. In this manner, the Metropolitan was able to secure for priests' widows a small monthly pension from the Austrian government's Religious Fund.[39] During World War II, the problem of priest's widows and orphans arose again, and the Metropolitan founded a fund for this purpose. Starting 1 April 1942, pastors contributed six złoty and their assistants three złoty monthly to the fund. In January 1943, these mandatory contributions were raised to twenty and ten złoty respectively.[40]

Sheptyts'kyi also educated the faithful through a series of journals and organizations, which he founded and continued to sustain with financial support. The first was the religious journal *Misionar*. During its long life (1897-1944), circulation reached several hundred thousand per month, the largest of all Ukrainian periodicals in Galicia. The Metropolitan's organization of the Ukrainian Catholic Union (1931) also led to the appearance, with his financial backing, of three new periodicals: *Meta* (1931-1939), a sociopolitical weekly for the intelligentsia; its supplement *Khrystos nasha syla* for the general public; and *Dzvony* (1931-1939), a literary scholarly monthly. *Dzvony* also published a series of over twenty volumes of literary and scholarly books, including Samchuk's trilogy *Volyn'* (1932-1937). Even earlier, the Metropolitan gave support to youth journals: *Nash pryiatel'* (1922-1939) with its series of books for children; and the monthly *Postup* (1921-1931) for *gymnasium* and university students.[41] Finally, to assure the technical aspects of the periodical press in the 1930s, Sheptyts'kyi purchased Biblios, the printing and bookbinding shop.[42]

To further the cause of ecclesiastical scholarship Sheptyts'kyi founded the Ukrainian Ecclesiastical Historic Mission (Ukraïns'ka Tserkovno-istorychna

Missiia) in Rome. There, under the tutelage of the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky, researchers studied in the Vatican archives and copied documents relating to the history of the Ukrainian church.[43] Similar research teams copied documents in Vienna, while Professor Ivan Shendryk (in Volynia) and Sheptyts'kyi's brother, Klymentii (in Vilnius) also did research. The Metropolitan had planned to publish all these carefully collected documents during the 1930s, but the high costs of publication during that period of economic depression forced him to postpone his plans.[44] The documents were, however, finally published by the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome under the title *Monumenta Ucrainae historica* (1964-1978).

Sheptyts'kyi made plans to establish an Ecclesiastical Archeological Committee (Tserkovno-Arkheografichna Komissiia) consisting of Catholic and Orthodox scholars, who together would write the history of the Ukrainian church. These plans, drafted during World War II, were never implemented. However, he was able to set up the Theological Scientific Society (Bohoslovs'ke Naukove Tovarystvo) in L'viv in 1926. It took over publication of the scholarly theological quarterly *Bohosloviia* (founded in 1923), and also published about twenty volumes in the series "Pratsi Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï."

Sheptyts'kyi's humanitarian concerns also included the physical health of the population. Among several projects to improve health care in Galicia, the largest and best known was the Narodna Lichnytsia (People's Clinic) in L'viv, founded in 1903, to which the Metropolitan donated the building on Skarga Street and provided $1200 for renovations. The clinic dispensed free medical care, regardless of the patient's nationality or religion.[45] The Sisters of Mercy directed the clinic and Ukrainian doctors were given the opportunity to practice medicine. In 1938, further funds from the Metropolitan helped erect a full-scale hospital with one hundred beds. In addition to that clinic, Sheptyts'kyi funded the Counselling Center for Mothers (Poradnia Materei); donated a building on Khodorovs'kyi Street worth $2000 to the L'viv branch of the Children's Care Society to be used for a small children's hospital; and built a sanatorium for youth (particularly students) on the church grounds in Pidliute. He also purchased the Buduchnist' building to serve as a dormitory as well as a counselling center for servant girls working in L'viv.

Sheptyts'kyi followed the philosophy he expressed in his early pastoral letters and writings and continued to work for the economic independence of Ukrainians in Galicia. He provided the initiative and financial backing for several mammoth projects. The largest was the purchase of a fifty acre site for $500,000 before World War I for an industrial park in Piskivni, a suburb of L'viv. The site was to have several factories which would provide employment for Ukrainians. The Metropolitan had even contracted a Viennese porcelain firm to build a factory at the industrial park, but war broke out and the resulting inflation prevented the completion of the project. Instead, he donated the three buildings on the grounds for a school and a Prosvita Society reading room. Sheptyts'kyi provided funds to establish the Land Bank (Zemel'nyi Bank). Under the administration of the Reverend Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, the bank provided excellent thirty-year mortgage terms which enabled peasants to purchase land. Sheptyts'kyi also founded his own Agricultural Mortgage Bank in which he invested $133,000 (1 million crowns), providing thereby the operating capital for the institution. He also purchased shares in the insurance companies Karpattia and Dnister, which enabled these institutions further development.[46]

Sheptyts'kyi provided as well charity on an individual basis. In addition to the scholarships for students and orphans, he financially supported or provided employment for many of Galicia's foremost artists and scholars. In 1908-1910, he engaged Professor Vadym Shcherbakivs'kyi, who had been exiled by the tsarist regime, as assistant director in his L'viv Museum. In the 1920s he provided moral and financial support to Orthodox Ukrainian "Petliurist" émigrés who came to L'viv and were housed in the eparchial buildings on St. George's Hill. Among them were Mykola Voronyi, Leonid Bilets'kyi, Mykhailo Korchyns'kyi, Ivan Ohiienko, Liudvik Sedlets'kyi (better known under his literary pseudonym as Sava Krylach), and engineer Volodymyr Pishchans'kyi. In fact, Professor Ohiienko (later Orthodox Metropolitan Ilarion) was able to publish the journal *Ridna mova* only because Sheptyts'kyi provided the financial backing.[47] The Metropolitan's support of artists and the arts was so generous that it is, indeed, a separate chapter in the history of his philanthropy.

The source of the Metropolitan's income, from which he funded these educational and charitable works, was twofold. Primarily, the office of Metropolitan of Galicia owned land, including the city of Halych, the villages of Krylos, Zaluvka (on the Dnister), Iachtoriv, Univ, and the Perehyns'ko forests which provided income. The Perehyns'ko forests, with their rare lumber sought by the furniture industry, provided the largest portion of the archeparchy's income. Besides this, Sheptyts'kyi also had his own family wealth from which he often made donations.[48]

Because adequate finances were crucial to the implementation of the Metropolitan's philanthropic programs, it is worth mentioning the Reverend Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, the person who managed the archeparchial estates. On 29 June 1905, the Metropolitan gave Voinarovs'kyi the directive to inspect all church properties and to make recommendations. According to Voinarovs'kyi, "In relationship to their size, these properties provided minimal income... the farmlands... did not provide any income, and often incurred losses. The forests were only marginally income-producing."[49] The Reverend Voinarovs'kyi made recommendations and carried out administrative changes, with the result that the income from the Perehyns'ko forests alone increased tenfold by 1909, from 30,000 crowns to 320,000 crowns. He also had the foresight to have payments made in Swiss francs starting with 1924.

It is impossible to come up with even a close estimate of Sheptyts'kyi's philanthropy in monetary terms. There are simply too many figures missing. At best, I have been able to document over $500,000 donated to the cause of orphans, over $250,000 for monastic orders, some $800,000 for economic aid, and $200,000 for miscellaneous causes. The sums donated to fifteen monasteries, health care (including the hundred-bed Ukrainian Hospital), individual scholarships, lay education (including the schools of the Prosvita Society and Ridna Shkola), religious-educational institutions (including the minor seminaries, the Theological Academy, and the Ecclesiastic Mission), the press, and the National Museum are not documented. Working only with the sums that are available, it is safe to assume that Sheptyts'kyi's donations were in the realm of millions of dollars, or in today's values, tens of millions of dollars.

Sheptyts'kyi's fame as a philanthropist reached almost legendary proportions. In fact, he was sometimes credited with philanthropy where none existed. One of the grounds for his arrest in 1914 by the tsarist authorities was his supposed financing of a military force in the Austro-Hungarian army, the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen.[50] At other times, his public and financial support of a project often made people forget that he was neither personally responsible nor involved in every decision. For daily details, he had advisors, especially the Reverend Tyt Voinarovs'kyi and the Reverend Vasyl' Lytsyniak.[51] Likewise, the Metropolitan could not be held personally responsible for ventures which did not succeed financially as he had hoped.[52] This, of course, does not diminish the social consciousness of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's philanthropy.

A discussion of religious philanthropy would be incomplete without reference to Sheptyts'kyi's aid to the building or renovating of churches.[53] He funded the Church of St. Andrew in Klepariv, a suburb of L'viv; he donated land for the church and the National Home in the village of Bohdanivtsi near L'viv; and he sent $8000 for the city church of Ternopil'. Although numerous churches and monasteries received building lumber gratis from the eparchial forests, Sheptyts'kyi left the actual initiative for building churches to his clergy. He merely provided the financial backing where needed. He did not build a single church which would have survived as a monument to his generosity.[54] Rather, he preferred to finance educational and social projects, which helped a generation of Ukrainians in its quest for a better and spiritually richer life.

Notes

1. Cited from Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Bozha Mudrist'," in his *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni*, Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï, vol. XLV-XLVIII (Rome, 1978), p. 418.

2. "Pershe slovo pastyria: pastyrs'kyi lyst do virnykh stanyslavivs'koï ieparkhiï, danyi u dni sv. proroka Ilii, 1899," in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, vol. XV (Toronto, 1965), pp. 9-10. "Help the poor to help themselves" is evident in the type of philanthropy the Metropolitan practiced. He did not merely donate a building to an organization or school, he also donated a source of revenue—farm land, forests, or property which would bring in a steady income and enable the educational institutions and monastic orders to be independent and not have to return every year to the church for additional funds to continue their activities.
3. Ibid., pp. 11-13.
4. Ibid., p. 13.
5. The best source on Sheptyts'kyi's educational philanthropy is Iuliian Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt-Metsenat," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 66-77. This is as close to a primary source as is available. Dzerovych interviewed both the Reverend Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, Sheptyts'kyi's financial administrator, and the Reverend Lytsyniak and other persons directly involved with the Metropolitan's philanthropic work. Other works which deal with this topic are: Petro Isaïv, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Mittenwald, 1946), pp. 8-9, 11-15; M. Ostroverkha, *Velykyi Vasyliianyn Sluha Bozhyi Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, ChSVV* (New York, 1960), pp. 11-13; I. Chaplyns'kyi, ed., *V chest' 50-tykh rokovyn i na pamiatku trylitnoï moskovs'koï nevoli mytropolyta A. Sheptyts'koho* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 14-15, 29-31, 36-7; Zenon Kuziela, "Die kulturelle Tätigkeit des Metropoliten Andreas Graf Scheptyckyj," in P. Werhun, ed., *Leben und Wirken des Metropoliten Andreas Graf Scheptyckyj von Lemberg* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 24-31; Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit Andreas Graf Scheptyckyj: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion,* 2nd rev. ed. (Munich, 1967), pp. 24-9, 34-5, 38-40, 44-50, 77-9, 94.

   The data presented in this chapter has been compiled from the above sources; wherever discrepancies occur, the Dzerovych article is used as the basis.
6. Because of the frequent use of monetary sums to illustrate Sheptyts'kyi's philanthropy, an attempt has been made to give the values in terms of American dollars at that time. However, the fluctuating and differing currencies in Austrian- and later Polish-ruled Galicia in this period (1899-1944) has made this at times impossible.
7. The principal ($6000) he donated from his family's wealth yielded an annual income of 1200 crowns ($160). I. Liatyshevs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi iak epyskop Stanyslavivs'kyi," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), p. 235.
8. Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, "Mytropolyt Andrei i obnovlennia skhidnoï chernechoï tradytsiï," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 150-63; Iieromonakh Marko, *Chentsi Studyts'koho Ustava* (Edmonton, 1955); Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit*, pp. 113-21.
9. The Metropolitan generously provided for the orphans, giving them all the profits from the mill in Univ; several morgs of pasture and fields; and firewood from ecclesiastical lands. The boys learned various trades as well as the normal school curriculum of elementary or secondary schools.
10. The village of Zarvanytsia was a resort area and a pilgrimage site to which thousands of faithful came to honor a miraculous icon. Sheptyts'kyi was abroad in 1913 when the opportunity arose to purchase the Zarvanytsia site. Reverend Voinarovs'kyi believed it was imperative for the church to own this well-known retreat. However, in the absence of the Metropolitan, he did not have access to the necessary funds. The price was 910,000 crowns, and, as Reverend Voinarovs'kyi wrote: "It was too large a sum to raise privately and quickly." Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, "Spohady z moho zhyt-

tia," in *Istorychni postati Halychyny XIX-XX st.*, Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka Ukrainian Studies, vol. VIII (New York, Paris, Sydney, and Toronto, 1961), p. 63. This, however, did not deter him, and he convinced the Galician Viceroy Korytowski of the necessity for the church to purchase the property (citing the danger this would pose if it went into Russophile hands), and the need for a loan from the Austrian government. Within twelve days, the Reverend Voinarovs'kyi had 500,000 crowns from the finance minister and mortgages from the Land Credit Society. The loan and mortgages were repaid after the war with devalued money.

11. The building housed a school for the monks, a school of icon painting, and the Studion Library, based largely on the collection of the Reverend Aurelius Palmieri, purchased by the Metropolitan in the 1920s. The collection was subsequently enlarged with books concerning Orientalia—Slavic, Byzantine, and church topics, so that by 1926 the library contained over 10,000 volumes.

    Although the Metropolitan was not financially responsible for every new acquisition of the Studite monks, his generosity enabled them to grow and further the causes of education, especially trade and vocational education. Thus, in 1931 the Studites founded three missionary stations in Podlachia and Polissia (Zabolotive, Shistka). In 1935, they took over the foundation of Illia and Ivanna Kokorudz in Dora (Nadvirna district), where they then established workshops for Hutsul youngsters and taught them various trades, especially carpentry, tailoring, and shoemaking.

12. Sheptyts'kyi also worked at expanding the Studite Order beyond Galicia. He planned to buy land and build a Studite monastery in Palestine (1906), but as far as can be determined, nothing came of these plans. He did purchase land for a Studite monastery in Bosnia (present-day Yugoslavia) in the village of Kamentsi near Banja Luka, where monks were to cultivate a vineyard which was to provide the liturgical wine for the three eparchies in Galicia. In addition, the monks were to provide spiritual leadership to the colony of Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia living near Banja Luka. However, the fall of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 interrupted these plans. Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt-Metsenat," p. 68.
13. Vira Slobodian, "Kil'ka storinok iz khroniky monastyriv SS Vasylianok," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), p. 241; Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt-Metsenat," p. 70.
14. Sheptyts'kyi established a private *gymnasium* for girls in L'viv (1906) run by the Basilian nuns. He donated a building and financed the school throughout its existence. The Metropolitan likewise generously supported private Ukrainian schools organized and run by the Ridna Shkola organization for whom he purchased five buildings.
15. See, for instance, the memoir-like account by Sister Vira in Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt-Metsenat," p. 70.
16. For details on the struggle for a separate Ukrainian university, see Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia, 1867-1914* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), pp. 136-55.
17. Kost' Levyts'kyi described the Metropolitan's position: "The Minister of Education wanted assurances and the Polish- [dominated university] senate believed that the Metropolitan would not allow the students of theology to secede. But on 14 December 1901, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi sent the following directive to the Rector of the L'viv theological seminary: 'As of tomorrow, the seminary shall be closed. This directive is to be communicated to the authorities.' The next day, all the theological students withdrew from the seminary." Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoï dumky halyts'kykh ukraïntsiv 1848-1914 na pidstavi spomyniv* (L'viv, 1926), p. 359.

    Most of the striking theology students enrolled for the following two semesters at the University of Vienna, and Sheptyts'kyi provided the extra funds needed to cover the additional costs of studying outside Galicia.

18. Sheptyts'kyi's biographers see this as a turning point in relations between the Metropolitan and the Ukrainian community, and as a step that won their trust. See Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka tserkva mizh skhodom i zakhodom* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 533. On the other hand, Volodymyr Doroshenko disagreed with this analysis and thought Sheptyts'kyi's troubled relations with the community persisted until World War I. See his *Velykyi Mytropolyt: spohady i narysy* (Yorkton, Sask., 1958), p. 17.
19. He spoke just days before the fatal shooting of a Ukrainian student during demonstrations at L'viv University that were related to this same cause. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], "Die Notwendigkeit einer ruthenischen Universität in Lemberg," *Stenographische Protokolle*, Herrenhaus, XX Session, 11 Sitzung, 28 June 1910 (Vienna, 1911), pp. 286-8. The full speech is also quoted in Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, pp. 133-7.
20. For a detailed description of the negotiations, including the Metropolitan's proposals, see Kost' Levyts'kyi, "Z natsional'noï diial'nosty Mytropolyta Andreia hrafa Sheptyts'koho," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 41-4.
21. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj 1865-1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), pp. 74-5, gave a description of the type of changes which occurred at L'viv University and the chicanery which the faculty and students of the Ukrainian underground university had to face.
22. Over the years he purchased the entire block of property surrounding St. George's Cathedral and in 1938, built the Sheptyts'kyi Ukrainian Hospital there, which was to become the basis for a faculty of medicine in the future Ukrainian university.
23. Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947), pp. 46-8. See also Mykola Chubatyi's informative article, "Ukraïns'ka Bohoslovs'ka Akademiia ta plian Ukraïns'koho Katolyts'koho Universytetu u L'vovi," in Pavlo Senytsia, ed., *Svityl'nyk istyny: dzherela do istoriï ukraïns'koï katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï u L'vovi 1928-1929-1944: z nahody ïï 50-litn'oho iuvileiu,* Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, vol. LIII (Toronto and Chicago, 1983), pp. 130-3.
24. In fact, he was instrumental in founding both the Canissianum, an institution for Uniate studies at the theological faculty of Innsbruck University, and the St. Andreas College in Munich (1932-1940), which prepared Eastern-rite priests for missionary work, placing particular emphasis on future work in the Soviet Union. Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit*, pp. 199-205.
25. Although during the Austrian era he was an ex officio member of the Galician diet, he shunned the political arena and never appeared on the floor of the diet itself. He only once participated directly in Galician politics, and it is not surprising that the issue was education. At a meeting of the diet's educational committee he spoke in favor of establishing a Ukrainian *gymnasium* in Stanyslaviv. However, the Polish majority on the committee rejected his proposal, so that the *gymnasium* was established only several years later, in 1905. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 78.
26. In theory, the Polish school laws of 1924 (*Lex Grabski*) were similar to those under Austria: in areas where 25 percent of the population was non-Polish (i.e., in East Galicia), schools with instruction in Ukrainian, Belorussian, or Lithuanian were to be established upon the request of forty parents. However, unlike under Austria, these schools were to be permanently bilingual.
27. To give an idea of the rate of inflation, in 1918 the exchange rate of the Polish mark was 9.8 marks to the dollar; in 1920, 579.3 marks to the dollar; and in 1922, 17,803.3 marks to the dollar. Yet in 1923 the rate really skyrocketed—on 1 September it was 249,000, on 1 October it was 380,000, and on 20 November it was 2,300,000 marks to the dollar. Inflation in the late 1920s also was reflected in the

steadily falling prices for agricultural products. Using the index 1928 = 100, the figures were 1929 = 76, 1933 = 40, 1934 = 33, while at the same time industrial prices did not fall as rapidly: 1929 = 101, 1933 = 73, 1934 = 74. Anthony Polonski, *Politics in Independent Poland* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 280, 349, 107.

28. Sheptyts'kyi also provided scholarships to individual students. Beginning in 1900, he annually assisted fourteen *gymnasium* students in L'viv and six to eight students in the other provincial cities, such as Stanyslaviv and Stryi. Furthermore, he provided money as necessary to individuals. During his many trips and contacts with young people, he always inquired whether a student had enough money to buy books or if help from home was sufficient.
29. Thus, in 1930, when the Polish government dissolved two Ukrainian schools because of the political involvement of students (the state-supported *gymnasium* in Ternopil' and the private *gymnasium* of Ridna Shkola in Rohatyn), hundreds of high school students were left without hope for a future. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 49.
30. Dmytro Bachyns'kyi, "Vzhe ne zhyvu dlia sebe, til'ky dlia vas!," in Iurii Teodorovych, ed., *Pid patronatom velykoho Mytropolyta* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 16-17.
31. In his quest for religious workers in the educational and social fields, Sheptyts'kyi founded the Orders of the Studite monks and nuns, the Congregation of Servants of Mary, the Congregation of Sisters in honor of St. Joseph (Josephites), and the Congregation of the Myrrh-Bearing Women (Myronosytsi). He also invited the Redemptorist brothers to come from Belgium.
32. In 1870/1871 (the last year that the language of instruction in Galicia's *Realgymnasia* was German) about 50 percent of the students were Ukrainian, by 1895 (the last year when statistics were given separately for *Real*- and classical *gymnasia*), the proportion of Ukrainians in the Polish schools was less than 5 percent. In post-secondary technical institutes in the Austrian Empire, Ukrainians comprised only between 0.5 and 1 percent. Sirka, *Nationality Question*, pp. 211 and 214.
33. Reverend Voinarovs'kyi gave an interesting account of how the Metropolitan acquired the property in Milovane. Reverend Voinarovs'kyi arranged the purchase of the lands from the Mortgage Bank, which had acquired them at a foreclosure auction. The bank required a down payment of 30,000 crowns. Reverend Voinarovs'kyi had arranged for a 50,000 crown loan from the credit union and on closing day met formally with its directors (K. Levyts'kyi, M. Shukhevych, and a third member) to receive the money. When he requested the money, however, he was met with stony silence. Having foreseen difficulties, he proceeded directly to the closing with the necessary 30,000 crowns which he had had the foresight to bring along. After the subdivision of the property, about fifty morgs (seventy acres) remained, which Voinarovs'kyi gave to the Metropolitan See for administration and to establish a trade school there. The plan was not feasible, as Milovane was too far from a larger town and it was too expensive to pay for the upkeep of a teacher for every trade. The property was then donated to the Prosvita Society in L'viv for a horticultural school.

    The purchase of Korshiv also has an interesting background which illustrates the Galician mentality with which the Metropolitan had to deal. Sheptyts'kyi asked the Reverend Voinarovs'kyi to find an estate within close commuting distance of Stanyslaviv. The eparchy of Stanyslaviv had been founded by the Roman Curia without giving it the usual estates, and the Metropolitan wished to provide a solid financial basis for it in the form of an estate, while the government was to provide the other half of the bishop's 20,000 crown annual salary. Voinarovs'kyi found the estate of Korshiv, which consisted of 600 morgs (838 acres) of forest land, 300 morgs (419 acres) of farmland, 18 morgs (25 acres) of orchards, as well as a manor and farm buildings.

Bishop Khomyshyn refused to give his consent to the project, as he considered 20,000 crowns in cash a better investment. In spite of Voinarovs'kyi's convincing arguments that he already had a tenant who was willing to pay 15,000 crowns annually just for the use of the forest, the bishop did not change his position. This left the purchased land for subdivision. The manor and orchard were not sold, and the Metropolitan donated them to the Sils'kyi Hospodar in L'viv. Voinarovs'kyi, "Spohady," pp. 53-4, 56.

34. For Sheptyts'kyi's relationship with Plast, see the article by the founder of the organization, Oleksander Tysovs'kyi, "Mytropolyt Andrei, druh plastuniv," in Teodorovych, *Pid patronatom*, pp. 50-3.
35. The award was given in the late 1920s. Other prominent Ukrainians who received this award were the Reverend Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, Dr. Modest Karatnyts'kyi, Dr. Mykhailo Verbynets', Dr. Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, and Andrii Serbyn.
36. Vasyl' Lytsyniak, "Tovarystvo 'Zakhyst im. mytrop. Andreia gr. Sheptyts'koho dlia syrit' u L'vovi (ioho pochatok i rozvytok po kinets' 1925 r.)," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), p. 78.
37. In essence, the defense fund served as an orphanage. For a detailed report, see Lytsyniak, "Tovarystvo," pp. 78-84. The Reverend Lytsyniak was the chief administrator of the project. The figures in this section are given in crowns (as noted in Lytsyniak's report) and in converted dollars, but because of the tremendous currency fluctuations in this period, the dollar figures may be inaccurate.
38. Although his series of lectures in Belgium and Holland was very successful, he was not given permission to appeal for funds. In North and South America, however, he was able to campaign for the orphan fund, and the contributions he received provided the basis for the establishment of other orphanages. During his trip to Europe and the Americas, Sheptyts'kyi was extremely frugal, often repeating that what he spent he was taking from the orphans. Thus, he insisted on travelling third class, refused to take a taxi unless it was absolutely necessary, and always wore the same tattered monk's habit. See Ios. Skhreivers [Schryvers], "Z podorozhi mytrop. Andreia Sheptyts'koho po Bel'gii i Holiandii pry kintsi 1920 i z pochatkom 1921 rr.," *Bohosloviia* IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 238-41.
39. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 38.
40. "V spravi Vdovycho-Syrotyns'koho fondu," in [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Pys'maposlannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï* (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), pp. 221 and 258.
41. The Catholic periodical press was very prolific in the interwar period. In addition to the above-mentioned periodicals, *Dobryi pastyr*, *Zapyski Chyna SVV*, *Nova zoria*, *Ukraïns'kyi Beskyd*, *Holos halyts'kykh diakiv*, *Diakivs'kyi holos*, *Nyva*, *Bohosloviia*, *Katolyts'ka aktsiia*, *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, and *Pravda* also were published. The last six in all probability received financial help directly from the Metropolitan. The objective of these journals was to counteract anti-religious propaganda in Galicia. See Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 50, and Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka tserkva*, p. 557.
42. Dmytro Doroshenko stated that this was one of the Metropolitan's less successful ventures, as it was too expensive to maintain and led to criticism of him. D. Doroshenko, "Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi na tli doby," *Lohos*, VIII, 1 (Yorkton, Sask., 1957), p. 36.
43. For details on the work conducted in Rome, see Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, pp. 78-84. Korolevsky discussed some of the difficulties he encountered and the Metropolitan's personal role in the undertaking. He also mentioned how the Reverend d'Herbigny refused to publish the collected documentary material (1924), arguing that it would harm relations with Russia. Ibid., p. 83.

44. Sheptyts'kyi had asked Professor Stepan Tomashivs'kyi in the 1920s and then Ivan Krypiakevych in the 1930s to prepare publication cost estimates. [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, p. B/179.
45. For a detailed report on the work of the Narodna Lichnytsia, see "Shpytal' Narodnoï Lichnytsi im. Mytropolyta Andreia," in *Zolotyi kolos: kalendar* (L'viv, 1938), pp. 136–7. In 1936, the clinic served 12,968 patients, of whom 65 percent were Ukrainian, 25 percent Polish, and 10 percent Jewish. The clinic had twelve departments and employed seventeen doctors.
46. Isaïv, *Mytropolyt*, pp. 13–15; Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt-Metsenat," p. 75.
47. Doroshenko, *Velykyi Mytropolyt*, pp. 34–5.
48. Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt-Metsenat," pp. 76–7.
49. Voinarovs'kyi, "Spohady," p. 61.
50. Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 67.
51. For biographies and descriptions of the roles that these two men played in Sheptyts'kyi's philanthropy, see Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit*, pp. 124–6, as well as Voinarovs'kyi's autobiography, "Spohady," pp. 11–75.
52. Doroshenko gave an example of the purchase of rundown houses near the citadel on Vronovs'kyi Street, the upkeep of the expensive printing shop Logos, and the financial support to save the candy factory Fortuna. D. Doroshenko, "Mytropolyt Andrei," p. 36.
53. The Metropolitan also donated all of the vestments which he had received as a gift from his family upon his consecration as bishop of Stanyslaviv. The vestments included the mitre, sceptre, two mantias, a gold surplice, a gold omophorium, silver pontifical candelabra, and two silver altar candlesticks. Sheptyts'kyi also donated the rich vestments of the archbishop, including those made for his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.
54. Doroshenko indicated that the Metropolitan was reproached by his Ukrainian critics for not following the example of the Polish bishops Bilczewski and Twardowski, who founded "thousands of churches and chapels in L'viv and the L'viv diocese. There was no such action taken by the Greek Catholic hierarchy." Ibid., p. 34.

Chapter 14

Sheptyts'kyi as Patron of the Arts

Myroslava M. Mudrak

Andrei Sheptyts'kyi's vigorous program of artistic patronage was extensive but it is not well documented. His efforts served as a springboard for a revival of artistic activity in western Ukraine that began in the first years of the twentieth century and continued through the 1920s and 1930s. Even a rudimentary listing of artists or projects funded by the Metropolitan demonstrates his untiring involvement in things cultural. Oleksa Novakivs'kyi, Modest Sosenko, Osyp Kurylas, Iakiv Strukhmanchuk, the sculptor Mykhailo Parashchuk, and the monumental painter Mykhailo Boichuk are only a few of the artists whose works he bought, whom he housed, and whom he sent abroad to study.[1] In particular, the Metropolitan helped Novakivs'kyi to establish an art school from which emerged a number of renowned Galician artists in the 1920s.[2] With these artists, the idea of a new Ukrainian art, modern in conception, was born and crystallized, mainly because Novakivs'kyi, already trained in the progressive ways of the Cracow Academy, operated enthusiastically within the latitude afforded him by the Metropolitan.[3]

L'viv became an active artistic center during this time, bringing together not only Galician artists but artists from all over Ukraine, especially a large number who fled Kiev following the struggle for national independence (1917-1921).[4] Perhaps one of the single most important events in this regard was the arrival of Petro Kholodnyi. With Sheptyts'kyi's encouragement, Kholodnyi was responsible for reviving the Byzantine form for the modern-day church, paying special attention to the iconography of Ukrainian religious art. He became actively involved in the perpetuation of religious art in

L'viv not only by painting icons and decorating interiors, but also by establishing a studio of icon art for the study, painting, and conservation of icons.[5] Since his artistic style had frequently been described as "linear" and "rhythmic,"[6] features characteristic of the abstract and calligraphic nature of icon painting, Kholodnyi's talent was put to good use within the Metropolitan's circle. Two major projects—the stained glass windows in the Church of the Assumption (Uspens'kyi Sobor) with images of St. Andrew the Apostle and St. Nicholas, and the iconostasis in the Theological Academy (Bohoslovs'ka Akademiia)—were the products of Kholodnyi's hand. The harmonic, cadenced, and even lyrical quality of his art was clearly derived from the conceptual bases of the art of icon painting and well served Sheptyts'kyi's concept of a Ukrainianized Byzantine style for the visual arts of Ukraine. Old Galician icons which were being restored became a source of artistic productivity for the new generation of artists who tried to penetrate the mystique of the primal Byzantine roots of Ukrainian art and bring them up to date.

By far Sheptyts'kyi's greatest achievement in the cultural realm was the establishment of the Ukrainian National Museum. This began in March 1905, when the Metropolitan's own private collection became the basis for a museum in a converted five-room carriage house on the palace grounds.[7] By 1907, the rapid growth of the museum collection, until then mainly accessions of antiquarian Cyrillic manuscripts of Ukrainian derivation and Byzantino-Slavic icons, necessitated the acquisition of two more buildings. In 1908, a third building was added, the former villa of Jan Styka, the Polish artist, which stood near the grounds of St. George's Cathedral.[8]

The administration of the museum was entrusted to a special curatorship consisting both of clergy, such as the Basilian Fathers Vasyl' Zholdakov and Oleksander Pavliak, and trained specialists, such as Ilarion Svientsits'kyi who became the chief curator and director of the museum. Four days after the opening of the Ukrainian National Museum, a new organization—the Association for the Preservation of Monuments of Ukrainian Antiquity—was formed on the initiative of the museum's curator, Ilarion Svientsits'kyi.[9] By the end of 1908 it was officially registered as a foundation under the name: "The National Museum in L'viv founded by the Metropolitan Andrei Count Sheptyts'kyi."[10] As the museum collection continued to grow, housing it became difficult until the present building at 42 Mokhnats'kyi (now Drahomanov) Street was purchased in 1911. That baroque structure had twenty well-lit rooms and was located amidst orchards with plenty of space for expansion. It was first opened to the public on the Metropolitan's own name day, 13 December 1913.

Until that time, Galician Ukrainians did not have a regular museum that could house the vestiges and objects of their culture; therefore, Sheptyts'kyi's achievement was monumental.[11] It was a storehouse for Ukrainian art, but perhaps more wide-ranging and effective was the museum's pedagogic role in countering ignorance about Ukraine's historical and cultural past,[12] a role that was clearly at the forefront of Sheptyts'kyi's intentions. The Metropolitan's goals, spelled out in a speech at the inauguration ceremonies, poignantly revealed his clear vision and cosmopolitan view:

> The West understands the meaning of museums because they understand the significance of historical tradition. It gives impetus to great actions, not allowing the smallest [object] of real value to be wasted; it creates a basis for the perpetuation of individual national riches based on traditions from ancient times. . . . Does not the creation of museum collections serve such a goal in the best way possible? What could have a greater influence on the education of a nation and on the awakening of a true, sincere patriotism amidst our community than . . . the beauty of the nature of our fatherland, its riches in the present, and the strength and meaning in the past? . . . Let us show our community what we were and what we continue to be; that we have beautiful and great traditions; that we are the carriers of a great native culture; that we nurture talents. In this lies the main objective and goal of the newly-opened National Museum.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> We do not want to be guardians of graves; we would rather be witnesses of a rebirth. The collections of the museum are presented to the Ukrainian people not merely as documents and witnesses of the glory of our ancestors; we are presenting them to those who are working on Ukrainian culture as a living foundation of—and may God grant—the common effort of our clergy and intellectuals for the future generations of our nation. Let us not separate, not even in thought, the monuments of the past from those of the present, nor from the objectives of the future.[13]

With this statement, Sheptyts'kyi set out a clear direction of aesthetic, political, and national goals for Ukrainian culture which the arts could richly fulfill. His comments also provided an insight into the mind of a man whose ideas on art were mature, sophisticated, and formed on a solid aesthetic foundation developed out of his early experiences with Ukraine's artistic relics.

Art preservation became an issue of especially great importance for Sheptyts'kyi. As a young monk he observed all too often how during the construction of new churches, the icons and iconostases of old churches were being burned by pious parishioners who felt that these sacred objects would otherwise be defiled.[14] While such an anti-sacrilegious act was commendable in religious terms, many cultural and artistic objects of great value were being destroyed in the process. Thus, even though the Metropolitan understood the religious reverence expressed by the actions of village folk, he was also very quick to recognize the impending loss for Ukrainian culture. At such an event in the village of Poliana, not far from his monastery of Dobromil', he acted quickly and salvaged a number of icons, and then organized his fellow brethren to study and classify the objects in an attempt to determine their correct age and to pinpoint the specific features which characterized Ukrainian icons in particular. This marked the beginning of Sheptyts'kyi's career as an art expert, a Maecenas, and a collector.

When Sheptyts'kyi became the bishop of Stanyslaviv, he gave the same attention to regional Ukrainian folk art in those lands under his jurisdiction, namely Pokuttia, the mountainous southeastern corner of Galicia inhabited by Hutsuls, and neighboring Bukovina. Later, as Metropolitan in L'viv, he became familiar with the art of Podolia and Pidhir'ia, renowned for their church architecture and icon painting. Folk items from this region and the icons from Poliana were some of the very first objects to be put on display when the Ukrainian National Museum finally opened its doors in 1913.

Since the pure artistic value of icons was little understood at that time and icon painting, as an artistic discipline, was largely forgotten or, at best, generally regarded as a primitive art form and therefore neglected, Sheptyts'kyi's support of the study and preservation of this art had major repercussions.[15] With increased activity in this realm, a separate catalogue was published of the icons gathered from all parts of Galicia, many of which were cleaned of soot and overpainting. Ultimately, the museum register boasted thousands of Ukrainian icons, both ancient and recent. Other objects included woodcarvings, iconostases, valuable metalworks, textiles (ranging from religious vestments to native costumes, *kylims*, and embroideries), rare books and documents, and armor. Even ecclesiastical accouterments, such as the Metropolitan's staff and *trikirion* (three-armed candlestick) produced by the famed Hutsul Shkrybliak woodcarving family, became part of the collection.[16] Later, copies of important paintings[17] and some originals of the Italian school were added.[18]

A special room in Sheptyts'kyi's museum was reserved for portraiture, fulfilling his goal to assemble, as completely as possible, the portraits of Ruthenian bishops from past centuries. In this quest, many portraits were copied or brought from collections as far away as Vilnius and other cities in the Russian Empire. These, together with the modern paintings of contemporary Ukrainian artists, supplemented the museum's already close to 20,000 items by the end of World War I.[19] Moreover, a significant portion of the museum's holdings was donated by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.[20]

The Ukrainian National Museum was more than just a museum. Archives and a research library formed an important part of its activities,[21] and it maintained an active publishing program as well. Included in that were a number of elaborately illustrated art books on the museum's holdings and on various aspects of Ukrainian art and architecture. As the museum received official recognition and gained in reputation, the exchange of publications and temporary loans of exhibitions from sister institutions in the Austrian Empire were made possible.[22] At the same time, gifts to the museum increased, enhancing its already rich collection.[23]

Sheptyts'kyi's role in organizing western Ukrainian artists was intimately related to the ecclesiastical, cultural, educational, and political unification he attempted to bring about as Metropolitan. Before he became actively involved in the contemporary L'viv art scene, the situation was rather bleak:

> [Artists] were stewing and dying in isolation while there really was no true Ukrainian art. No one paid attention to the dusty old icons, sooty from the grime of centuries past; new church "pictures" were painted on the basis of Czech and Munich oleoprints; the interiors of Ukrainian homes were decorated with landscapes of the same quality and derivation.[24]

With Sheptyts'kyi's patronage, however, that situation was reversed.

One of the most fertile artistic associations ever to exist among Ukrainians in Galicia—the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists (Asotsiiatsiia Nezalezhnykh Ukraïns'kykh Mystsiv, or ANUM)—was founded in L'viv in 1931. It attracted not only Galician artists, but also Ukrainians working in Paris, Prague, Vienna, Warsaw, and Soviet Ukraine.[25] Within five years the artists of ANUM put on a special exhibition of gratitude to Sheptyts'kyi. In the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition, specific mention was made of Mykhailo Boichuk, who was given a stipend by the Metropolitan to study art abroad. His colleagues admitted that Boichuk was selected for this honor by the Metropolitan's "astute art historical intuition."[26] Indeed, Boichuk's modern art and his Neo-Byzantine school of painting, founded as it was on tradition and on an extensive artistic heritage, coincided well with the Metropolitan's own aesthetics.

Vasyl' Diadyniuk, another painter Sheptyts'kyi assisted, completed his studies in Paris at the Conservatory of Art and Industry. He then returned to L'viv in 1930 and conducted a school of church painting in the Monastery of the Studite Fathers until 1933. He also participated in exhibitions of newly-established support groups which took up the banner of Sheptyts'kyi to encourage Ukrainian artists in their endeavors. One such group was the "Society of Friends of Ukrainian Art."[27] In keeping with the nature of Galician art at this time, Diadyniuk's more popular works were a series of decorative portraits of Ukrainian leaders in a modernized Byzantine style and another series of portraits of Ukrainian hetmans in a baroque idiom.[28] He also executed a large series of religious images for L'viv's Church of the Assumption (Uspens'kyi Sobor) and for an altar shrine in a parish church in Stryi.[29]

At least in part, Boichuk's and Diadyniuk's careers demonstrate how important Sheptyts'kyi was in reactivating artistic life in Galicia and in giving it a unique artistic character, which could be described as a blend of the tradition of Byzantine and religious art with a cosmopolitan, western European world view. ANUM helped to shape this character, and its members became so absorbed by it and prolific in their artistic output, that after a short while an entirely new section of the Ukrainian National Museum was opened in order to house, collect, and represent the association's artists.[30] This tribute to contemporary Ukrainian art was not surprising, since all along, artists and academicians had worked together to gather, restore, and prepare the various art objects amassed from many areas of western Ukraine for exhibition in the museum. In 1908-1910, for instance, Vadym Shcherbakivs'kyi individually annotated items of archeological and ethnographic value found in rural regions.[31] Furthermore, painters Modest Sosenko in 1907-1914 and Mykhailo Boichuk in 1912-1914 cleaned and restored icons, followed by Iaroslava Muzyka in 1922-1927, who ultimately, under her mentor, restorer Volodymyr Peshchans'kyi, undertook independent restoration projects at the museum. This activity is well documented.[32]

Sheptyts'kyi's interest in art is not surprising, because from his earliest years he was no stranger to the art world. His family environment had nurtured in him an appreciation for fine talent and a love of the beautiful. The demands his father made before allowing his son to enter a monastery, which the young count carried out with much resolve, also must have opened up new avenues of observation and appreciation for the visual arts.[33] In addition, as an impressionable young man he was exposed to people whose classical and progressive art training in Polish and other art academies and activities in cultural pursuits opened up new areas of interest for him.[34]

Sheptyts'kyi's lineage, moreover, reflected a family heritage that had always been involved not only in the propagation of high culture, but in artistic patronage in Galicia as well. In 1618, for example, Oleksander Sheptyts'kyi established a Ukrainian printing house near Komarno in the L'viv area.[35] In 1688, Varlaam Sheptyts'kyi, who became bishop of L'viv (1710-1715), founded another printing house in Przemyśl. Metropolitans Atanasii Sheptyts'kyi (1715-1746) and Lev Sheptyts'kyi (1748-1779) made possible the building of the grand cathedral of L'viv dedicated to St. George and the episcopal palace next to it, where as early as 1686 a printing house was established.[36] As a result of the cultural activity surrounding St. George's Cathedral, L'viv had produced or ultimately became the repository for some of the most famous and rarest publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in all Europe.[37]

Sheptyts'kyi's revival of St. George Cathedral as the nexus of cultural and national, in addition to religious, life among Galicia's Ukrainians in the twentieth century symbolized his own unconditional interest in the arts. It was from St. George's that Sheptyts'kyi instructed the clergy in individual parishes on how to commission designs for iconostases and ciboria and how to build Ukrainian churches which would maintain the purity of the Eastern rite.[38] As an ecclesiastical edifice, St. George's was considered a fine example of the Central European baroque-rococo style and expressive of the universal tastes of Sheptyts'kyi's forebears. More significantly, the cathedral represented a cultural orientation toward the West—typical for L'viv in general—which the Metropolitan himself continued to foster for Ukrainian art. The symbolic and artistic value of the St. George Cathedral was immortalized by the painter Novakivs'kyi, who, like Monet at Rouen Cathedral or Constable at Salisbury Cathedral, recorded on canvas L'viv's most imposing structure over many seasons and climatic changes.

There can be no doubt that whatever Sheptyts'kyi may have inherited from his ancestors, it was his mother, the Countess Zofia Fredro-Szeptycka, herself a painter and author, who instilled in her son a love of art.[39] In fact, the development of Sheptyts'kyi's aesthetic thought comes through most directly in the close correspondence he maintained with his mother during his travels. His impressions from a trip to Moscow in 1886 provide a sample of his tastes. At that time, although he admired the works of H. I. Siemiradzki and V. V. Vereshchagin, artists with mainly a didactic and moralizing direction, the work he found most compelling was an anonymous painting in the then Rumiantsev Museum which depicted the death of St. Joseph.[40] This juxtaposition of interests clearly implied that content played a significant role in Sheptyts'kyi's artistic preferences, but style was expressive of content and indubitably bound to it, as he pointed out in his observations about Russian architecture. Sheptyts'kyi wrote that, although all "Eastern styles" are in evidence throughout Russia (including Arabian, Turkish, and even Chinese influences against a Byzantine background), "everything is severe. . . . The times of Ivan the Terrible are incrusted in the towers of the austere Kremlin."[41] For the Russians, he concluded, "religion is based on form . . . and is colder than in Kiev, [like] the singing [that] is more reminiscent of thunder during a storm than the singing of birds during a lovely summer day."[42]

Although Sheptyts'kyi's exposure to the world of art was gradual and evolutionary, it was nonetheless intense. He painted some himself,[43] and he took up woodcarving, a craft he learned while convalescing in the Carpathian resorts of Zakopane and Krynica during his student years. Undoubtedly, Countess Fredro-Szeptycka's artistic spirit had penetrated his whole being. Together they went to museums, studied artifacts, visited artistic capitals, and discussed art. Ultimately, Sheptyts'kyi's real talent lay in artistic scrutiny. He developed a sophisticated knowledge about art and proved himself to be a sensitive art critic. The Countess described her son:

> It is hard to imagine a finer guide through Rome than [my son] Roman; he knew the museums, the churches, the palaces, their inhabitants, and their history; his enthusiasm for masterpieces was transmitted to us, teaching us. . . . He wouldn't waste time in galleries by looking at works of lesser quality. We approached the *Stanze* of Raphael, his *Transfiguration*, and the Madonnas, as examples of art distinct and separate from the rest. When we looked at holy, sacred monuments, of which there are so many in Rome, we treated them as places of pilgrimage, always with a prayerful attitude.[44]

Sheptyts'kyi respected both the aesthetic and religiously inspirational aspect of traditional landmarks and monuments of western Europe, specifically those of Rome and Venice. His stay in Italy and his close familiarity with Venetian art predisposed him favorably to the Venetian influence already present in the art and architecture of L'viv. He especially admired the Venetian master Bellini.[45] On a trip to Venice and Padua in 1883, he noted similarities between Bellini's art and that of icons, both of which he characterized as the products of "meticulous drawing, extended with a delicate line. . . the colors being such that one could not with absolute accuracy attest to the fact that they can be bought anywhere."[46] Here the implication was that such works, although the product of human hands, were totally and completely possessed of sacredness. In his usually astute manner, Sheptyts'kyi pointed out the relationship between this high art of Europe and that art which the grand urban critics ignored—the "homegrown" village icon.[47]

Sheptyts'kyi's receptivity toward the sanctified status of fine art was revealed early in his life when he communicated an Aristotelian differentiation[48] between art which one likes and art which influences one's everyday existence: "I was still a very young boy when in our little wooden church in Prylbychi, standing before an iconostasis, I sensed that ineffable emotion."[49] Thus, one might say that in the formation of Sheptyts'kyi's aesthetics, there seem not to have been any significant differences in the way that he approached or appreciated sacred art as opposed to secular art. To the degree that art was emotive, moving, and transformative, that it changed, in some measure, the outlook, attitude, or perspective (i.e. spirit) of the individual perceiver, then it was good and beautiful art. Moreover, one senses that, according to his views, the artist could produce such art when he abandoned himself to his task, ignoring personal gain or recognition in pursuit of a higher goal. In this lay the aesthetic groundwork of Sheptyts'kyi's own artistic judgment—that the selflessness of the artist would regale the artistic product with a religiosity and godliness. It could therefore be surmised that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi regarded fine art as a mark of sanctity, such that a Bellini painting overladen with a deep spiritual and mystical aura could conceivably evoke the same transcendent spirit as that experienced before an icon.

Sheptyts'kyi's aesthetics clearly affected his artistic patronage and helped to form a distinctive artistic orientation in western Ukraine. As discriminating as Sheptyts'kyi was in his view of art, this never got in the way of promoting or supporting Ukrainian artists, no matter what their particular style, medium, or training in art represented. The Metropolitan put before himself a mission to aid Ukrainian artists in order to preserve as well as sustain a Ukrainian artistic tradition which was at once both secular and religious in composition.[50] By seeing religion as the source of an ethical basis from which all good art stemmed,[51] and by keeping in balance both the Western and Eastern elements of the Uniate Church (the very character of the East and West assimilated in Byzantine culture), Sheptyts'kyi was able further to specify and bolster his aesthetic choices.[52] He admitted he liked, for instance, the palette of Rembrandt and the images of Raphael, but, according to his aesthetic preferences, he regarded both as lacking in that emotion which could only be experienced before the works of Bellini, Giotto, and Fra Angelico.[53]

The belief in a canon for art without relinquishing new, contemporary themes was reflected in Sheptyts'kyi's enthusiasm for the style of modern secular painting created by Mykhailo Boichuk and his followers. "Boichukism" was predicated on a monumentalism in painting which created a synthesis of Byzantine art, early Renaissance art, and Galician icons of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. It also revived the use of fresco painting. As a result, the effect of Boichuk's monumental figures of Ukrainian peasants can be likened to the way Sheptyts'kyi described icons: "One senses in the heart of the hieratic figures of the icon . . . some kind of secret depth, as if a small ray fell upon the soul beyond the light, as if it came from heaven."[54]

Indeed, a certain quiet vulnerability and staid linearity pervades Boichuk's works and heightens what Sheptyts'kyi referred to as "artistic emotion." Boichuk had spent time in western Europe, where he developed a coterie of "neo-Byzantine" followers in Paris, and he fulfilled Sheptyts'kyi's encouragement for young modern Ukrainian artists to see, learn about, and understand all trends in art. "Universal objectivism" is what Sheptyts'kyi tried to inculcate in the artists' method, and this could be attained only after an individual had been exposed to the art of the world at large.[55] In that context, he wrote in the mid-1930s: "the world now respects national culture so highly, that only under the trademark of national culture can a place in universal culture be found."[56]

An integral part of Ukrainian national culture included the transmission of sacred art from generation to generation. The Metropolitan revealed his aesthetic bias against "the hopeless baroque with its exaggerated, restless, nervous lines and movements" which had broken the thread of continuity and "ruined our artistic traditions." Such a terse characterization did not, however, prevent him from saturating the National Museum's collection with a multitude of crosses, vestments, and paintings from the baroque period.[57] Nor, for that matter, did the Metropolitan's criticism of the baroque prevent him from acquiring a prime example of baroque architecture to house the National Museum.

Sheptyts'kyi described his understanding of contemporary art and the Ukrainian artist's relationship to it:

> in accordance with the general directives of European criticism or aesthetics, we were all still realists, and each one of us would probably consider the truest depiction of nature as being the highest goal of art. In all the universities and academies of Europe, the axiom that nature is a great master of art had prevailed. . . .

> Only in the 1890s did art schools begin to speak about the fact that even the supernatural could be sought after and in some way be expressed in a work of art. We, who, with some kind of unconscious instinct evaluated those rays beyond the world—the bright glow being given to our icons—did not know them for a very long time and compared them to the works of realist art.[58]

Sheptyts'kyi's critical position and aesthetic outlook was to a certain degree formed by his acceptance or rejection of philosophic thought of the time. In that context, it is noteworthy that he was familiar with the writings of Vladimir Solov'ëv, not only on the theological concept of "divine wisdom" (depicted in visual terms as a subject of icons) but also on the divinely-inspired process of artistic labor in the making of an icon. Sheptyts'kyi also read Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, who together with Solov'ëv had an impact on the Symbolist movement in modern art at the turn of the century, particularly in Russia. Whereas the Russians interpreted the symbols of these authors in terms of artistic metaphors, Sheptyts'kyi understood them on a higher plane, that of the spirit.

Ultimately, Sheptyts'kyi's position on the blending of realism and religion was strengthened by the precedent set in the frescoes of secular scenes painted on the walls of Kiev's St. Sophia. At first, it took him a long time to reconcile the "holy art of the holy icon" with the mundane depiction of an animal hunt or worldly musicians that are depicted there.[59] However, he realized that therein lay much valuable material of both historical and ethnographic import, mirroring the artistic psyche which was uniquely a part of Ukrainian culture as a whole. He then was able to see that recognition funneled into a concurrent support for all Ukrainian art, whether it be classified as folk art, fine art, or religious art.

Sheptyts'kyi's simultaneous appreciation of folk art and fine art was unique from the standpoint of the clergyman's role as artistic benefactor. The Metropolitan's attention was not focused exclusively on the visual arts but extended also to the realm of music and archeology, which caused him to buy from V. Izdovs'kyi, a former Kiev publisher, the rights to approximately 350 works by Mykola Lysenko,[60] and other Ukrainian composers such as Kyrylo Stetsenko, Oleksander Koshyts', Iakiv Stepovyi, Pavlo Senytsia, Petro Nishchyns'kyi, some of whom were still unknown musical figures. Sheptyts'kyi also financed the archeological excavations conducted by Iaroslav Pasternak in the village of Krylos near Halych. This resulted in the discovery of the ruins of the ancient cathedral of Galician princes.[61]

Sheptyts'kyi's patronage marked a turning point in the development of Ukrainian art since it came at a time—on the eve of World War I—when there was little information about its development. In general, the artistic scene for Ukrainians before Sheptyts'kyi's involvement was rather dim. There was almost no artistic criticism or, for that matter, consistent or even sporadic theory available. It was only through the Metropolitan's efforts that concrete information and analysis began to develop. As a result, much attention was brought to existing art and architecture, not only throughout Galicia but, more significantly, in L'viv itself. As early as 1905, Sheptyts'kyi patronized the first "Exhibition of Ukrainian Artists" held in the Latour Salon of L'viv, one of the events which, in a short time, made Cracow, Munich, Paris, Rome, and Florence more frequently welcome the artists from western Ukraine, even though it was generally regarded that, with a few exceptions, there was still very little evidence of original creative productivity.[62]

Sheptyts'kyi's tolerance for all forms of Ukrainian art was motivated by his acute awareness of Ukraine's political fate. Its checkered historical past obstructed the natural evolution and nurturing of artistic tradition. The continuum of Ukrainian art, although frequently interrupted, nonetheless survived. Hence, Sheptyts'kyi underscored the obligation that artists had to carry forward the strands of their artistic heritage into the twentieth century. He reminded the artist to probe the character of Ukrainian art, to inquire into and discover its inherent nature, and ask himself what Ukrainian art should carry into the future before the artist embarked on any one single artistic path for himself.

Sheptyts'kyi's own posing of this question was not out of keeping with the general mood of twentieth century art. Inquiry into how contemporary culture was to be reflected in art was pervasive in all realms of artistic activity during this time, whether in western Europe or in the East.[63] What was different about the Metropolitan's outlined path for Ukrainian artists was that he proposed that they capture the full-bodied essence of Ukrainian tradition in their art. Thus, he cautioned against a literal quotation of popular, progressive, and cosmopolitan ways of international European culture. He was quick to add that the Ukrainian intelligentsia was too enamored of that approach.[64] Instead, he encouraged artists to uncover the buried artistic verve of the nation and to build upon that legacy which in itself was already a major contribution to world culture. In this regard, the Metropolitan's cultural interests seemed to be without limit. It is not surprising, therefore, that in attempting to introduce Bolshevik rule in Ukraine, Lenin and his cohorts chastised Sheptyts'kyi's efforts as counterproductive. In title and in activity, the name of the Ukrainian National Museum became the object of criticism and loathing under subsequent Soviet rule. Obviously, from the Soviet point of view, the founding of the museum—derisively reputed to be a "church archeological museum"—was an ill-fated deed out of step with Lenin's grand scheme of international communism.[65]

Notwithstanding the odds, Sheptyts'kyi continued to promote Ukrainian art until the end of his life. His main goal was not just the perpetuation of Ukrainian art, but the preservation of an entire culture. He demonstrated this during the pacification of the 1930s when he vehemently protested against the burning and destruction of Orthodox churches by the Polish regime.[66] In the end, it was those to whom he gave creative opportunity who bestowed upon him lasting honor in the form of artistic monuments. Even before his death, the Theological Academy erected a monument to him rendered by the sculptor, Andrii Koverko.[67] Another sculpture by Serhii Lytvynenko stood in front of the National Museum, placed there on the fifteenth anniversary of that institution.[68] Besides statues, portraits of the Metropolitan were painted by Modest Sosenko, Ivan Trush, Petro Kholodnyi, and Mykhailo Moroz,[69] while Oleksa Novakivs'kyi depicted the Metropolitan in several large-size portraits, in his characteristic impressionist-expressionist style, climaxed by a powerful, symbolic work entitled *Moses.*[70]

Art, then, was inseparable from Sheptyts'kyi's vocational calling. For in art, as well as in religious matters, the Metropolitan proved to be a spiritual leader and taste maker in much the same way his ecclesiastical predecessors Metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev in the eleventh century and Metropolitan Petro Mohyla in the seventeenth century had been. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi continued that medieval Christian tradition in which the church, while preaching the faith, attempted as well to contribute to the general cultural growth of its faithful. Moreover, Sheptyts'kyi viewed the development of culture as a parallel means of defending and preserving national values, particularly in a country that had been without self-rule for more than two centuries. Therefore, besides his other achievements, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi will surely be remembered as a major figure in the modern cultural renaissance of Ukraine.

Notes

1. Dam"ian Horniatkevych, "Mytropolyt Andrei iak opikun mystetstva," in Bohdan Romanenchuk, ed., *L'viv: literaturno-mystets'kyi zbirnyk* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 123. Due to the good will efforts of the Metropolitan, artists such as Oleksa Novakivs'kyi, Osyp Kurylas, and Modest Sosenko were able to attend the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts and complete their studies there. Novakivs'kyi was furnished an apartment by the Metropolitan along with two studios located just across the square from the Cathedral of St. George. He lived there from 1913 until his death in 1935, and it was there that his best works were created. Sheptyts'kyi made the palace grounds and the Metropolitanate's buildings on Vronovs'kyi Street generally available to many artists. See Volod[ymyr] Doroshenko, *Velykyi mytropolyt: spohady i narysy* (Yorkton, Sask., 1958), p. 35. Kurylas also acquired a room from the Metropolitan. Sosenko lived for a time in the Metropolitan's palace until he died of tuberculosis. See I. Svientsits'kyi, *Modest Sosenko: zbirna vystava* ([L'viv], 1920).
2. The school existed from 1922 to 1932. Protégés of Novakivs'kyi's studio included R. Chornii, D. Dunaievs'kyi, V. Havryliuk, V. Ivaniukh, E. Kozak, O. Kozakevych-Diadyniuk, S. Hordyns'kyi, V. Lasovs'kyi, S. Lutsyk, A. Maliutsa, M. Moroz, L. Perfets'kyi, and H. Smol's'kyi. For a critique of the achievements of some of Novakivs'kyi's students, see K. K-yi, "Vystavka prats' uchniv mystets'koï shkoly O. Novakivs'koho," *Novi shliakhy*, I, 8 (L'viv, 1929), pp. 372-5.

3. A recent publication, V. P. Dobrychev, *Labiryntamy uniï* (L'viv, 1983), indicated clearly the Soviet position on Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's patronage of the arts and artists. In this novel, the author tried to discredit Sheptyts'kyi's important role in the life of O. Novakivs'kyi by describing the artist as the victim of a "tragic fate," thereby redeeming, as it were, the artist (who is celebrated in Soviet Ukrainian art history as one of the great masters of L'viv) from an "inconvenient" association with the leader of the Uniate Church.
4. Among the known artists who left Kiev were M. Butovych, V. Diadyniuk, P. Kovzhun, V. Kryzhanivs'kyi, R. Lisovs'kyi, and the sculptor S. Lytvynenko. Former professor of the Kiev Art Institute, Vasyl' Krychevs'kyi, one of many artists who came with their families to L'viv during World War II, also found refuge with the Metropolitan's assistance. There were still others who had been studying in Polish art academies in Cracow and later in Warsaw, who, encouraged by the Metropolitan, also became active artists in L'viv during the 1930s.
5. Petro Kholodnyi, "Vidpovid' na zapyt," in I. Svientsitskyi, ed., *Dvaitsiat'piat'-littia Natsional'noho Muzeiu u L'vovi* (L'viv, 1930), p. 4. As a former chemistry professor, Kholodnyi analyzed the techniques of icon-painting and combined his findings with his more impressionistic style of painting. Volodymyr Peshchans'kyi occasionally gave lectures on icon art in Kholodnyi's studio, but was mainly responsible, after 1922, for restoration work at the Museum. Ultimately, under the auspices of the Ukrainian National Museum, he published a guidebook on the sources of icon painting techniques. See Volodymyr Peshchans'kyi and Ilarion Svientsits'kyi, *Ikonopysna tekhnika ta iï dzherela* (L'viv, 1932).
6. Mykola Voronyi, "Z maliars'koï vystavy," *Nova Ukraïna*, II, 11 (Prague, 1923), p. 93.
7. Ilarion Svientsits'kyi, *Pro muzeï ta muzeinytstvo: narysy i zamitky* (L'viv, 1920), p. 25. Several leading cultural figures of the time—Ivan Franko, Ivan Trush, Stanislav Liudkevych, Filaret Kolessa, Vasyl' Shchurat—assisted in organizing the museum.
8. I[van] B[odnaruk], *Velykyi chernets' i narodoliubets'* (Prudentopol, Brazil, [1949]), p. 110. This source states that the Metropolitan paid the equivalent of $28,000 (US) for the building, but no verification of the sum has been given.
9. The first honorary member of the association was Sheptyts'kyi himself. Although the outbreak of World War I and the exile of Sheptyts'kyi by the tsarist regime to Russia during 1914-1917 curtailed the full implementation of the Association's goals, its initial plan laid the foundation for the future activities of the museum, which continued to be aided both financially and morally by the Metropolitan.

   The chairman, or head of the association, was Volodymyr Shukhevych, and its members included V. Shchurat, the Reverend I. Botsian, V. Barvins'kyi, I. Krevets'kyi, I. Levyns'kyi, S. Rudnyts'kyi, the artist M. Sosenko, and curator I. Svientsits'kyi.

   According to its program, the association aimed: (1) to sponsor courses and lectures; (2) to organize trips throughout the country led by specialists; (3) to put on exhibitions; (4) to create committees and professional circles of art lovers; (5) to publish professional publications; (6) to uncover monuments of the past and protect and conserve them in museums; (7) to aid students and give assistance to professionals who cooperated with the Association in developing its activities; (8) to maintain professional contact regarding conservation efforts with associations and institutions upholding similar goals; and (9) to call together professional meetings. Horniatkevych, "Mytropolyt Andrei," p. 123.
10. Today it is known as the L'viv Museum of Ukrainian Art (L'vivs'kyi muzei ukraïns'koho mystetstva), while the name of Sheptyts'kyi is no longer mentioned in official histories of the institution.

11. Svientsits'kyi, *Pro muzeï*, pp. 22-4. The history of museology in Galicia is generally meager. Although the first museums to emerge on the territory go back to the 1820s, they were not museums per se, but rather *Kunstkämmer* housing all kinds of collected curios. Initially founded as a museum of ecclesiastical art, the National Museum differed in character from any other existing Ukrainian museum. By 1905, when the National Museum first began its work, three other museums already existed in L'viv: the National Home Museum where A. Petrushevych was the curator; the Shevchenko Scientific Society Museum directed by M. Hrushevs'kyi; and the museum of the Stauropegial Institute. However, according to the purist museological view of Svientsits'kyi, these were not true museums because: (1) there was no museum administration independent of the parent institution; (2) the museums did not exist solely to fulfill the role of a museum but represented a marginal activity of the said organization; (3) there was no full-time museum staff to operate them; and (4) there was no clear plan of action. In contrast, the Ukrainian National Museum had all of these features and was the first to have a truly national character rather than being all-encompassing in its make-up. A fuller accounting on the theory of museums and histories of specific collections in Ukraine was provided by I. Svientsits'kyi, *Muzeï i knyhozbirni suchasnoï Ukraïny* (L'viv, 1927).
12. Volod. Hrebeniak, "Natsional'ne znachennia muzeia," *Dilo* (L'viv), 13 December 1913, p. 5.
13. Cited in Horniatkevych, "Mytropolyt Andrei," p. 122, according to a report by Volodymyr Hrebeniak, a staff member of the National Museum. See also Volodymyr Radzykevych, "Lviv—A Center of Ukrainian Culture Between Two World Wars," in *Lviv—A Symposium on Its 700th Anniversary* (New York, 1962), p. 222.
14. "Khto lyshen' zvertaie uvahu," an administrative directive, dated 14 September 1901, that accompanies the Metropolitan's pastoral to the clergy, in *Zibrani na zahal'ni zbory* (Zhovkva, 1901).
15. Sviatoslav Hordyns'kyi, "Kameni i liudy," in Romanenchuk, *L'viv*, p. 136.
16. I. Svientsits'kyi, *Iliustrovanyi providnyk po Natsional'nim muzeievy u L'vovi* (Zhovkva, 1913), p. 35. See also Asotsiiatsiia Nezalezhnykh Ukraïns'kykh Mystsiv, *Katalog VIII vystavy: mystsi Mytropolytu Andreiu* ([L'viv], 1936).
17. When giving art students the chance to study abroad, Sheptyts'kyi often requested that they also copy major works of western European art and bring these replicas to L'viv. Petro Isaïv, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Munich-Mittenwald, 1946), p. 12. For example, Vasyl' Diadyniuk is known to have copied a number of Early Renaissance paintings when he went to Italy in 1927.
18. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj 1865-1944*, Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964), p. 71.
19. Korolevsky concurred on the richness of the icon collection and ecclesiastical objects of every kind, revealing that many of the ancient icons became part of N. P. Kondakov's major research on the icon. In addition to the "Greco-Slav" style, well represented in church art at the museum, Korolevsky indicated that Western art was also extensively displayed. Ibid., pp. 71-2. For further data on the museum's finances and holdings, see Tables I and II at the end of the notes.
20. The actual extent of Sheptyts'kyi's donations is uncertain. Svientsits'kyi, *Pro muzeï*, pp. 76-7, stated that the total amount of the Metropolitan's donations between 1905 and 1919 was 592,634 Austrian crowns. In terms of objects, he offered 5,395 out of a total number of 18,393 items. Another source stated that the establishment of the museum cost about two million crowns, while the number of objects has been given at 70,000. Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi: korotkyi zhyttiepys i ohliad ioho tserkovno-narodnoï diial'nosty* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 31-2.

    Clearly inconsistent with the above figures and with others casually mentioned elsewhere, is the modest, but perhaps more realistic, number of 14,839 objects given by the Metropolitan. See Iuliian Dzerovych, "Mytropolyt—Metsenat," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), p. 72. It is not surprising to find discrepancies in these numbers, since as early as 1914-1915 a large, undisclosed portion of the archives and other objects were expropriated by the Russian militia when L'viv was occupied by the tsarist army. See Mykola Virnyi, "Kinets' odniiei mistyfikatsiï," *Vidhomin' mynuloho*, XXXII, 7 (Kiev, 1954), p. 142.

21. The library holdings exceeded 25,000 items, in addition to over 5,000 documentary photographs. The resources included a number of Old Cyrillic imprints published in Venice and other volumes on theology, history, liturgy, and polemics in old Greek, Polish, and Latin editions. See Bodnaruk, *Velykyi chernets'*, p. 111. One of the rarer items was a unique collection of old and modern *antimensia*, of which five were painted by hand, and ninety-five printed and described in I. S. Sventsytskyi, ed., *Kataloh knyh tserkovno-slavianskoï pechati* (Zhovkva, 1908).
22. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 71.
23. Lists of these acquisitions along with summary and progress reports from the museum staff appeared periodically in the L'viv-based newspaper, *Dilo*. For instance, the 13 December 1913 issue provided full-page photographs of the dedication ceremonies of the museum.
24. Asotsiiatsiia, *Katalog*, [p. 1].
25. The organizers of ANUM were P. Kovzhun, S. Hordyns'kyi, Ia. Muzyka, and M. Osinchuk. The organization had considerable moral and artistic support from its contact with Ukrainian artists M. Andriienko and M. Hlushchenko in Paris, O. Archipenko in the United States, O. Hryshchenko in France, and V. Masiutyn in Berlin. In addition, the Association was affiliated, artistically speaking, with the Kharkiv group and journal, *Nova generatsiia*. Kovzhun was the real spirit behind ANUM, which did not have registered members, but was rather a close union of artists who "more or less thought alike." Ibid.
26. Ibid., [p. 2].
27. Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Metropolit Andreas Graf Scheptytzkyj: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers des Kirchenunion*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich, 1967), p. 311.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Not only were the works of L'viv-based ANUM members represented in the collection of the Ukrainian National Museum, but also the works of artists like M. Andriienko, O. Hryshchenko [Gritchenko], and M. Zaryts'ka who were working and living abroad. In his reminiscences on ANUM, Sviatoslav Hordyns'kyi recalled that many of the works amassed for the museum under the aegis of ANUM were destroyed by Soviet art historian and commissar Vasilii Liubchyk. These included works by O. Archipenko, M. Boichuk, P. Kholodnyi, and H. Narbut. See Sviatoslav Hordyns'kyi, "Spohady pro Asotsiiatsiiu nezalezhnykh ukraïns'kykh mysttsiv u L'vovi." Unpublished manuscript.
31. Vadym Shcherbakivs'kyi, "Moie perebuvannia ta pratsia v muzeiu o. Mytropolyta A. Sheptyts'koho u L'vovi," in Svientitskyi, *Dvaitsiat'piat'-littia*, pp. 22-7. Rather than be exiled from Kiev to Siberia, as was usually the case after the war for independence, the tsarist government allowed Shcherbakivs'kyi to fulfill his term of exile abroad. He chose to be exiled to Galicia. At the Metropolitan's invitation, Shcherbakivs'kyi worked in the National Museum as the assistant to the director, Ilarion Svientsits'kyi.
32. I. Svientsits'kyi, "Ohliad rozvoiu 'Natsional'noho Muzeiu'," *Dilo*, 13 December 1913, p. 8; and "Spivrobitnyky Natsional'noho Muzeiu," in Svientsitskyi, *Dvaitsiat'piat'-littia*, pp. 85-6. See also Yaroslava Muzyka, "Moia konservatsiina pratsia v Nats. Muzeiu," in ibid., p. 53.
33. At his father's request, Sheptyts'kyi completed university studies and came to recog-

nize firsthand the pleasures of worldly beauty expressed through the arts. Sofiia z Fredriv Sheptyts'ka, *Molodist' i poklykannia o. Romana Sheptyts'koho chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho* (Winnipeg and Toronto, 1965) p. 61.

34. Sheptyts'kyi was a cultivated individual. He was well-schooled, well-travelled, and well-connected with the upper echelons of both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian aristocratic society. While in Kiev during the 1880s, he became part of a circle of Ukrainian intellectuals and frequented their meetings. Especially important were his contacts with the historian and professor, Volodymyr Antonovych, and his visits to the Theological Academy Museum where he discussed the subject of icons with the curator, Mykola Petrov. Antonovych revealed the treasures of Kiev to the young Sheptyts'kyi, impressing upon him the value of the artistic riches of Kiev's ancient churches and the art work of previous centuries.

    One can be certain that Sheptyts'kyi fell naturally into the general intellectual climate which allowed him to begin to think about the finer aspects of man's creations. In Cracow, he took part in the weekly meetings at the home of Paweł Popiel, a delegate-consul to the Galician diet and member of the conservation commission of the Academy of Sciences. An art enthusiast, Popiel was most noted for having sponsored a series of evenings in his home every Thursday attended by the leading representatives of the Cracow literary and artistic elite. Another important early contact for Sheptyts'kyi was Stanisław Tomkowicz, co-editor of the Cracow-based Polish daily *Czas*, and subsequently the Secretary of the Commission on Art Historical Research at the Academy of Sciences. From 1887, Tomkowicz was conservator of art and antiquity and wrote numerous articles on art history. See Sheptyts'ka, *Molodist'*, pp. 149-50, note 31 and p. 151, notes 44 and 54.
35. Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrii*, p. 8.
36. V. Sichyns'kyi, "Drukarnia Sv. Iura u L'vovi (Officina typographica Sti. Georgii in urbe Leopoli)," *Lohos*, V, 2 (Yorkton, Sask., 1954), pp. 119-23. The printing house was founded during the time of Bishop Iosyp Shumlians'kyi and its director was Vasyl' Stavyts'kyi.
37. These included the first printed chant-book of liturgical singing practiced by Ukrainian Orthodox and Uniates, and the *Irmoloi* of 1700, embellished with woodcuts by noted graphic artists Dionysii Sinkevych and Nikodym Zubryts'kyi and other figural drawings typical of L'viv publications after 1637. The first and 1709 edition of this choral guidebook became part of the Ukrainian National Museum collection. Other rare items included a *Metryka* and *Psalter*, both of 1687, which contained some striking original woodcuts relating to the sacraments. It was the first modern-day art historian, Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi, an architect by training, who uncovered these riches as part of a 1932-1933 research project on the Cathedral of St. George. Ibid.
38. Bodnaruk, *Velykyi chernets'*, pp. 59-60. This task came somewhat easily, since he had already lectured on church art and architecture in the Theological Academy in L'viv. Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947), p. 50.
39. As a young girl, Zofia Fredro received artistic training in Paris, when her parents traveled there at the end of 1849 to meet her brother Alexander during his military leave. The family remained in Paris until 1852, during which time Zofia studied painting privately with a French artist who was recommended by a friend of the family, the Polish painter Henryk Rodakowski. Initially, she was taught to copy the paintings in the Louvre, concentrating mainly on Renaissance Madonnas, but later she also excelled in portraiture. Among the paintings known to be her work are a number of family portraits and several icons: St. Joseph in the Polish church in Zhovkva, St. Ignatius and St. Francis in the monastery of the Sisters of St. Felician in Cracow, and the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Brukhnal. The only work known to have

been publicly exhibited was a portrait of her brother, Aleksander, included in the 1855 Paris Salon. Some of her paintings apparently adorned the walls of St. George's Palace in L'viv. See St. Tarnowski, "Zofia z Fredrów hr. Szeptycka," *Przegląd Polski,* CLVI (1905), pp. 387–89.

A painting by her, dated to the time when Sheptyts'kyi was still a young Basilian priest, belongs to the parish church of St. Barbara in Vienna. In this rendering of St. Josaphat, Zofia depicted the four Evangelists on the bishop's epitrachelion, one of whom is a portrait rendering of her son. Based on information from S. Hordyns'kyi in a letter to me dated 29 January 1985.

40. Sheptyts'ka, *Molodist'*, p. 99. However, no such painting is known.
41. From a letter (dated 12 November 1887) to his mother while on a trip to Moscow, cited in Sheptyts'ka, *Molodist'*, p. 99.
42. Ibid., p. 100.
43. He had been instructed by his mother. His paintings dealt with both religious and secular themes. Although few in number, they ranged from the depiction of an ethnic Boiko in the Carpathian Mountains to the rendering of Christ's Passion. Anatol' M. Bazylevych, "Pohliady Mytropolyta na mystetstvo," in his introduction ("Vvedenniia") to [Andrei Sheptyts'kyi], *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I (Toronto, 1965), p. B/183. See also, *My i svit*, V, 12 (Toronto, 1954), pp. 1-14.
44. Sheptyts'ka, *Molodist'*, pp. 111-2.
45. Bazylevych, "Pohliady Mytropolyta na mystetstvo," *Pastyrs'ki lysty*, pp. B/184-B/185.
46. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Moï spohady pro predmet muzeinykh zbirok," in Romanenchuk, *L'viv*, p. 118.
47. Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, p. 327.
48. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Moï spomyny pro predmet muzeinykh zbirok," in Svientsits'kyi, *Dvaitsiat'piat'-littia*, p. 1. From Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letters, it would seem that he generally favored an Aristotelian approach to art, thereby distinguishing a rational definition of beauty of form itself according to a Platonic ideal from a definition of beautiful art which acts upon the heart and soul. In keeping with this Aristotelian outlook, Sheptyts'kyi spoke about the highest goal of art being the transmission of the truest reflection of nature, which to his mind was the great master of art.
49. Sheptyts'kyi, "Moï spohady," p. 117.
50. In like manner, he did not differentiate between artist and craftsman, seeing this only as a matter of having a diploma. See Andrii Gr[af] Sheptyts'kyi, "Z istoriï i probliem nashoï shtuky," *Dilo*, 2 [15] December 1913, pp. 1-2.
51. Ibid., 3 [16] December 1913, p. 2.
52. Ibid., 4 [17] December 1913, pp. 1-2. It is interesting to note that precisely in 1913, the Ukrainian modern painter residing in Moscow, Oleksander Hryshchenko [Gritchenko], wrote that Byzantine art provided the formal roots for contemporary artistic expression in the visual arts. See A. Grishchenko, *O sviaziakh russkoi zhivopisi s Vizantiiei Zapadom XIII-XX vv.* (Moscow, 1913).
53. For him, these painters were great because they relied on primitive Christian and on Byzantine artistic culture. Sheptyts'kyi, "Moï spohady," p. 119.
54. Ibid., p. 117.
55. "The features and character of a national culture are requisite only insofar as they remain in harmony with universal principles." This comment by Sheptyts'kyi on the role of historians could readily apply to artists, giving clear indication of the Metropolitan's position on the cultural movers of Ukraine who, it was deemed, could only serve their nation if they assumed a universalist position. See Andrei Shep-

tyts'kyi, "Z filosofiï kul'tury," *Nasha kul'tura*, I, 4 (Warsaw, 1935), p. 206.
56. Ibid., p. 207.
57. Andrei Gr[af] Sheptyts'kyi, "Z istoriï i probliem nashoï shtuky," *Dilo*, 2 [15] December 1913, pp. 1-2.
58. Sheptyts'kyi, "Moï spohady," p. 120.
59. Ibid.
60. These included the scores to some of M. Lysenko's most famous works, e.g., *Taras Bul'ba*, *Eneida*, *Rizdviana nich*, and the operetta *Chornomortsi*. See Bodnaruk, *Velykyi chernets'*, p. 110.
61. Ibid., p. 122.
62. Volodymyr Zalozets'kyi, *Natsional'nyi muzei u L'vovi: retrospektyvna vystava ukraïns'koho mystetstva za ostanni XXX lit* (L'viv, 1935), pp. 4–5.
63. One need only cite the "missionary" nature of the German Expressionists who banded together in *Die Brücke* or the Italian Futurists, who just prior to World War I put forth a bombastic program for contemporary Italian culture.
64. Sheptyts'kyi, "Z istoriï," *Dilo,* 3 [16] December 1913, pp. 1–2.
65. Virnyi, "Kinets' odniieï mistyfikatsiï," pp. 138–44.
66. Isaïv, *Mytropolyt,* p. 5.
67. The sculpture was dedicated on 9 October 1932. See Bodnaruk, *Velykyi chernets'*, p. 122, and the photograph of the work in Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit,* p. 322.
68. Isaïv, *Mytropolyt,* p. 15. See the photograph in Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit,* 1st ed. (Munich, 1955), p. 262.
69. By and large, portraits of the Metropolitan rendered by grateful artists were no great *chef-d'oeuvres,* but rather gestures of appreciation. Contemporary criticism validly argued that one of the reasons that, for instance, Modest Sosenko's portrait of Sheptyts'kyi was not as successful as those of Ivan Trush or Oleksa Novakivs'kyi was that the artist's training and artistic genre did not extend to portraiture. See Mykola Voronyi, "Portrety Mytropolyta Andreia," *Bohosloviia,* IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), pp. 198–205, and the reproductions of several of the portraits in Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit,* 2nd ed. pp. 314–21
70. The location of this painting, reproduced as an illustration at the end of this volume, is unknown.

Annex I
Annex II

Annex I

The Development of the National Museum in L'viv: 15th Year (1905–1919)

Source: Ilarion Svientsitskyi, *Pro muzei ta muzeinytstvo: narysy i zamitky* (L'viv, 1920), pp. 76–77.
*Totals indicated are erroneous but have not been corrected in order to retain the verity of the origina

		1905–7	1908	1909	1910
Income	Founder's Gift	134,772	26,760	6,971	6,842
	Supplements				
	Other			97	15
	Book Sales				
	Entrance Fees				
	Subsidies	3,951	7,333	6,170	3,952
Museum Expenditures	Staff	213	303	359	355
	Assistants			411	498
	Steward	4,849	1,800	2,800	2,190
	Pension Insurance				
	Office, Administration	42	324	354	290
	Maintenance	10,352	625	833	160
	Travel	256	155	1,219	
	Acquisitions	17,330	27,089	4,510	4,288
	Binding	1,082	1,332	1,403	1,333
	Conservation of icons				
	Publication			800	
Expansion of Collection	Manuscripts	693	79	187	87
	Rare Books	1,163	168	301	243
	Archives		5,052	89	10
	Research Library	384	90	82	110
	Folk Art	17	76	339	4
	Archaeology	48	65	27	5
	Cultural History Section	37	82	24	20
	Icons	445	282	544	68
	Carvings	140	139	107	16
	Glass-Porcelain	59	48	83	7
	Textiles-Kylims	69	118	113	23
	Old Portraits	4	1	6	30
	Armor	1	2	5	
	Gallery	3	1	16	11
	TOTAL	*2,460	713	576	94

*On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the National Museum, the Founder's Gift was listed in the sum of 5,395 items (out of a total of 18,123—incorrectly cited in the original as 18,393) in addition to donations in cash and cash subsidies in the sum of 536,193 Austrian crowns (cited, again incorrectly, as 592,634 Austrian crowns). In terms of museum expenditures, it is difficult to discern exactly how many people were employed as staff and how many as assistants, although the steward's salary may have amounted to as much as 3% of the total monies paid to employees (see Annex II). The figures under income and museum expenditures are in Austrian crowns.

1911	1912	1913	1914	1915–17	1918	1919
255,222	38,001	23,954	12,695	25,769	22,700	36,188
			5,080		32,000	1,000
508		351		4,279	4,653	2,750
			174	90	48	356
			286	208	319	1,144
3,876	7,192	9,209	5,997	4,577	1,151	3,950
725	1,382	1,735	1,537	1,872	1,978	3,010
480	133	352	435	2,580	775	1,300
3,300	3,600	3,600	3,933	11,466	4,500	4,800
			261	648	324	360
395	422	810	852	725	544	2,127
2,164	7,483	8,075	1,703	680	204	150
252	290	234	715		196	
7,852	8,211	1,898	4,093	1,459	8,111	3,642
2,159	828	960	3		176	401
	284	396	99	6	116	232
		283	433			25,309
71	125	127	95	13	51	114
171	135	184	220	12	133	66
36	69	118	72	8	35	33
114	65	84	151	47	321	114
48	196	62	35	5	198	43
2	17	39	29	1	2	1
29	67	95	88	105	6	16
130	185	190	127	4	197	4
24	77	57	70	16	7	2
114	43	30	41	2	112	27
97	188	90	53	37	13	19
22	4	22	8	20	13	
1	7	22	4		1	
38	28	47	166		14	59
199	245	768	140		124	76

Annex II

View of the Development of the National Museum in Figures*

Source: I. Svientsitskyi, ed., *Dvaitsiat'piat'-littia Natsional'nobo muzeiu u L'vovi* (L'viv, 1930).

Year	1920	1921	1922	1923
Founder's Contribution—mus.objects	62,000	100,000	4,486,000	1,459,267,000
Income from Buildings				2,095,391
Income from Publications				
Assistance	31,978	207,835	1,496,160	247,819,070
Entrance Fees	1,340	27,029	204,122	11,925,550
Annual Turnover	123,573	749,340	8,903,017	2,508,540,000
Personnel	33,106	91,643	1,139,592	204,012,972
Acquisitions Fund	10,797	80,180	3,215,846	1,099,635,336
Physical Plant	16,393	1,800	82,080	1,050,000
Office and Research Room	5,091	19,889	245,987	23,491,187
Expenses on the Homes	28,359	28,697	227,750	
Expenses on Publications	14,399	423,059	1,516,959	380,418,231
Growth of Objects	1,149	1,261	1,110	1,500
Objects Exhibited	639	399	496	227
Exhibition Guests	112	960	1,385	2,275
Research Room Guests	12	13	75	102
Published for Research Room	91	76	320	284
Matters Tended	500	329	476	741
Budgetary lines Tended	500	402	550	775
Places Visited	5	8	12	30
Technical Personnel	1 + 5	1 + 5	1 + 3	1 + 4
Service Personnel	2	2	3	3
		Night Guard:	523,955	20,783,580

10% regularly goes to conservation.

*Over the span of twenty-five years, the staff of the National Museum bought 50% of their accessions, which, together with the Founder's Contribution, amounted to 64% of the entire collection of the National Museum. This indicates that the Metropolitan's gift represented only 14% of the museum's collection in 1929. Beginning in 1919, publication expenditures rose dramatically due to the increased involvement in published scholarly material relating to the museum's collection. Ordinarily, the editions ranged from 250 to 730 issues, with an extraordinary output of an edition of 2000 issues of Ilarion Svientsits'kyi's *Pro muzei ta muzeinytstvo: narysy i zamitky* (See Appendix I). Approximately 50% of all museum publications were sent abroad. The figures in the first twelve categories are in Polish złotys.

1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
4,912	16,498	200,461	17,871	14,467	13,160
395	166	4,264			
					4,481
1,026	3,034	1,443	5,127	4,422	8,176
448	289	265	751	754	498
13,708	44,722	232,650	49,846	54,816	51,300
3,000	6,204	11,494	13,192	18,719	17,973
8,100	9,249	10,100	6,565	6,048	11,993
56		417	166	2,561	878
467	2,511	1,050	908	2,068[1]	2,335[2]
			495	13,022	1,683
1,316	1,377		1,288	3,992	
738	1,275	4,899	3,720	2,800	2,754
525	120	1,555	340	890	204
1,660	687	987	2,525	1,424	1,200
120	45	93	52	64	100
346	1,425	341	273	302	258
750	893	997	768	866	995
660	807	808	904	1,109	1,120
10	4	38	18	56	7
1 + 7	1 + 6	1 + 6	1 + 9	1 + 13	1 + 11
3	3	3	3	3	3

[1] Light, Heating, Postage, Bookkeeping

[2] Payment on debts. Before 1928, 44,000 zł was paid off from sales.

Sheptyts'kyi and Eastern-Rite Catholics Abroad

Chapter 15

Sheptyts’kyi in the Russian Empire

Ivan Muzyczka

Since the sixteenth century Russia has attracted all kinds of missionaries and other types of “visitors,” who were not only interested in her spirituality, Christian life, and church, but who also wanted to leave their mark or to effect some change. First, Lutherans and Calvinists from neighboring Poland and Lithuania sent their preachers and ministers to win Russia over for the Reformation. Then, the Roman Catholic Church of Poland, following its quick victory over the forces of Protestantism within its own borders, was enflamed with a spark of zeal to convert Russia to Catholicism, and it made every effort to achieve that goal. In the seventeenth century, the Greeks came to Russia to teach the Eastern rite and to raise funds, while Ukrainians sent scholars from Kiev to enlighten its former colony (from the days of Iaroslav the Wise [1019-1054]), with what Ukraine had in the interim received from the West, especially scholastic theology. Even Anglicans, in the eighteenth century, began to visit Russia for ecumenical purposes.[1]

All these visitations continued until World War I, and they subjected the Russian church to a wide variety of influences which caused ferment and even crises within church life. Nonetheless, with the exception perhaps of the Union of Brest, which took place in Ukraine and Belorussia, whose churches were already claimed by Russia, these “missionaries” did not have much success.[2] Roman/Andrei Sheptyts’kyi belonged to that large category of “visitors” who came to Russia, although his motivation was of a different nature. His visit in the late nineteenth century was a prelude to his work in Russia during the years 1914-1917, which made him a pioneer of twentieth-century ecumenism in the East.

Young Roman Sheptyts'kyi went to Russia for the first time in 1887 for several reasons. One reason was related to his family. While Roman's grandfather converted to Roman Catholicism and thus joined the Polish camp, his father revealed his Ukrainian roots by telling him all about the famous Sheptyts'kyi lineage with the help of portraits that hung on the walls of the family mansion in the village of Prylbychi. The portraits and his father's commentaries touched the boy's imagination. Before him were his ancestors sitting proudly on the metropolitan's throne of Halych: Metropolitan Lev Sheptyts'kyi (1748-1778), the builder of the St. George Cathedral and its neighboring structures in L'viv; Atanasii Sheptyts'kyi (1715-1746), bishop of Przemyśl and later L'viv; and Varlaam Sheptyts'kyi, the archimandrite of Univ (1668) and later bishop of L'viv (1710-1715), the first Uniate in the Sheptyts'kyi family. This rich family past awakened within Roman the wish to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors, to return to his own people and his own church, and to serve them as a priest and monk.[3]

Another reason was supplied by Jesuit priests who were among the frequent guests in the Sheptyts'kyi house. It was from them that Roman learned about their great desire to convert Russia. In fact, some Jesuits, such as Ivan Gagarin, Ivan Marynov, Evgenii Balabin, and Pavel Pirling were already working there. Their scholarly works, journals, polemical tracts, and catechisms were serious ecumenical achievements and the pride and joy of the order.[4]

In addition, even as a student Roman wanted to visit Ukraine and Russia, and to see the wide horizon of the Eastern rite beyond the borders of his native Galicia. His father was happy about this because he believed that Roman's encounter with the Eastern rite would broaden his knowledge about Christianity and about life in general. Before his visit in 1887, Roman often thought about Ukraine and Russia, therefore he was prepared to profit from his visit, especially from the meetings with the historian Volodymyr Antonovych in Kiev and the philosopher Vladimir Solov'ëv in Moscow.[5] That visit had a profound impact on Sheptyts'kyi. A year later, when he entered the monastery of the Basilian Fathers, he dreamt of going to Russia and working there for the good of church union.[6] If Russia were impossible, then he planned to go to Bulgaria and work there for Christian unity.

Sheptyts'kyi maintained contact with Russian converts, that is with Russian Greek Catholics. Among these was the Reverend Aleksei Zerchaninov, who joined the Catholic Church secretly in 1896 but who was unable to receive any jurisdiction from the Polish Catholic metropolitan of St. Petersburg.[7] Without ever concealing that he was a Catholic, Zerchaninov went on serving his Orthodox parish in St. Petersburg. He did, however, wish to normalize the question of jurisdiction, so he visited Sheptyts'kyi in L'viv in 1905, and two years later wrote to the Metropolitan: "I turn to you, as to my immediate superior in matters of faith, regarding the question concerning a canonical installation of a Greek Catholic-rite eparchy in Russia, with the guarantee of full religious freedom for Catholics of the Greek Catholic rite, in accordance with local customs, which should in no way impede the unity of the Catholic Church."[8] Zerchaninov also provided numerical data on Russian Greek Catholics in the 1890s: there were "several priests and approximately one thousand faithful, primarily in the capital and in the larger cities, who have embraced Catholic teachings in the Latin and Greek Catholic rites."[9] For the most part, these people were members of the Russian aristocracy, who considered themselves to be of Polish, French, or German nationality.

In order to act on behalf of Russia's Greek Catholics, Sheptyts'kyi needed definitive rights from the Apostolic See. In fact, the Metropolitan already had jurisdiction over a small part of the Russian Empire. This was the half-forgotten eparchy of Kamianets', which belonged to the L'viv archeparchy, but which was located within the boundaries of the Russian Empire (in the Podolia province of Right Bank Ukraine). As bishop of this eparchy, Sheptyts'kyi was duty bound to extend his spiritual care to all Catholics of the Eastern rite in that jurisdiction. It was this status as bishop of Kamianets' which formed the basis of all Sheptyts'kyi's ecumenical and pastoral efforts in Russia.

Sheptyts'kyi also had to face the question of just how to work for unity. He could preach to the Orthodox through various means about the truth of the One Church of Christ and win them over in that manner, or he could immediately create a modest hierarchical structure among them and then through dialogue and an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding proceed gradually towards unity.[10] In the end, he chose the second approach, for this was the way in which the earliest Christian communities had been created. Nevertheless, there remained the difficulty that because of the lack of an Eastern Catholic hierarch, the Latin-rite bishops often took the first Orthodox converts under their spiritual care, which simply meant the complete absorption of Eastern-rite Christians into Roman Catholicism. In order to avoid what he considered this unfavorable approach to the problem, Sheptyts'kyi set out to obtain for himself full jurisdiction for Russia.

In February 1907, the Metropolitan went to Rome, where he reported on the legal status of his Kamianets' eparchy and at the same time requested full jurisdiction over the Eastern-rite faithful in the entire Russian empire. The response from Pope Pius X (1903-1914) simply said *Utere iure tuo* (make use of your rights).[11] When the Russian priest Zerchaninov sent his letter the following May asking Sheptyts'kyi to become the hierarch for the Russian Greek Catholic community, Sheptyts'kyi was armed with what seemed to be a papal imprimatur. Without delay he officially appointed Zerchaninov as his deputy for the spiritual care of the faithful of the Kamianets' eparchy and all other Greek Catholic eparchies within the Russian Empire.[12] One year later, in February 1908, Sheptyts'kyi was back in Rome, this time asking that a number of documents be signed by the pope in order to have all his rights on paper. Pius X did sign all the documents, although he asked that the Metropolitan keep it all secret "until the time comes when they will be of service to you."[13]

It was in that very same year, 1908, that Sheptyts'kyi made his incognito journey to Russia, using the passport of a lawyer friend who looked like him.[14] Often in grave danger, he visited Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev. His objective was to establish contact with persons, especially the clergy, who would be inclined to enter into unity with Rome. These were the first attempts by Sheptyts'kyi on behalf of Christian unity in Russia and they encouraged further efforts.[15] On the other hand, they also elicited numerous complaints and charges against him from various quarters, including Rome.[16] Nonetheless, Sheptyts'kyi's rights in Russia were reaffirmed by the Vatican in 1909, 1910, and 1914. A document granting these rights, dated 13 March 1914, stated, among other things, that Sheptyts'kyi received "the legal jurisdiction and right [*iura et facultates*] to look after the organization and administration of the Eastern church in the Russian empire."[17] Also in 1914, the pope is reported to have said to Sheptyts'kyi: "The time will come when your rights will be very useful and you will be able to exercise them."[18]

The third time Sheptyts'kyi went to the Russian Empire it was as a prisoner in September 1914 following the outbreak of World War I and the tsarist Russian occupation of L'viv and East Galicia. The tsarist regime found many reasons for the Metropolitan's arrest, since from their standpoint he was both ecclesiastically and politically dangerous. The Russian Orthodox bishop of Lublin and Volhynia, Evlogii Georgievskii (1903-1919), gave one explanation for the arrest:

> When L'viv was taken, General Brusilov warned Sheptyts'kyi that nobody would touch him if he would act correctly vis-à-vis the Russian authorities; otherwise, the military command would be forced to take appropriate measures against him. During the first Sunday, in the presence of the military Governor S. V. Sheremetiev, Sheptyts'kyi delivered an inflammatory sermon in the cathedral: "The barbarians have come... they reach for our culture."[19]

Despite Evlogii's recollections, Sheptyts'kyi's sermon was hardly inflammatory. On the contrary, it was wisely tailored to the war situation and the defeats suffered by Austria on the eastern front, and it had a pastoral meaning for both sides. It contained ecumenical motifs in the form of prayers for Russian as well as Austrian soldiers, "because we are all brothers in Christ and in need of God's mercy." Moreover,

> Let us use the opportunity, now that the borders have by God's will been removed, to get to know each other better, and perhaps we will even be able to give something to one another.... We have to get to know each

> other, because we have much in common. They [the Russians] have the same liturgy as we do; they call themselves 'Orthodox' and we are 'Orthodox'. Our Orthodoxy is ecclesiastical, theirs is based on the state. Let me put it this way: theirs is *kazënnoe*, that is, they base their Orthodoxy on the power of the state; while we derive our strength from unity with the Holy Catholic Church through which Divine Grace comes and in which resides the true source of salvation. This we can give them. . . . [20]

Tsarist officials particularly did not like the words *kazënnoe pravoslavie*, but the sermon was only a pretext for his arrest. The real reason, Sheptyts'kyi's pro-Union activities, is evident from a telegram sent on 11 September 1914, by the supreme commander of the tsarist army to the police authorities of the Russian military government in Galicia:

> Hofmeister Maklakov reports that the Vatican is trying to renew the Union in Russia with the help of the Uniate Metropolitan Count Sheptyts'kyi, a participant in the deliberations of Catholic activists in Rome. Sheptyts'kyi is recruiting in Russia students for theology courses in L'viv; he has been secretly to Russia; and he has issued orders to priests under his jurisdiction to perform sacerdotal functions in the Eastern rite. The correspondence about Sheptyts'kyi's and the Vatican's participation in the development of the Uniate movement in Russia is found in the files of the Metropolitan's chancery in L'viv. The Ministry of Internal Affairs requests that the said correspondence be removed from Sheptyts'kyi's files and that the originals be sent to the ministry.[21]

The next day, 12 September, the Metropolitan's palace was searched, and the search was continued two days later. Nothing suspicious was found, yet on 15 September Sheptyts'kyi was placed under house arrest.

The reports in the Russian press all stressed Sheptyts'kyi's dangerous attempts to spread Catholicism in the territories of Russia. According to the newspaper *Voennia izvestiia*:

> The Metropolitan had travelled earlier to Russia using the name of a large business firm as a cover, and he left a German agent, Vertsinsky, in Moscow and Daibner in Petersburg, to work for him. Both agents worked primarily to undermine the Orthodox Church. In 1910, he was in Vitebsk, although he was not arrested there solely because of the incompetence of some officials. He scoffed at the laws and broke our strict rules governing the travel of Roman priests in our state. He continually organized Greek Catholic churches and diverted many a person from Orthodoxy. He was one of the most dangerous of the Roman agents, who for many years infiltrated the territory of our state. His arrest and extradition must fill the heart of every Russian and Orthodox person with joy.[22]

Within a few days of his house arrest, on 19 September, Sheptyts'kyi was deported eastward, first to Kiev. There he managed, on 21 September, to consecrate in secret (in the Continental Hotel) the Reverend Iosyf Botsian as bishop of Polotsk. Bishop Botsian received the responsibility for all the former Greek Catholic settlements that had been liquidated by tsarist authorities in the nineteenth century. With a certificate written on parchment, Sheptyts'kyi also nominated the Reverend Dmytro Iaremko as bishop of Ostrih. The task of these new bishops was to renew church union among the inhabitants of Volhynia and other regions in the old Metropolitan See of Kiev.[23] Sheptyts'kyi hoped that this first act on the territory of the Russian Empire would ensure the work for church union regardless of the results of the war. However, both Botsian and Iaremko were arrested before long by tsarist authorities.[24] Nonetheless, the appointment of two bishops for territories within the Russian empire fulfilled the prediction Pius X had made in 1908 that the rights granted to Sheptyts'kyi would be useful.

From Kiev Sheptyts'kyi was taken to the northern Russian city of Nizhnii Novgorod. During the three days he was there he was under house arrest so that he would not make contact with local Old Believers, a group with which he had some contact earlier.[25] From Nizhnii Novgorod, Sheptyts'kyi was transferred to Kursk, where he was kept in strict isolation from any contact with the outside. During the first three months there, he was not even allowed to leave the house. Nonetheless, the Metropolitan found people through whom he could pass letters, and a few of these are still extant. These show Sheptyts'kyi's feelings in imprisonment:

> From the moment when God removed me from active work, I value it [the work] a hundred times more. How fortunate are those who are able to build the holy structure of the Church for Christ... from the moment when I am not able to work for Christ, it seems to me that I would kiss the earth upon which walk the feet of those who have this grace.... There is nothing left for me but to sit idly and to look at this work from a distance.... Please do not think that I am desperate or broken in spirit—no, not at all. God has given me a great feeling of peace to overcome this loneliness to which I have been sentenced. I am not allowed to see anyone, to talk to anyone except my guards, three of whom guard me day and night, changing every six hours. I can see a priest only during confession and even that had been forbidden for a long time.[26]

Sheptyts'kyi's correspondence from Kursk also reveals that he continued to expect the dawn of a new era of work on behalf of church unity. In this regard, he felt the role of the Jesuits in Russia would be crucial: "After the war, perhaps these doors will be wide open for you. And how we need your help.... Does the Father General understand? There is no doubt that a new epoch will begin."[27] In fact, it seems Sheptyts'kyi survived his imprisonment through prayer and thoughts of his plans and future work on behalf of church union. The importance of the participation of the Jesuits to these plans was evident in another letter to their General in Rome:

> If God grants me the opportunity to perform apostolic work, then my first two steps will be as follows: to request that I be assigned a confessor-director, so that in this manner the Society [of Jesus, i.e. the Jesuits] would complete the task begun in 1882, and to request permission to take part in this completion to the best of my ability. I shall explain this orally. My second request concerns that which we have often discussed before, and I think that the time has come to begin this deed. R[ussia] will take a giant step towards freedom, although it remains an open question whether this will pertain to the nationalities. I do not believe there will be national tolerance vis-à-vis the Poles, and even less so for the Ukrainians—actually, the [Russian] progressists are also nationalists. Perhaps the idea of religious tolerance will move forward easier because of the great mistakes [by the Russians] in Galicia.[28]

Sheptyts'kyi's attempts to make contact with the Greek Catholic parish in St. Petersburg failed, although he successfully sent a letter to the new pope, Benedict XV (1914-1922). He thanked the pope for attempts to intercede on his behalf, even though they were unsuccessful. He also asked that the pontiff make no more such representations, unless they would result in his return to work as archbishop of L'viv. He also asked the pope to appoint his successor, if the pontiff considered it necessary. Sheptyts'kyi made no reference to the situation in Russia or to his activities on behalf of church union, as he had done in his earlier letter to the Jesuit General. He did, however, express concern about the Metropolitan See of Galicia and about his faithful and priests.[29]

In September 1916, Sheptyts'kyi was transferred to a "spiritual prison" in the Orthodox monastery at Suzdal'. He was guarded by gendarmes, the auxiliary bishop of Vladimir, Pavel, and several monks. The Metropolitan's room was right next to those of the bishop and the gendarmes. Bishop Pavel acted very coolly towards Sheptyts'kyi, rarely speaking with him even though they lived side by side. The Suzdal' monastery was famous because it was designed for prisoners convicted of religious crimes and it was, as the Metropolitan wrote to the pope, the very symbol of intolerance in the Russian Orthodox Church.[30] However, the transfer to Suzdal' also meant the government believed that Sheptyts'kyi was a religious not a political criminal. This view was reiterated by Sheptyts'kyi in a letter to the Jesuit General, dated 12 November 1916, which provided a detailed description of his imprisonment.

> The conditions are in legal terms extremely severe; for example, a prohibition against speaking with the guards—police have been placed at the door

> of the cell following the demand, so it seems, of the bishop; a prohibition against leaving without an escort, even to the garden. They don't give me any money (they have taken all my money); they have issued a detailed announcement that they will confiscate my letters and all letters addressed to me that are not written in Russian; and there is a lack of all services. But with regard to health, the situation is bearable. I am completely healthy and bear easily everything that I must. Physically speaking, life is comfortable; the cells are warm and not humid, and what is most important, I can celebrate the Holy Liturgy and keep the Blessed Sacrament. The lack of any kind of book forces me to devote all my time to prayer.

Yet, as always, Sheptyts'kyi had church union on his mind:

> I have the firm hope that in a brief time, that means immediately after the war, 'God will surrender Russia into our hands'; to be sure, [this will not occur] in the political sense, but when it does the Jesuits of the Eastern rite will be urgently needed. I request most urgently and humbly to prepare this action legally so that we shall be able to begin the deed at once. I will probably not live that long (which is not an expression of pessimism nor an intellectual conclusion based on the difficulties of the current situation); therefore, I ask for [authority] already today, because I do not know when or whether I shall be able to write about it again.[31]

Despite the restrictions, Sheptyts'kyi did find people sympathetic to his cause in Suzdal', as the conclusion to his letter revealed: "Divine Providence leads us down strange paths to our goals. I wasn't even here a week when I already made 'friends' and almost 'wide open doors' for work, as St. Paul says. However, I am afraid to put down the details on this card."[32] Thus, not unlike St. Paul in his chains in Rome, Sheptyts'kyi, whenever possible, preached in daily conversations his concept of the true church for which he gained "friends." Such was the extent of his modest ecumenical activities during imprisonment.

The isolation of the Metropolitan in the monastery of Suzdal' slowly began to wane. Somehow a group of Russian Eastern-rite Catholics found out about his stay there. Through a Russian Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Trofim Semiatskii, initial letters were exchanged with the Greek Catholic community in St. Petersburg and then with Rome. The imprisonment of Sheptyts'kyi was also discussed in the Russian parliament (Duma) by Aleksander Kerenskii and in the press. Then, on 18 December 1916, Sheptyts'kyi was moved to Iaroslavl', 150 km north of Suzdal'. In Iaroslavl', some of the stricter measures applied to the Metropolitan were eased. He was given permission to walk freely in the city and he was allowed to receive guests, read newspapers, and attend liturgy at the local Catholic church. He even began to collect various books of the Old Believers, and to converse and develop

velop friendships with the Orthodox priests at Iaroslavl'. Among them was a relative of Vladimir Solov'ëv, the Reverend Sergei Solov'ëv, from whom he learned about the activities of Bishop Evlogii in Galicia.[33]

It was in such circumstances that Sheptyts'kyi heard of the overthrow on 12 March 1917 of the tsarist government and the beginning of the revolution in Russia. With the end of tsarism, the new Russian Provisional Government informed Sheptyts'kyi that he was a free man. His response, reported by Nataliia Ushakova, a leading Catholic activist in Russia, was characteristic. Ushakova had petitioned the Provisional Government's minister of justice, Aleksander Kerenskii, to free the Metropolitan. When she finally met Sheptyts'kyi, she reported that "this holy man was filled with joy and peace. His first words were: 'I would spend a million years in exile, if only the church in your country were free'."[34]

Upon learning of his freedom, Sheptyts'kyi proceeded immediately to St. Petersburg where he arrived on 14 March. He fell ill, however, with flu and pleurisy, and for the next three weeks lay bedridden. While recovering, he learned he had been given the right to return to L'viv, but instead decided to remain in Russia in order to take care of various matters: "Ternopil' [i.e. Russian-occupied far eastern Galicia], the Union, our refugees, everything here is going much better than hoped," he wrote to the Jesuit General in Rome. "There is a large movement towards the Union here."[35] Sheptyts'kyi was, of course, delighted with the opportunity to work for the cause of church union. In the words of Ushakova:

> The Metropolitan was in St. Petersburg within a week [of the tsar's overthrow], and in two weeks Fëdorov returned from Tobol'sk. The Metropolitan lived with us for ten days, ordained Galician priests in the church on Bermaleev Street, confirmed several people, married one couple. In a word, everything was very nice. Time complicated the Metropolitan's plans. He departed for Rome and left us Fëdorov as exarch.[36]

During these heady days of rapid change, Sheptyts'kyi wanted to be everywhere—with his congregation in Galicia which waited for and needed him; in Rome to report to the pope on the state of his church in Galicia and his own ecumenical steps in Russia; and in Kiev, where great days were in store for all Ukrainians. He began, however, in St. Petersburg where he wished to put the fledgling Russian Catholic Church on a solid footing. The very day of his arrival there Sheptyts'kyi was met by the Roman Catholic Bishop Jan Ciepliak. He had recovered the papers which had been taken from him at the time of his arrest—including papal letters and authorizations—so Sheptyts'kyi informed Bishop Ciepliak of his jurisdiction in Russia and that he was assigning Leonid Fëdorov, whose return from Siberian exile in Tobol'sk the Catholic community of St. Petersburg was still awaiting, to head the Russian Catholics of the Eastern rite.[37] The appointment of Fëdorov certainly helped to overcome the serious divisions which had developed in St. Petersburg's Eastern Catholic community. After he recovered from his illness, Sheptyts'kyi celebrated a solemn pontifical liturgy in the so-called Maltese church, which greatly inspired the Russian Catholics. During that liturgy, for the first time publicly in Russia, the greeting *ad multos annos* (for many years) was intoned for the pope.

In an effort to provide a strong foundation for the Russian Catholic Church, Sheptyts'kyi formed a separate commission whose goal was to study the Old Slavonic *Liturgikons* and also the liturgy of the Old Believers. All three liturgies and the *vsenoshna* were revised, with prayers for the tsar and his family being replaced by prayers for the pope, Metropolitan Andrei, and the city's Roman Catholic Metropolitan and his auxiliary. The last of those changes was somewhat unusual and reflected the Roman Catholic influence in the work for church union in Russia. It is important to note that in this early stage Sheptyts'kyi nominated for the newly-formed Russian Greek Catholic Church an exarch who was subordinate to himself.

Sheptyts'kyi's second step was to convoke the first Russian Catholic synod, which began on 11 May 1917 in the hall of St. Petersburg's Catholic *gymnasium*, and lasted until the end of the month. Headed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the synod included Greek and Roman Catholic clergy and lay representatives.[38] A document concerning the establishment of an exarchate in Russia was read in both Russian and Latin, and Sheptyts'kyi named Leonid Fëdorov as his representative for all of Russia (with the exception of Ukraine and Belorussia), giving him the title of exarch. Although the Metropolitan wanted to consecrate Fëdorov as bishop immediately, Fëdorov declined and asked that the new exarchate first be made official in Rome, and that in the interim he be given a chance to prepare for receiving the consecration.

While it is beyond the scope of this essay to enter into a detailed analysis of the St. Petersburg Synod's sixty-eight resolutions, the two key ecumenical themes (the authority of the pope and the integrity of the Eastern rite), deserve to be mentioned here. In the course of its deliberations, the synod necessarily had to address the delicate question of papal primacy. The Catholic Church considered it to be a *sine qua non* for its members, but for the Orthodox it presented perhaps the greatest single obstacle to union with Rome. Accordingly, the synod's resolutions affirmed the visible supremacy of the pope, but included no special oaths of allegiance to be taken by Orthodox Christians who wished to unite with Catholicism. In effect, the synod thereby acknowledged the pope as the Vicar of Christ (that is, the successor of Peter) and the historical continuity of the Christian faith with its center in Rome. At the same time, in requiring no additional oaths by the Orthodox, the synod also implicitly accepted Orthodoxy as the faith of the Universal Church. Sheptyts'kyi applied this same principle later, when he outlined the procedure for receiving Orthodox believers into the Catholic

Church. Notably absent from that profession of faith was any mention of the infallibility of the pope, a dogma of the Catholic faith since 1870.

The resolutions also contained a strong endorsement of the inviolability of the eastern ritual tradition.[39] According to the synod, it was essential to recognize that the principle *lex orandi-lex credendi* had a very practical meaning in the Eastern church, which drew no distinction between the substance of worship and the content of the faith. Thus, the first resolution dealing with ritual matters explicitly rejected the supposed need to supplement eastern liturgical practice with additions from the Latin rite. This adherence to the ritual tradition was further consolidated in the synod's pronouncements: "The rite which now exists in Russia will continue to be used, without changes, with an effort towards uniformity, and without the mixing of the old rite with the new. Criticism of the rite is forbidden." Furthermore, "the brotherhood [confraternities] of the faithful whose statutes have been confirmed by Rome are to be received with their rite intact."[40] While the thrust of this position bears the distinctive imprint of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, it is also significant to note that a number of Russian theologians participated in the preparatory work for the synod and in the drafting of its resolutions. From the careful way in which the synod handled the connected ecumenical issues of the papacy and the Eastern rite it is clear that under the Metropolitan's able guidance the proceedings combined loyalty to Rome with a sensitivity to Orthodox concerns.

Following the successful conclusion of the St. Petersburg Synod, there was still one more important thing to do. Sheptyts'kyi wanted to have the new Russian Greek Catholic exarchate recognized by the government. After centuries of difficulties and persecution in the Russian empire, there was much doubt among the creators of the exarchate about receiving permission for the existence of a Catholic Church of the Eastern rite. However, the unexpected happened. Sheptyts'kyi was a personal friend of Prince Georgii L'vov, the head of the Provisional Government, and this friendship probably expedited matters. Sheptyts'kyi showed Prince L'vov his authorizations from the pope which, together with other documents, provided enough legal support so that the new exarchate was quickly recognized.

With the legal question out of the way, Sheptyts'kyi's remaining concern was to gather enough Catholics in the territory of formerly tsarist Russia, among whom were many Galicians. He thought about Kiev and what he might be able to accomplish there for the cause of church union, but of course, Galicia was hoping for his return despite the ongoing war. So, while he waited for a passport to return home, Sheptyts'kyi decided, even though he did not have the necessary documents, to travel to Kiev. Like the rest of the Russian empire, Kiev was feverish with the spirit of socialist revolution. At the same time, some patriotic Ukrainian activists had begun to think of specific ways to aid the Ukrainian national cause. They had waited for Professor Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi to return from exile, but were disappointed that when he arrived he did not seem to be "with us" but instead favored the young socialist revolutionaries.[41] Hrushevs'kyi did head the Ukrainian Central Rada, but it did not want to deal with church matters separately. However, there was trouble within the Orthodox Church. Demands were made to replace hierarchs in Ukrainian eparchies who were Russian or Russophile, and a new attitude of independence from government control in church affairs prevailed.[42] "When in 1917 it looked as if all restrictions had been removed, one goal clearly appeared: a Ukrainian national church independent of Moscow and Rome."[43]

It was in such circumstances that Sheptyts'kyi arrived in Kiev in June 1917. He was in Kiev for only four days. There is not much information on his stay, and what there is is full of inconsistencies. While Sheptyts'kyi's aim in going to Kiev was not political, he did carefully study the political situation before going there. Although the Central Rada invited him to speak, which he did, Ukrainian governing circles generally received him with marked reserve.[44] Therefore, he turned his attention to the large number of fellow Galicians, who had ended up in Russia during the war and who were bereft of spiritual care. He carried out some ordinations and founded a Greek Catholic exarchate for Russia. Also, because of the absence from his own archeparchy, he followed the apostolic practice of creating Greek Catholic exarchates in Galicia, giving them jurisdiction over those sections of Roman Catholic dioceses in that Austrian province which were still under Russian occupation. The new Galician Greek Catholic exarchates were to serve as hierarchical outposts for the ecumenical cause within neighboring Orthodox territories. Sheptyts'kyi also formed his own general vicarate in Kiev for deported Galician priests and faithful, nominating the Reverend Tsehel's'kyi as his vicar. In addition, he established a Greek Catholic parish in Kiev for which, subsequently, a small chapel was built, and he authorized the formation of several other Greek Catholic parishes in eastern Ukraine—Odessa, Katerynoslav, Poltava, and Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi. All of this was carried out by Galicians.[45]

After his brief but productive stay in Kiev, Sheptyts'kyi returned via Moscow to St. Petersburg, where he continued to wrestle with the Provisional Government's bureaucracy to obtain a visa. Finally, on 7 July, after three years, he left the territory of the rapidly crumbling Russian empire. During his stay in Russia, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's greatest achievement was the creation of a Catholic exarchate of the Eastern rite, which was part of his larger goal of working toward church unity. For decades there had been individuals in Russia who sincerely wanted church unity, and their presence made it possible for Sheptyts'kyi to achieve his mission. However, the rapidly changing political situation in Russia and the victory of the Bolsheviks in November 1917 created radically new conditions in a Soviet state. As a result, the Russian Greek Catholic Exarchate lasted only five years. In 1923, it was liquidated and Bishop Leonid Fëdorov was arrested. Nonetheless, despite its short existence, the exarchate remained a historical reminder of Sheptyts'kyi's activity and served as a potential model for future ecumenical work in eastern Europe.

Notes

1. Georgii Florovskii, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1981), pp. 33 ff.
2. Ibid., p. 31.
3. Jan Tokarski, "Metropolita Szeptycki," in *Mówi Rozgłośnia Polska Radia Wolna Ewropa*, no. 34 [1035], (Munich, 1966), p. 2.
4. Carlo Gatti and Cirillo Korolevskij, *I riti e le Chiese Orientali*, vol. I (Geneva, 1942), pp. 838 ff.
5. Diakon Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov: zhizn' i deiatel'nost'* (Rome, 1966), p. 18; Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj 1865-1944* (Rome, 1964), p. 25 ff.
6. Tokarski, "Metropolita." The goal of Sheptyts'kyi's first journey was to explore the possibilities for conversion of Russia. He wrote to his mother in a letter dated 12 November 1887: "... I have no desire to remain here longer; I would like to see what is most important and then get out as fast as possible, leaving to St. Catherine the difficult task of converting the Muscovites. But it will come to pass. It can be sensed and it should be expected." Sofiia z Fredriv-Sheptyts'ka, *Molodist i poklykannia o. Romana Sheptyts'koho* (Winnipeg and Toronto, 1965), p. 99.
7. The hierarch in question was Metropolitan Szymon Kozłowski, about whom Sheptyts'kyi commented: "Their [Greek Catholics in Russia] situation is terrible because they have no leadership, and Metropolitan K. is causing harm all along the way. If this continues, then with the most fervent submission to the Apostolic See and without any heresy they will remain heretics and schismatics." Letter of Sheptyts'kyi to Rome from L'viv, dated 31 December 1910, in the Archive of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome, Documents related to the beatification process of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, vol. IV, p. 201, hereinafter cited as Beatification Documents.
8. Cited in Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 83, note 37.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 79.
11. Ibid., p. 82; Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 197.
12. The text of Sheptyts'kyi's decree on Russia is in Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, pp. 83-5.
13. Ibid., p. 88. With regard to the specific rights that were granted, see ibid., pp. 86-7; and Sonya A. Quitslund, *Beauduin: A Prophet Vindicated* (New York, 1973), p. 86.
14. Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 192, made an error when he indicated that Sheptyts'kyi's second journey to Russia took place in 1907. The correspondence of Leonid Fëdorov confirms the journey took place in the autumn of 1908. Cf. Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 117.
15. Some people think that Sheptyts'kyi went to Russia incognito again in 1912. This was reported in *Novoe vremia*, no. 12,977, 29 April 1912, two weeks after the alleged trip. For a denial that such a second incognito trip ever took place, see the unsigned article by a priest in L'viv, "O nedostoinei klevety," *Tserkovnii vostok*, IV (L'viv, 1912), pp. 223-8. Cf. Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Velykyi Mytropolyt* (Yorkton, Sask., 1958), p. 9.
16. Volodymyr Kosyk, "Nezdiisnena podorozh Mytropolyta Sheptyts'koho do Rymu v 1917 rotsi," in *Intrepido Pastori*, Ukraïns'kyi Katolyts'kyi Universytet: Naukovyi

zbirnyk, Vol. LXII (Rome, 1984), pp. 417-24.

17. This document, which bears the pope's "Placet" [approval], is in the Archive of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome.
18. Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 88.
19. Mitropolit Evlogii, *Put' moei zhizni: vspominaniia* (Paris, 1947), p. 259. Upon the arrival of tsarist troops in Galicia, Evlogii was given the task of "converting" the local Ukrainians to Russian Orthodoxy.
20. Cited in Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Munich, 1947), p. 63.
21. Cited in Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 289.
22. This quotation, which appeared in the *Chicago Daily News*, is taken from A. Charnets'kyi, "Areshtovanie i vyvezenie Mytropolyta A. Sheptyts'koho," in I. Chaplyns'kyi. ed., *V chest' 50-tykh rokovyn urodyn i na pamiatku trylitnoï moskovs'koï nevoliï Mytropolyta A. Sheptyts'koho* (Philadelphia, 1917), p. 45. See also Baran, *Mytropolyt*, p. 67.
23. I. Khoma, "Sobory ekzarkhiv u L'vovi 1940-1941," *Bohosloviia*, XLIV, 1-4 (Rome, 1980), pp. 147-50; Korolevskij, *Métropolite*, p. 132.
24. Iaremko died on 3 October 1916 while in exile in Vologda; Botsian was released in 1917 and returned that summer to L'viv.
25. For information on Sheptyts'kyi's relations with the Old Believers, see above, Chapter 10.
26. Letter of Sheptyts'kyi, dated 18 August 1915, to the General of the Jesuits in Rome. Beatification Documents, vol. IV, p. 203.
27. Ibid., p. 204.
28. Letter of Sheptyts'kyi, dated 28 May 1916, in ibid., p. 207. The repeated mention of the date 1882 suggests that was when a branch of Eastern-rite Jesuits had been planned to work for church union in Russia. Sheptyts'kyi placed great hopes in this initiative, and he believed that with the help of Latin-rite monks the Eastern-rite Jesuits would achieve Christian unity.
29. Sheptyts'kyi's letter provides no place of origin. It was written in July 1916 and sent on 23 September, probably through the Polish Roman Catholic priest in Kursk. Ibid., pp. 207-9.
30. Letter of Sheptyts'kyi to Pope Benedict XV, dated 29 September 1916, in ibid., pp. 208-9.
31. Ibid., p. 208.
32. Ibid., p. 209.
33. The Reverend Sergei Solov'ëv subsequently became a Catholic priest. See Antonii Venger, "Materialy k biografii Sergiia Mikhailovicha Solov'ëva," in S. M. Solov'ëv, *Zhizn' i tvorcheskaia evoliutsiia Vladimira Solov'ëva* (Brussels, 1977), p. 3.
34. From a letter by Ushakova to Princess Elizaveta Volkonskaia, cited in Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 306.
35. Letter of Sheptyts'kyi to the General of the Jesuits in Rome, 24 April 1917, Beatification Documents, vol. IV, p. 213.
36. From a letter by Ushakova to Princess Volkonskaia, cited in Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 306.
37. Ibid., p. 312.
38. The members included the Eastern-rite priests Leonid Fëdorov, Aleksei Zerchaninov, Ivan Deibner, Evstakhii Susalev, Gleb Verkhovskii, Trofim Semiatskii, Diodor Kolpenskii, and Vladimir Abrikosov. Present at the last meeting on 31 May were the Greek Catholic Bishop Iosyf Botsian, the Roman Catholic Archbishop Edward Ropp, Bishop Jan Cieplak, and Canon Zygmunt Loziński; and laymen Vladimir Balashov and Stanisław Cybulski (director of the Catholic *gymnasium*).

39. The issue of rite in the Russian Catholic Church had already arisen prior to the synod of 1917. Sheptyts'kyi had permitted one Russian Catholic priest, the Reverend Ivan Deibner, to practice the cult of the Sacred Heart in his parish. Responding to this apparent Latinization, a group of Russian Catholic priests wrote to the Metropolitan requesting that such an innovation not be applied to other parishes. Sheptyts'kyi resolved the matter in a decree to Exarch Fëdorov: the Reverend Deibner was allowed to continue the celebrations in his own parish, but the permission was explicitly limited to his parish only. See Vasilii, *Leonid Fëdorov*, p. 332.
40. Resolutions 27-9 and 33. Ibid., pp. 323–8. See also [Iosyf Slipyi], *Tvory kyr Iosyfa Verkhovnoho arkhiepyskopa i kardynala (Opera omnia),* vol. III–IV (Rome, 1970), pp. 78–83.
41. Dmytro Doroshenko, *Moï spomyny pro nedavnie-mynule* (Munich, 1969), p. 87.
42. On these varying and rapidly unfolding developments in 1917, see Mykola Chubatyi, "Mytropolyt Andrei ta pravoslavnyi svit," in *Pro Velykoho Mytropolyta Andreia* (Yorkton, Sask., 1961), p. 53; Vasyl' Lypkivs'kyi, *Vidrodzhennia tserkvy v Ukraïni, 1917–1930* (Toronto, 1959), pp. 14–15; and Evlogii, *Put' moiei zhizni,* p. 289.
43. Rudolf Armstark, *Die Ukrainische Autokephale Orthodoxe Kirche* (Würzburg, 1982), p. 38.
44. Chubatyi, "Mytropolyt Andrei," p. 53.
45. This process was best summed up in a contemporary publication: "Because of the fact that a large part of East Galicia was then still under enemy occupation and the faithful of the Uniate Church did not have a bishop, Metropolitan [Sheptyts'kyi], in accordance with apostolic practice, established exarchates, to which he gave episcopal authority. For the occupied eparchy of Stanyslaviv, he named as vicar general the Reverend Frants Bonn from Ternopil'. He also founded a general vicarate in Kiev for priests and faithful who were deported from Galicia, placing the Reverend Tsehel's'kyi, pastor of Kaminka Strumylova, in charge. The Metropolitan designated as exarch over all three vicars general the deported canon from Ternopil', the Reverend Volodymyr Hromnyts'kyi. For Muscovy, not including Belorussia, the Metropolitan created an exarchate in Petrograd and placed it in the care of Exarch Leonid Fëdorov." *T'sars'kyi viazen', 1914–1917* (L'viv, 1918), pp. 49–50.

    In my opinion, these were rather insignificant acts made hastily by Sheptyts'kyi during the chaos of the revolution and the collapse of the Russian front.

Chapter 16

Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in Canada

Bohdan Kazymyra

Ukrainians first began to immigrate to Canada in large numbers during the 1890s. After they learned about the "free lands" in what they assumed was a land of plenty, thousands of Ukrainian peasants settled on homesteads in Manitoba and in parts of the Northwest Territories (today Alberta and Saskatchewan). Almost all of these Ukrainian immigrants, or Ruthenians as they were known at the time, came from the Austrian province of Galicia and were predominantly Eastern-rite or Greek Catholics.[1]

In Canada, the Ukrainian Greek Catholics found themselves in an entirely new religious environment. Among the differences from what they knew at home, three were particularly important: (1) religious denominations other than Roman Catholic were present and even more influential; (2) church and state were separate; and (3) there was no official church or religion in Canada. This rather confusing pluralism was further aggravated by the proselytizing efforts of other religious denominations such as the Russian Orthodox Church, under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod in Moscow, several Protestant sects, especially the Presbyterian and Methodist, and the Independent Greek Church, that "brainchild of Galician Radicals" which was supported by the Presbyterian Church of Canada. The greatest problem, however, was the lack of Eastern-rite priests which meant that the first Ukrainian Canadians were forced to attend Latin-rite churches where the clergy often knew nothing about them, their rite, or their religious traditions. This only led to problems, misunderstandings, and difficulties.

Attempting to alleviate their spiritual plight, Ukrainian Canadians often wrote to their bishops in Galicia requesting that clergy be sent to minister to them. Some even advertised in American and Galician-Ukrainian newspapers for Greek Catholic priests, indicating to prospective clergy the salary they would offer. Generally speaking, however, the results were disappointing. Although the Greek Catholic hierarchy in Galicia did take some steps to remedy the situation in the final years of the nineteenth century, their efforts bore little fruit. Not until Andrei Sheptyts'kyi became Metropolitan of L'viv in 1900 were the spiritual needs of Ukrainians in Canada effectively addressed. Sheptyts'kyi intervened repeatedly on behalf of Ukrainian Canadians before the Vatican, the Austrian government, the Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the clergy of the Galician archeparchy.[2]

The aim of this study is to examine Sheptyts'kyi's plans and accomplishments on behalf of Ukrainians in Canada from 1900 to 1925. Particular attention will be given to four aspects of the Metropolitan's relations with Ukrainian Canadians: (1) pastoral care; (2) the assistance of Belgian Redemptorists; (3) Abitibi and the Studites; and (4) the Metropolitan's second (and last) visit to Canada in 1921.

Pastoral Care

The first reference concerning Ukrainian settlers in Canada is in a letter by the Reverend Albert Lacombe, OMI, to the Reverend Louis Soullier (Lacombe's Father General in Paris), dated 25 September 1889: "As you know, the immigration has given us thousands of Catholics of the Ruthenian rite from Galicia. We do not understand their language and they do not understand ours."[3] This state of affairs reflected what was the beginning of troubles and misunderstandings on both sides.

The Greek Catholic hierarchs in Galicia knew of the difficult position in which Ukrainian immigrants found themselves because of the lack of spiritual care, and the hierarchs attempted to provide assistance. It was not easy, however, to obtain Ukrainian clergy from Galicia. This problem was addressed on three different occasions by decrees of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) issued in 1890, 1894, and 1897. The first two decrees demanded that "priests of the Ruthenian rite" in North America be celibate or widowers; be authorized by the Sacred Congregation; receive jurisdiction from the local Latin-rite bishop; and obtain leave from their own ordinary. The third decree dealt with spiritual matters pertaining to the laity. It affirmed, for example, that those who immigrated to North America could accommodate themselves to the Latin rite; that if they returned to the old country they could revert to their own rite; and that if they remained permanently in North America they would be obliged to seek permission from the Apostolic See to adopt the Latin rite if they so desired.

These stipulations of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith were not easy to fulfill. In the Galician Metropolitan See, there were then about 2,500 priests. Of these, only about 250 were celibate, including approximately sixty from the Basilian order. However, celibate priests were also needed in Galicia, in order to fill certain ecclesiastical posts. As a result, the number of priests who could come to Canada was small, and by the first decade of the twentieth century only five of the "Ruthenian rite" were available for pastoral work among the Ukrainian settlers in western Canada.[4] However, none of the five stayed for any length of time, so their temporary pastoral work was unable to produce significant results.

The efforts of the Latin-rite clergy were also negligible, a situation which was a source of particular concern to the Latin-rite hierarchy of western Canada, especially Archbishop Louis-Philippe-Adélard Langevin (1895-1915) of St. Boniface, Manitoba. The Canadian Catholic hierarchy did not want any Ukrainian-rite clergy since they criticized and mistrusted the Latin clergy and bishops. Hence, the hierarchs came to depend on the Latin-rite missionary Oblates. Nonetheless, one Oblate, the Reverend Albert Lacombe, did understand the problem faced by Ukrainian settlers. He recognized the shortcomings of the Latin hierarchy and saw that the only solution was to try to obtain Ukrainian missionary priests and to create a liaison office between the newcomers and the Latin hierarchy.

In 1899, after Andrei Sheptyts'kyi had become bishop of Stanyslaviv, the bishops of the church province of St. Boniface heard about him. They decided to send the Reverend Lacombe as their delegate to Sheptyts'kyi as well as to Rome and Austria in order to promote the dispatch of Ukrainian missionaries to Canada. Lacombe brought the matter to the attention of the appropriate authorities. This included an audience on 28 June 1900 with Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903): "I did not hesitate to speak about the matters that brought me to Rome. In truth, the Holy Father is considering the appointment of a sub-delegate-visitator who would be an advisor to the Ruthenian settlers and an auxiliary to the Latin hierarchs."[5] On 15 September 1900, Lacombe arrived in Stanyslaviv and stayed at the residence of Bishop Sheptyts'kyi who, as he later reported, was "very good and kind" to him. Lacombe discussed the matter of sending missionaries to Canada and the priest to be recommended for the post of visitator for the Ukrainians in Canada. Moreover, he learned from Archbishop Langevin that the Austro-Hungarian government stated that if the Vatican allowed it, Sheptyts'kyi could make a "visitation next year" to Canada.[6]

Lacombe was convinced that the Ukrainian settlers must have their own bishop to solve their religious problems. Archbishop Langevin, however, disagreed: "I would not like to have a Ruthenian bishop in my diocese."[7] On the other hand, an excellent rapport developed between Lacombe and Sheptyts'kyi. Lacombe saw in the bishop a noble pastor of souls who wished to assist and care for his faithful across the ocean. Lacombe was impressed by their conversations: "[As for] this dear bishop from Stanyslaviv. . . . we became friends . . . [he] is our man for our Galicians. He will be our great mediator at the Vienna court."[8] Langevin replied: "You know that we [hierarchs] are sending a collective letter to the bishop at L'viv, inviting him for a visit. Help me, that this objective of yours would progress further."[9]

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi began making preparations for his visit to Canada, however, it was not enough simply to have an invitation from the Canadian hierarchy. It was also necessary to obtain permission from the prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Mieczysław Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski: "Msgr. Sheptyts'kyi would like to come to Canada, but all depends on the Propaganda [Fide], where I have written three times already . . . "[10] However, in April 1901, about five months before the preparation of the collective letter to Sheptyts'kyi by the Canadian hierarchs, Bishop Vital-Justin Grandin of the diocese of St. Albert (1871-1902) received some unhappy news: "I just got a letter from the Propaganda. His Em. Cardinal Ledochowski did not welcome the idea of Msgr. Sheptyts'kyi's visit to Canada."[11]

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi then had no choice but to postpone his visit. Instead, in September 1901, he sent the Reverend Vasyl' Zholdak to Canada with a letter to his friend, the Reverend Lacombe: "I expect to be in Rome in November, and I shall talk then about my plans. If such is God's will, I shall come to Canada next year. . . . "[12] Lacombe's answer was insistent:

> We implore you again to come here. . . . Come and help us to save all those souls. We are very sorry that Rome and the Austrian government do not understand the situation and that they do not favor your coming, which is so much desired by us. The longer we wait and postpone our plans, the harder it will be to put those poor people on the right path.[13]

He might not be able to visit, but in order to commence helping his fellow countrymen, the Metropolitan still needed reliable information from people who were acquainted with the customs, church traditions, prescriptions of the Eastern church, and current conditions in Canada. For this he depended on the Reverend Zholdak. Zholdak was to ascertain the religious condition of Ukrainian immigrants and to visit their settlements in Manitoba and western Canada. Based on his observations and consultations with the faithful, the Latin clergy, and hierarchs, Zholdak concluded that the Latin clergy could not resolve all the problems because the settlers did not welcome them. So, after almost nine months of missionary work, he requested that Bishop Émile Legal of St. Albert (1902-1920) permit the Reverend Alphonse Jan, OMI, to go with him to obtain missionaries from Austria.

In June 1902, Zholdak, together with Jan, left Edmonton for L'viv, "to explain the conditions of abandoned souls and to recruit the clergy to come and care for them."[14] By the end of July, the two arrived in L'viv and were guests of Sheptyts'kyi. The Metropolitan had already been trying to get the Basilian monks to go to Canada. As a result, when Zholdak returned to Canada, he brought with him as the first missionaries three Basilian monks, a lay brother, and four nuns of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. They arrived in November 1902 to begin permanent missionary work in Edmonton. This was a modest beginning, considering that there were already about 62,000 Galician-Ukrainian Catholics in western Canada: roughly 30,000 in the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, 20,000 in the Diocese of St. Albert, and 12,000 in the Apostolic Vicariate of Saskatchewan, according to Archbishop Langevin. The Reverend Zholdak returned as a Visitator appointed by the Vatican and confirmed by both the Austrian government and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. Although the beginnings were modest, the Basilians eventually broadened their field of work and became firmly established in Canada.[15]

One of the problems which made pastoral work more difficult was the negative attitude of the Ukrainian settlers regarding the legal incorporation of their churches, chapels, and other assets with the local Latin-rite bishop. The Ukrainian priests, who frequently visited their faithful in the various settlements in Canada, encouraged them not to sign over anything to the Latin corporation in order not to lose their ownership of things which they had obtained through great sacrifice. This the Latin-rite hierarchs did not understand, and in their correspondence with Sheptyts'kyi they expressed unhappiness over the immigrants' mistrust of the hierarchs. On the other hand, settlers complained that they were being forced to sign away their assets—a problem that they never faced in the Galician homeland—and they pleaded for help.

In an attempt to clear up this matter, Sheptyts'kyi sent a petition to the Austro-Hungarian ministry of foreign affairs, requesting help to assist the Greek Catholic Church in Canada obtain its own independent corporation: "In my opinion, the erection of an eparchy to which all Ukrainians in Canada would belong is a *conditio sine qua non* for preserving the Catholic faith and the Austrian influence among the Ukrainian immigrants in America. The same holds true for Canada, the United States, and Brazil."[16] The Metropolitan explained that when Galician settlers in Canada built churches and chapels, they belonged to the Latin church or were registered as the private property of one or more of the faithful. In the first instance, the faithful felt they were losing their rights to the churches or chapels they had constructed. In the second instance, an Orthodox missionary could easily convince the entire congregation to leave the Catholic faith, in which case the church building and all its assets became the property of the Orthodox Church. Thus, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi asked that the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Ottawa establish the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada as in independent body, that is, a corporation, which could own property. It would, however, still be under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops for as long as the Vatican deemed it appropriate. Sheptyts'kyi realized the need for separate Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the New World, in order to meet the needs of an expanding Ukrainian church.

He was unable to visit his flock personally or to send a sufficient number of priests to Canada because the Galician metropolitan province lacked priests who were trained for missionary work. Hence, the spiritual condition of the immigrants was a source of concern for Sheptyts'kyi. He tried to help them with spiritual advice in the form of pastoral letters. He asked that these letters be distributed to various settlements, especially to help parents to teach their children the precepts of the faith. The first of these letters, "To the Ukrainians Settled in Canada," was issued on 7 September 1901. It outlined, "at least in a limited way how and what you are to do, when a priest is unavailable."[17] In his second pastoral letter the Metropolitan drew particular attention to the problem of adherence to the Catholic faith and to the Commandments.[18] Sheptyts'kyi's third pastoral letter to Canada's Ukrainians was issued after his return from the twenty-first International Eucharistic Congress in Montreal in 1910 and his pastoral visit among Ukrainians in the prairie provinces.[19] This letter outlined the religious, cultural, and moral situation of Ukrainian Canadians, and it referred to the various elements inimical to the Catholic faith, such as Seraphimites, Independents, the Russian Orthodox clergy, and socialists, that were causing havoc in their ranks.

Meanwhile, Canada's Ukrainians were aware of the efforts of the Metropolitan to help them, especially with the registration of their church assets and other needs. They, in turn, tried to hasten the day when they could have their own bishop by occasionally turning to Archbishop Langevin on this matter. However, Langevin never understood the need for a Ukrainian Catholic bishop for Canada. Langevin did, however, write to Sheptyts'kyi, citing the Reverend Zholdak's good work and explaining that a third delegation had been demanding Ukrainian priests. He also mentioned that the Visitator Zholdak was having difficulty with the registration of churches into the Latin bishop's corporation, since the Ukrainians wanted to remain the owners or to have *their own bishop* in whose name they would incorporate all assets.[20]

In a lengthy reply, Sheptyts'kyi explained that, indeed, Ukrainian settlers wanted to incorporate their church under their own bishop, because "such is the practice of the faithful of the Eastern rites in Europe." The Metropolitan also asked Archbishop Langevin whether he could obtain from the Canadian parliament "the recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a separate corporate body but under the aegis of the same given bishop as the Latin Church."[21] This would have made the proposed Ukrainian Catholic corporation different from that of the diocesan one. There is no record of any reply from Archbishop Langevin.

From reports sent to the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Montreal, it is evident that the Visitator Zholdak was a man of service and sacrifice, a true patriot, and zealous missionary.[22] Unfortunately, his mission ended on 1 October 1904, because the subsidy from the Austrian government to support his work was withheld "for the lack of funds."[23] Despite the brevity of his stay in Canada, he laid the foundation for developing the Ukrainian Catholic Church there and, in that sense, became a forerunner of the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop here. Such a situation, however, only augmented displeasure and ferment among the Ukrainian people, and a visit by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi seemed an absolute necessity. Because Archbishop Langevin realized the potential importance of such a visit, he sent a letter to the Redemptorist Achilles Delaere, stating that "the question of the Metropolitan's visit will be settled in Rome, when I get there this year."[24]

Yet even before his visit, the Metropolitan acted on behalf of Canada's Ukrainians. According to Latin Church estimates, nearly 100,000 Ukrainian settlers lived in western Canada in 1906. However, only six Basilian monks were ministering to them. To counter the proselytizing activity of Russian Orthodox priests, Seraphimites, independent preachers, Presbyterians, radicals, and socialists, Sheptyts'kyi sent a brief on the situation of the Ukrainian settlers in Canada to the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The brief asked for protection and care for the Ukrainian immigrants in three areas: (1) building more churches; (2) establishing Ukrainian schools; and (3) publishing a Ukrainian newspaper. To realize these goals, the Metropolitan asked for a subsidy of 6,000 crowns annually ($1,200), the figure that had previously been planned for the work of the Visitator Zholdak.[25] If that were impossible, he asked that aid which had been promised by the minister of foreign affairs to Archbishop Langevin during the latter's visit to Vienna in July 1904 be given.[26] There was reason to hope that Sheptyts'kyi's brief would evoke a favorable response, since he raised questions that were so important to the Ukrainians in Canada as well as to the Austrian state. After all, his requests were aimed at breaking the intense propaganda and subversive activity of the Russian Orthodox Church and various sects. Nonetheless, the insignificant financial request was rejected by the government in Vienna.

Sheptyts'kyi continued his efforts for pastoral assistance, even though the Vatican's Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith did not wish him to visit Canada. Nonetheless, his visit did finally take place in conjunction with the twenty-first International Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal from 5-11 September 1910. The Metropolitan attended that congress with Bishop Soter Ortynsky (1907-1913) from Philadelphia. In Montreal, Sheptyts'kyi met Langevin, Legal, and Pascal (the three Latin hierarchs from western Canada), for the first time. Archbishop Langevin invited the Metropolitan to visit his own countrymen in the prairie provinces. Sheptyts'kyi accepted, and during his stay among Ukrainians, he celebrated liturgies, preached, confessed, and instructed. This experience offered him first-hand knowledge of the local problems. He saw for himself the effects of the shortage of Ukrainian priests and he noted other needs as well. Now he was even more convinced that these inadequacies could only be alleviated by the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop.

In Montreal, Sheptyts'kyi conducted a service for the local Ukrainians. He urged them to organize a Ukrainian Catholic parish and promised to send them a priest.[27] Moving westward to Winnipeg, the main center of Canada's Ukrainians, Sheptyts'kyi visited influential religious and secular figures, including Archbishop Langevin, Manitoba's Lieutenant Governor, and the Basilian Fathers. The Metropolitan's welcome was unusually warm in Alberta, especially at Mundare, where the Basilian missionaries were headquartered. Here, too, he provided the divine services. They came to hear "their metropolitan," some hundreds of miles by wagons, buggies, on foot, or any way they could. Not all, however, provided a warm welcome: "The socialist and Protestant press did not miss in any of their issues a derogatory reference to the Metropolitan."[28] Scornful pamphlets also appeared, some openly disdainful and contemptuous of him. The Metropolitan even faced socialist agitation:

> I was the first Ruthenian priest who came to Vancouver... I did not know where to turn in order to search out the Ruthenians ... I had heard from various people that there are quite a few of our people in the city. ... That is why I searched almost three days for people who may have needed my spiritual help... in the end, I met a few. They were socialists... they promised that they would let the Christians know that a priest came to them.[29]

On Saturday, 15 November 1910, a few people did come—almost all of them young—and among them was Archbishop Neil McNeil of Vancouver (1910-1912). When Sheptyts'kyi finished his preaching and prepared to depart,

> they threw eggs at me and all kinds of insults... but I do not think evil of these confused youths because of their conduct. I have forgiven them with my whole heart a long time ago, and I was not offended by them for the tiniest minute. I was only sorry that I could not do in Vancouver what I came to do. I was able to confess only a very few people and was able to preach the word of God to so very few.[30]

From Vancouver, Sheptyts'kyi moved eastward to Yorkton, Saskatchewan, where he was eagerly awaited. When he arrived on 11 November, he wanted to meet the four Belgian Redemptorist Fathers, including their superior, the Reverend Achilles Delaere. From Saskatchewan, Sheptyts'kyi continued eastward to Ottawa and Philadelphia before he departed in December for Rome and L'viv. His visit to Canada and the United States had lasted four months. In general, the English-language press coverage of the

Metropolitan's Canadian visit was very positive. Toronto's *Catholic Register*, for example, indicated that: "Everywhere he went he has done much good and has caused many to come back to the Church, as well as ending misunderstanding and troubles among his fellow countrymen who truly are of deep faith. . . . He wishes to follow up his work with a report to Rome in order that all be contented to have a Ruthenian bishop who will shortly have under his care this faithful people."[31]

Sheptyts'kyi had decided to prepare that report as an exact account of his visit. He wanted to trace the steps of the early missionaries in order to determine all the problems that existed. Thus, he took copious notes, and conducted surveys and inquiries regarding all facets of pastoral work. This became the basis for one of the most important historical documents pertaining to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, his "Address on the Ruthenian Question."[32] Sheptyts'kyi sent both the English and French texts of his address to all the bishops of Canada. In it he pointed out that the Canadian hierarchy had done much to help the Ukrainian settlers preserve their faith. He also emphasized the self-sacrifice of some Latin priests who transferred to the Ukrainian rite in order to do pastoral work among the newly-arrived settlers. The Protestants, nevertheless, surpassed the Catholics in their zeal and aims. They utilized their religious literature and also took the initiative in establishing schools and teacher's colleges to spread their religious work. Alone they had seventy-nine congregations, forty churches, and nineteen pastors.

To withstand the impact of the Protestants and the Russian Orthodox, Sheptyts'kyi thought it essential to establish a Ukrainian Catholic bishopric. The bishop would provide leadership and authority in ecclesiastical and community matters. As for the sensitive issue of property, all churches would be registered under the Ukrainian bishop's corporation. If Ukrainian Canadian expectations were not realized, in view of the existing mistrust toward the Latin hierarchy (which the Protestants encouraged), it would be difficult to hold many Ukrainians to the Catholic faith. That is why, in spite of all the sacrifices the Latin hierarchy had made on behalf of Ukrainian settlers, they had to make the additional concession of giving up all claim of personal jurisdiction over the Eastern-rite Catholics residing within their respective territories to a future Ukrainian bishop. This had been provided for by canon law and already existed in territories where Catholics of both rites resided.

Sheptyts'kyi's address contributed greatly to a new era in the ecclesiastical life of Ukrainians in Canada and contributed to the nomination one year later of the first Ukrainian bishop for Canada.[33] Despite the fact that Archbishop Langevin reacted positively to the address[34], he still found it difficult to agree totally with the idea of establishing a Ukrainian bishop in Canada: "Bishop Legal and I deem it our obligation to state that even though we are not demanding this nomination, nevertheless, we will accept it with full submission to the Holy See."[35] Archbishop Langevin still feared the presence of a

Ukrainian bishop, even though Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi had clearly justified the need, without downplaying the "great obstacles" which included two-fold jurisdiction within the same territory and the arrival of married clergy. Nonetheless, on 12 July 1912, Pope Pius X (1903-1914) named the Reverend Nykyta Budka Bishop of Ukrainians in Canada (1912-1927), and before the end of the year the new prelate arrived in Canada.[36] This event was the crowning success of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's efforts to lay the foundation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.[37]

The Assistance of Belgian Redemptorists

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's acquaintance with the apostolic work of Belgian Redemptorists among Ukrainian settlers in Canada, and particularly with the zealous work of the Reverend Achilles Delaere, may well have prompted him in 1912 to invite the Congregation of the Redemptorist Fathers to extend its missionary work into his own jurisdiction in Galicia. The Belgian Redemptorists, however, had been made aware of the need for missionaries in Canada in the summer of 1898, when Archbishop Langevin of Winnipeg visited Brussels. He was searching for additional missionaries, so he invited the Redemptorists to work among immigrants in his archdiocese.[38]

The Reverend Delaere volunteered, and in October 1899, he arrived in Brandon, Manitoba. In the course of his missionary work, he met many Ukrainians. His affection for these newcomers was noted by the Visitator Zholdak who, in a subsequent report to Archbishop Langevin, gave high praise for the zealous work of Delaere and suggested that the dedicated missionary be entrusted with the spiritual care of the Yorkton district.[39] In January 1904, the first Redemptorists, including Delaere, made their permanent residence in Yorkton. In the course of this pastoral work, Delaere saw that the Latin rite was an obstacle to his own ministry among Ukrainians. Therefore, he petitioned for a transfer to the Ukrainian rite, and his request was approved on 9 March 1906, by Pope Pius X. After several months of preparatory study, Delaere celebrated his first liturgy in the Ukrainian rite on 26 September 1906.[40]

The Independent Greek Church movement appeared at that time to be making progress among Ukrainians in western Canada. Delaere was concerned about this situation and prepared a detailed memorandum for Catholics interested in the subject of Ukrainian immigrants. In it he "stressed the menace to the Catholics from the Seraphim movement on the one hand and from the Protestants on the other."[41] In such a situation, Delaere hoped for assistance from his confreres in Belgium, and before long the Reverend Henrich Boels joined him in his missionary work.

A cordial and even fraternal relationship developed between Sheptyts'kyi and the Yorkton Redemptorists, particularly during the Metropolitan's visit to Canada in 1910. Upon his return to L'viv, he sent a warm letter to the

Redemptorist Provincial, Reverend A. Lemieux, expressing gratitude for the work of the three missionaries (A. Delaere, H. Boels, and N. Decamps) and adding: "the time has arrived to accept Ukrainians of the Eastern rite into your novitiate. And, perhaps, to open a novitiate where it would not be necessary to change rite, thus preparing missionaries and apostles for the Ukrainian Canadians."[42]

In fact, during the years immediately preceding World War I, efforts were initiated with the Apostolic See to open the first monastery of the Redemptorist Fathers in the Archeparchy of L'viv. Sheptyts'kyi wrote to Delaere about this, since the Metropolitan anticipated that Delaere would be consulted on this matter by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.[43] Subsequently the Metropolitan informed Delaere that no action could be taken because the pope was ill and the prefect of the Sacred Congregation, Cardinal Gotti, was advanced in years, but that in a month Sheptyts'kyi would be in Rome when he would raise the issue personally.[44]

The development of a Ukrainian-rite Redemptorist monastery in the Archeparchy of L'viv proceeded gradually. In July 1912, the Reverend Delaere, accompanied by the Belgian Provincial, the Reverend K. van de Steene, visited Sheptyts'kyi. This resulted in the preparation of documents establishing the "Ruthenian Foundation in Galicia of the Belgian Redemptorist Fathers."[45] The Apostolic See approved these arrangements between the Metropolitan and the Belgian Redemptorist authorities, and on 23 August 1913, the first Belgian Redemptorists arrived to begin their apostolic work in Galicia. Meanwhile, in Canada the new bishop for Ukrainian Catholics, Nykyta Budka, gave his approval in March 1913 for the establishment of a Redemptorist province of the Ukrainian rite in Canada. Thus began a new chapter devoted to apostolic work and to countering the influence of sects which were still proselytizing among Ukrainian Catholics.

When Sheptyts'kyi came to Canada for a second time in 1921, he was pleased with the successes of the Redemptorists under Delaere, despite the grave injustices they frequently endured from people of ill will: "Your sacrifices will in due time be acknowledged by the Ukrainian people, for whom you have offered your lives. . . . I am convinced . . . . assistance [from the Ukrainian Redemptorists in Galicia] will be unnecessary, as you will have your own clergy from among your students in the juniorate in Yorkton."[46] Sheptyts'kyi was also grateful to the Belgian missionaries for having established a Ukrainian Congregation of Redemptorists in Galicia.

Abitibi and the Studites

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi had always shown much compassion toward those who left their homes during the first decades of this century in pursuit of employment in various countries. Many Galician peasants found employment in Germany, Switzerland, and France. They remaining away for up to a year or sometimes more, but they would return with sizable savings with which they could pay off debts or purchase additional land or equipment for themselves. From the beginning of his episcopate, Sheptyts'kyi took a great personal interest in these migrating Ukrainian peasants. This was significant, for while other nations had their own immigration services to assist their people, before Sheptyts'kyi's time no such organization existed to serve Ukrainians.

While still superior of the monastery of St. Onufrii in L'viv, Sheptyts'kyi travelled to northern Germany for health reasons. He stayed in the Hamburg area during the summer of 1896 when he devoted his spare time to giving spiritual assistance to Ukrainian seasonal laborers who were working in that area. It was there that he strengthened his contact with the peasants and became acquainted with the objectives of the German Immigration Society of St. Raphael. Some years later, Sheptyts'kyi assigned to the Reverend Nykyta Budka the task of communicating with this society and transplanting it into Galicia. The result was the establishment in L'viv of the St. Raphael Society for the Protection of Ruthenian Emigrants from Galicia and Bukovina (Tovatystvo sv. Rafaila dlia Okhorony Rus'kykh Emigrantiv z Halychyny i Bukovyny). In 1911, the society began to publish the monthly organ *Emigrant*. Budka served as editor until his departure for Canada in 1912.

After World War I, Sheptyts'kyi had entertained the idea of relocating considerable numbers of Ukrainians from Galicia, Volhynia, and Yugoslavia to Canada. At one point, according to the Reverend Josaphat Jean, there were plans to help resettle up to a million people. In this manner, Sheptyts'kyi had hoped to resolve the problems faced by small land owners among the Ukrainian peasants. After World War I, the United States government enacted policies that made it difficult for Central Europeans to immigrate to that country. Furthermore, the Polish government also placed obstacles in the way of Ukrainians who hoped to emigrate from Galicia and Volhynia. In addition, news from Ukrainian settlements in Bosnia, Yugoslavia, was hardly encouraging.

In response to the pressing needs of the peasants, on 14 February 1925, the Society for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants (Tovarystvo Opiky nad Ukraïns'kymy Emigrantamy) was established in L'viv. As a solution to the problem of overpopulated villages in Galicia, the society set its sights on Canada. However, the Canadian government, fearful of increased Communist propaganda, restricted the number of immigrants to Canada from what was then Polish-ruled Galicia. At the same time, though, Professor Ivan Bobers'kyi, an employee of the Cunard Steamship Lines, wrote from Canada about the great opportunities that were available to the impoverished Ukrainian peasants. The prairie provinces, in particular, he felt, offered excellent opportunities to acquire homesteads, which consisted of 160 acres that could be obtained for a mere ten-dollar administrative fee.

The directors of the Society for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants turned for guidance to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. In his opinion, the difficulties posed by the Canadian government could be overcome, and he recommended that the matter be handled by the Reverend Josaphat Jean.[47] He sent a personal letter to this missionary, stating that there was an opportunity to assist Ukrainian small land owners in Galicia by resettling them in Canada. He asked Jean to leave for Canada and to try to convince the government to alter its limitations on Ukrainian settlement. At the same time, he suggested that Jean establish a Studite monastery in the new country1, because "Canada is like the chosen land." There is "an availability of novices and candidates for the Studites; the country enjoys complete freedom; and it will offer our monks excellent fields for spiritual cultivation."[48]

In the spring of 1925, the Reverend Jean arrived in Canada with Dr. Volodymyr Bachyns'kyi of L'viv, as representatives of the Society for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants. They presented their plan immediately to the federal Department of Immigration and Colonization. After a few initial difficulties, the Reverend Jean's abilities as statesman prevailed, and the problems with that government department were overcome. An agreement was reached that Ukrainian immigrants from Poland and Yugoslavia could migrate to Canada through an affidavit. Responsibility for them was to be taken by the St. Raphael Society for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada.[49] Both Bachyns'kyi and the Reverend Jean began visits across western Canada in order to obtain as many affidavits as possible.

Following a suggestion made in Edmonton, Jean left for the district of Peace River in western Alberta on 25 April 1925. Homesteads were available there and the land was fertile. He also visited the districts of High Prairie, Spirit River, and Rycroft, and wherever there were Ukrainians from Galicia or Bukovina he celebrated the Divine Liturgy and administered the sacraments. The Reverend Jean was especially pleased with the district of Smokey River, where he felt it would be possible to settle about two thousand families. The only real obstacle to the settlement of these districts was their isolation from Prince Rupert, the nearest seaport on the Pacific Ocean. At the time, there seemed little hope the federal government could obtain funds to build a railway from the coast inland across British Columbia to Alberta.

As an alternative, Ernest Lapointe, Canada's minister of justice, suggested the possibility of establishing homesteads in the Abitibi district of west-central Quebec, near the border with Ontario. The Abitibi district was more accessible than the lands in western Canada and it contained good soil. Jean visited the area along Lakes Obalski and Castagnier, and indeed found the land to be excellent, the lakes full of fish, and the forests populated with wild animals. Moreover, in the surrounding mountains there were deposits of gold and copper. In Quebec City, Jean reserved land with the Department of Immigration and Colonization for a Studite monastery and for Ukrainian settlers. These reservations included the entire cantons of Castagnier and Vassals as well as parts of the Duverny and La Morandière cantons. In a letter to the Metropolitan, the Reverend Jean outlined his reasons for favoring the site in the province of Quebec:

> I believe that Abitibi at this time is the most suitable place for our Ukrainians in Canada because: (1) work is available in the forests, on the roads, and in the mines; (2) livelihood is easier because of the plentiful supply of fish in the lakes and rivers, the access to meat from rabbits and moose, and the possibility of employment as trappers; (3) there is more freedom for the school and the church; (4) thousands of Ukrainians can be gathered together because the government has reserved for me a district which may accommodate 1,500 families and is willing to reserve land for an additional 10,000 families; (5) transportation is easier because it is only 425 miles from the port at Quebec and a railway is only about twelve or fifteen miles away; (6) the settlers will have an opportunity to work in road building, when such is tendered. The MLA [Member of the Legislative Assembly] for the area, Hector Authier, has assured me that he will be budgeting at least $5,000 a year for road construction; (7) longevity is anticipated because the climate is most favorable, with an altitude of 1,100 feet above sea level; and (8) we can establish our monastery, because the government will allocate land to the monks and the sisters who would wish to settle there.[50]

Bachyns'kyi and Jean arranged with Canada's Department of Immigration and Colonization to obtain permission for the initial settlements. Fifteen hundred families were to settle the area first and subsequently these numbers were to be increased to ten thousand families. However, the Canadian authorities required that the Ukrainians fulfill certain conditions. For example, the settlement in Abitibi was to be comprised of Ukrainians from Poland and Yugoslavia. Also, the St. Raphael Society for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants was to obtain a federal charter and be recognized by Bishop Budka as well as by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. In the end, the efforts of the Reverend Jean and Dr. Bachyns'kyi, together with the invaluable support of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, contributed to the large influx of Ukrainians to Canada during the years 1925 to 1930.

Nor did the Reverend Jean forget the second project of Sheptyts'kyi, namely, the establishment of the Studites in Canada. For his part, Bishop Budka readily approved that project: "I welcome them to my eparchy along with Father Jean as Superior, the father who is organizing a new colony in Abitibi. I will assist them so that they should not be a burden to Canada but rather be true pioneers in a new colony."[51] For the site of the monastery the Reverend Jean selected land near Lake Castagnier. This location, as well as a subsequent post office, was named Shepticky village in honor of the Metropolitan (today Lac Castagnier). A school for Ukrainian children was also built a short distance from the monastery, and for three years Jean worked, often under stressful and burdensome conditions, to create a satisfactory spiritual environment.

The Reverend Jean, who became superior of the monastery he founded, informed both Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the superior of the Studites in Univ, Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, of his successes as well as his difficulties. The Metropolitan's correspondence with Jean provided both moral strength and practical advice, including opinions on how to transplant the Studites into Canada. Three Studite brothers from the Univ monastery did arrive in Canada in early 1926 to join the Reverend Jean in Abitibi.[52] Beginning in 1928, fifteen families arrived from Galicia and settled near the monastery.

It appeared as though the lofty goals of the Metropolitan would be achieved. Unfortunately, serious obstacles arose. The Polish government opposed the resettlement of Ukrainians in the district of Abitibi and the worldwide economic crisis, which affected all countries, including Canada, did not allow Sheptyts'kyi's project to develop as fully as planned. Nevertheless, large numbers of Ukrainians from Galicia and Volhynia did eventually settle in Canada. Although the Abitibi settlement eventually failed and the monastic experiment ended with the departure in 1931 of the Reverend Jean for Montreal, the Studite presence in Canada was eventually renewed in Woodstock, Ontario, where a new monastery was established in 1951 by newly-arrived refugees from the Ukrainian homeland.

Sheptyts'kyi's visit to Canada in 1921

Thus far, we have considered the contributions of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia to Ukrainian settlers in Canada. Yet the story of the relationship between the mother church and the immigrant community in Canada would not be complete if we were to overlook those instances when help was sought by the homeland—and received—from Ukrainians living in Canada. Such a time occurred after World War I, which had ravaged western Ukrainian lands and left an estimated 20,000 orphans in its wake. Convinced that desperately needed financial assistance could only be sought abroad, Sheptyts'kyi embarked in late 1920 on a three-year odyssey that eventually took him to Canada for a second time.

After a brief stay in Vienna, where he met with various members of the Western Ukrainian Republic's government-in-exile, he went on to Rome to inform Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) about the problems of the Ukrainian people. In the almost three months that he spent in Rome, Sheptyts'kyi visited the pope three times, and as a result the pope gave 100,000 lira to assist the Ukrainian population of East Galicia. He also made possible Sheptyts'kyi's travel to other countries in Europe and in North and South America by making him an Apostolic Visitator with all the Vatican diplomatic privileges incumbent upon such a position. In addition, he provided a special letter which stated that Sheptyts'kyi's efforts were humanitarian, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical on behalf of Ukrainians.[53] Sheptyts'kyi's main objectives in the Americas were: (1) to collect funds for war orphans and the needy population in his homeland; (2) to confer with President Warren G. Harding and other American officials regarding assistance from the United States government to alleviate the dire conditions of Ukrainians in Galicia; and (3) to visit Brazil and Argentina and report to the Apostolic See regarding the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic eparchy in Brazil.

On 1 August 1921, Sheptyts'kyi arrived in Canada for the second time. In Toronto, on 26 August, he was the guest of Archbishop Neil McNeil (1912-1934), and he spoke at a retreat for priests.[54] When Archbishop McNeil introduced the Metropolitan to the assembled clergy, he compared him to the famous Belgian patriot Desiré Joseph Cardinal Mercier. Sheptyts'kyi's address was subsequently featured in the Canadian press.[55] Two days later, the Metropolitan arrived in Winnipeg and notified the press that he had come to "convince Canadians and especially Ukrainian Canadians regarding the great need for assistance to Galicia, particularly the orphans."[56] Collections were made in English and French churches in Canada, because "Ukrainians in North America are already heavily burdened with donations for their native land."[57]

In Winnipeg he also visited local schools, community institutions, the *bursa* (Sheptyts'kyi Institute), and he participated in the sixteenth anniversary celebrations of the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association. In a speech at the St. Nicholas celebrations, he emphasized the merits and importance of the Benefit Association, reflecting his keen interest in institutions which promoted the economic self-sufficiency of Ukrainians.[58] The highlight of the Metropolitan's trip to Winnipeg was the solemn blessing and laying of the cornerstone for the Canadian-Ukrainian Prosvita Institute. Represented at this event were the faithful and the clergy of Winnipeg and environs, government officials headed by Manitoba's Premier, T. C. Norris, and representatives of the Canadian federal government. During these celebrations Bishop Budka handed over $2,000 to the Metropolitan in the form of a post-war fund, that is, contributions from Ukrainian Canadians to the needs of the old country.[59]

From Manitoba, Sheptyts'kyi moved on to Alberta, where he visited the center of activity of the Basilian Fathers at Mundare, and then at the end of October, Edmonton. Thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainians and local philanthropists, the Edmonton city government proclaimed a so-called "Ukrainian Day" and permitted a public collection for Ukrainian orphans. The collection was a success and netted $2,000. Edmonton was the first city in Canada to hold a public collection and Sheptyts'kyi was quick to express his gratitude to the city's mayor, David M. Duggan.[60] In addition to the $2,000 from Edmonton and another $2,000 from Bishop Budka, the Metropolitan probably obtained much more funding because Canadians of French and English background also held collections in their churches for his cause. Thus, when Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi left Canada in mid-November 1921 for the last time, he could look back on his visit as one which fulfilled a significant portion of his effort to help Ukrainians in the European homeland.

Notes

1. G. A. Davidson, *The Ukrainians in Canada* (Montreal, 1947), p. 5.
2. Unfortunately, many of the relevant documents pertaining to these early developments cannot be found in the Ukrainian Canadian Catholic eparchial archives, while some materials which do exist, such as those in the office of the apostolic nuncio in Ottawa, are not accessible for research.
3. Cited in Gaston Carrière, "Les évêques oblats de l'ouest canadien et les ruthènes 1893-1904," *La vie oblate*, XXXII (Ottawa, 1974), p. 95.
4. The five were Nestor Dmytriv, Pavlo Tymkevych, Damaskyn Polivka OSBM, Ivan Zaklyns'kyi, and Vasyl' Zholdak. J. Adonis Sabourin, *L'Apostolat chez les Ruthènes du Manitoba* (Québec, 1911), pp. 30-2.
5. Lacombe's diary is held in the Archive of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Edmonton (hereinafter Archive Roman Catholic Edmonton), which includes as well a letter Lacombe wrote to Archbishop Langevin two months earlier (6 April 1900): "I have mentioned to you that the Archbishop of Ottawa [Thomas Duhamel], the Apostolic Delegate [Diomede Falconio], and the Archbishop of Montreal [Paul Bruchési] would agree that Rome should nominate a Galician Bishop, of Ruthenian Rite, for his nationals. This gesture would relieve you of a great burden. It seems to me, that I also would vote this way." Langevin, however, did not perceive it that way, and added at the bottom of Lacombe's letter: "I wouldn't want this for love nor money. I would rather prefer to relinquish my see. It would upset the Latins and render the Greeks obstinate." On 25 April 1901, he forwarded Lacombe's letter to Bishop Grandin of St. Albert.
6. Letter from Lacombe to Grandin, dated Vienna, 24 September 1900, in the Archive Roman Catholic Edmonton.
7. Letter from Langevin to Lacombe, dated St. Boniface, 25 April 1900, in the Archive of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. Boniface (hereinafter Archive St. Boniface).
8. Letter from Lacombe to Langevin, dated Paris, 17 October 1900, in Archive St. Boniface.
9. Letter from Langevin to Lacombe, undated (perhaps in October or November of 1900, by which time Sheptyts'kyi had become Metropolitan of L'viv), in Archive St. Boniface. Subsequently, in a letter from Langevin to Grandin, dated St. Boniface, 2 November 1900 (held in Archive Roman Catholic Edmonton), the author mentioned the possibility of Sheptyts'kyi coming to Canada and hoped the visit would be successful.
10. Letter from Papal Nuncio in Ottawa, Msgr. D.Falconio, to Grandin, dated Ottawa, 22 March 1901, in Archive St. Boniface.
11. Letter from Falconio to Grandin, dated Ottawa, 18 April 1901, in Archive St. Boniface.
12. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Lacombe, dated L'viv, 11 September 1901, in the Ar-

chive of the Roman Catholic Oblate Fathers, Edmonton (hereinafter Archive Oblate).

13. From a copy of the letter to Sheptyts'kyi in Lacombe's scrapbook, in Archive Oblate.
14. Cited from notes of the Reverend L. Shevalier, OMI, about the Reverend Jan, in Archive Oblate.
15. For additional information concerning the missionary work of the Basilian Fathers in Canada, see *Propamiatna knyha ottsiv Vasylian u Kanadi, 1902-1952* (Toronto, 1953).
16. Petition from the L'viv (Lemberg) Greek Catholic Metropolitan Ordinary, dated 20 October 1902, in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, PA XXXIII/66, Akt 548.
17. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Rusynam osilym v Kanadi* (Zhovkva, 1901).
18. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Pravdy viry: poslanie pastyrske . . . do Rusyniv u Kanadi* (Zhovkva, 1902).
19. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Kanadyiskym rusynam* (Zhovkva, 1911).
20. Letter from Langevin to Sheptyts'kyi, dated St. Boniface, 22 January 1903, in Archive Oblate.
21. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Langevin, dated L'viv, 24 August 1903, in Archive St. Boniface.
22. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, PA XXXIII/67, Akt 631a, 640a, 698a; PA XXXIII/69, Akt 921a (1902-1903). Some of these reports are also in the Archive St. Boniface.
23. Letter from the Viceroy of Galicia Piniński to the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gołuchowski, dated L'viv, 9 June 1904, in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, PA XXXIII/73, Akt 1485a.
24. Letter from Langevin to Delaere, dated St. Boniface, 27 February 1904, in Archive St. Boniface.
25. The brief of the Greek Catholic Ordinariate of the Metropolitanate of L'viv, dated 14 March 1906, is in the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Vienna, Md I/58, Fasz. 157, and is together with the following documents: a letter from the Office of the Prime Minister to the Minister of Internal Affairs, dated Vienna, 31 July 1906; a memorandum of the Prime Minister to the Minister of Religion and Education, dated Vienna, 19 April 1906; and the reply of the Minister of Religion and Education to the Prime Minister, dated Vienna, 18 July 1906.
26. Langevin left with Foreign Minister Gołuchowski a brief dated Vienna, 2 July 1904: "La situation des sujets ruthènes de Sa Majesté apostolique, l'Empereur d'Autriche, dans l'Ouest Canadien." Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, PA XXXIII/73, Akt 1576b.
27. In fact, by July 1911 the Reverend Karlo Jermy arrived in Montreal and a new parish was indeed organized as the "Greek Catholic Ruthenian Parish of St. Michael." It consisted of about two hundred families. Ihor Monchak, "Svitla i tini 75-litnoï parafiï sv. Mykhaila u Montreali" (unpublished manuscript, 1986), p. 1.
28. Iosyf Grods'kyi, OSBM, "Vidvidyny Ameryky mytr. A. Sheptyts'kym v 1910 rotsi," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), p. 179.
29. Sheptyts'kyi, *Kanadyiskym rusynam*, pp. 60-1.
30. Ibid.
31. *Catholic Register*, 17 November 1910.
32. A. Szeptycki, *Address on the Ruthenian Question to Their Lordships, the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada* (L'viv, 1911); in French as: *Mémoire sur la question ruthène présenté aux Illustrissimes Archevêques et evêques du Canada* (L'viv, 1911).
33. Vasyl' Laba, "Memoriial v spravi osnovannia hreko-katol. epyskopstva v Kanadi," *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926), p. 238.

34. He called it "significant and important." Letter from Langevin to Sheptyts'kyi, dated St. Boniface, 30 December 1911, in Archive St. Boniface.
35. Letter from Langevin to the Papal Nuncio to Canada, Pelegrino Stagni, dated St. Boniface, 28 July 1911, in Archive St. Boniface.
36. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. IV (Rome, 1912), p. 531; Osyp Balla, *Pershyi ukraïns'kyi iepyskop Kanady Kyr Nykyta Budka* (Winnipeg, 1952), p. 17.
37. Sheptyts'kyi maintained close contacts with the church in Canada, as is evident from his correspondence with Bishop Budka, some of which is preserved in the Archive of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Winnipeg (hereinafter Archive Ukrainian Catholic Winnipeg).
38. Letter from Provincial R. van Aertselaar, CSSR, to Langevin, dated Brussels, 6 January 1899, in Archive St. Boniface.
39. Letter from Zholdak to Langevin, dated Brandon, 25 December 1901, in Archive St. Boniface.
40. For further details on Delaere, see George W. Simpson, "Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches," *Saskatchewan History*, III (Saskatoon, Sask., 1950), p. 11; and Roman Khomiak, "Ottsi Redemptorysty Skhidnoho Obriadu v Kanadi ta Z.D.A.," in *Iuvileina knyha oo. Redemptorystiv Skhidn'oho obriadu, 1906-1955* (Yorkton, Sask., 1956), pp. 126 ff.
41. A. Delaere, *Mémoire sur les tentatives de schisme et d'hérésie au milieu des Ruthènes de l'Ouest Canadien* (Québec, 1908), and the English translation: *Memorandum on the attempts of schism and heresy among the Ruthenians in the Canadian Northwest* (Winnipeg, 1909). Later, at the request of the papal nuncio in Ottawa, Delaere, together with the Reverend Atanasii Fylypiv and Joseph Sabourin, in the fall of 1909 prepared another memorandum: "Mémoire sur les Ruthènes du Nord Ouest Canadien."
42. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Lemieux, dated L'viv, 10 January, 1911, in the Archive of the Ukrainian Redemptorist Fathers, Winnipeg (hereinafter Archive Ukrainian Redemptorist).
43. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Delaere, dated Lavriv, 10 February 1911, in Archive Ukrainian Redemptorist.
44. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Delaere, dated L'viv, 28 October 1911, in Archive Ukrainian Redemptorist.
45. A copy of the "Projet de Fondation Ruthène en Galicie par les Pères Redemptoristes belges offre de Mgr. Szeptycki, Archévêque de Léopol," dated 7 July 1912, is in Archive Ukrainian Redemptorist.
46. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Delaere, dated Toronto, 14 November 1921, reproduced in full in Bohdan Kazymyra, "Mytropolyt Andrii i chentsi Redemptorysty," *Lohos,* XII, 3 (Yorkton, Sask., 1961), pp. 226–7. The original letter is in Archive Ukrainian Redemptorist.
47. The Reverend Josaphat Joseph Jean, OSBM, was a French Canadian Studite who served Ukrainians in both Canada and Europe. He was living in Bosnia in 1923–1925.
48. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Jean, dated L'viv, 26 February 1925, in the Archive of the Ukrainian Catholic Basilian Fathers, Winnipeg (hereinafter Archive Basilian).
49. The society was organized in early 1925 with headquarters in Winnipeg, Manitoba.
50. Letter from Jean to Sheptyts'kyi, dated June 1925, in Archive Basilian.
51. Letter from Budka to Jean, dated Winnipeg, 15 August 1925, in Archive Basilian.
52. Letter from K. Sheptyts'kyi to Jean, dated Univ, 15 January 1926, in Archive Basilian.
53. The pope's letter, dated 24 February 1921, was published in the official Vatican organ, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* vol. XIII (Rome, 1921).

54. Bohdan Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj and the Ukrainians in Canada," in *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1957* (Hull, Quebec, 1958), p. 83.
55. Sheptyts'kyi's address as well as the letter from Pope Benedict XV to him (dated 24 February 1921) were published in the *Catholic Register* (Toronto) on 1 September 1921. The address was also published separately: Andrew Szeptycki, *Address About the Catholic Missionary Work in What Once Formed the Russian Empire* (New York, 1922).
56. *Ukraïns'kyi holos* (Winnipeg), 7 September 1921.
57. *Kanadiis'kyi ukraïnets'* (Winnipeg), 7 September 1921.
58. Bohdan Kazymyra, *Ukraïns'ki ierarkhy i Zapomohove bratstvo sv. Nykolaia* (Ottawa and Winnipeg, 1957), pp. 15–16.
59. "Povoiennyi fond, viddanyi na ukraïns'ki syroty v starim kraiu," *Kanadiis'kyi ukraïnets'*, 7 September 1921.
60. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Duggan, dated Winnipeg, 17 October 1921, in Archive Ukrainian Catholic Winnipeg.

Chapter 17

Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in the United States

Bohdan P. Procko

As primate of the Eastern-rite or Greek Catholic Church in Europe, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi extended his influence far beyond the borders of his ecclesiastical province of Galicia, even to the New World. This chapter will survey his influence on Ukrainians in the United States, particularly during the initial organization of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in America.[1]

In 1901, the year Sheptyts'kyi was installed as the Ruthenian archbishop of L'viv and metropolitan of Galicia, near-chaotic conditions prevailed among the former members of his ecclesiastical province who had emigrated to the United States but remained under his canonical jurisdiction. There were internal conflicts, misunderstandings with the American Latin hierarchy, and fear of Russophile propaganda from the Russian Orthodox mission. Hence a small group of young priests from Galicia, imbued with the spirit of the Ukrainian national revival, sought to work out their problems in the New World by applying the principle of full democratization to church administration without any hindrance from outside forces.[2] Thus, under the leadership of these "priest radicals" an association of the Ruthenian Church Congregations in the United States and Canada was founded in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, on 30 May 1901.[3] That was the first serious attempt to introduce lay control over the church in America. The height of the movement was reached at the second convention held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on 26 March 1902, when the official name of the association became the Ruthenian Church in America.[4]

The characteristic element of this organization was its radicalism towards the Latin bishops in particular and the hierarchy of the church in general. The seemingly unending differences with the Latin bishops and the resultant spread of anti-Roman feelings among the Ukrainian "radical" priests led to Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter of 20 August 1902, in which he criticized these priests for their stand against the Apostolic See. The "radical" Galician priests replied forcefully to Sheptyts'kyi and reiterated their views towards Rome and the American hierarchy in their association's booklet, *Uniïa v Amerytsï*.[5] Equally strong attacks on Sheptyts'kyi's ostensible lack of understanding of the conditions under which Ukrainians lived in the United States were also voiced in Europe. For instance, in one article Sheptyts'kyi was accused of not having the slightest understanding of the national-religious needs of Ruthenians (Ukrainians) because of his Polonized background.[6] Such negative views illustrate how some critics misjudged Sheptyts'kyi's great devotion to the Ukrainian people throughout his forty-three years as their religious leader.[7]

On the other hand, the Reverend Lev Sembratovych, at the time secretary to the Metropolitan, argued that as early as 1902 Sheptyts'kyi had an exceptionally clear understanding of the religious and national needs of the Ukrainians in America.[8] According to Sheptyts'kyi, the great mission of the Ruthenian Catholic Church, as envisioned by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), was to be the active bridge for the reunion of Rome with the Orthodox East. With this in mind, the Metropolitan remained greatly concerned with events like the 1902 Harrisburg meeting of "radical" priests, which clearly underlined the extent of the chaos among the Ukrainians in the United States. He felt it was necessary to strengthen the church's organizational structure since this would not only preserve the religious and national traditions of Ukrainians scattered throughout the world, but would also facilitate the realization of his own life-long goal of church unity.[9]

Although Sheptyts'kyi had planned to visit North America as early as 1900 when he was still the bishop of Stanyslaviv,[10] his plan did not materialize. According to Diomede Falconio, apostolic nuncio to Ottawa, Cardinal Mieczysław Ledóchowski, head of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for the Oriental Rites "did not welcome the idea of the visit of Msgr. Sheptyts'kyi to Canada."[11] The anti-Vatican movement among Ukrainian Catholics in the United States, which reached its peak in 1902, undoubtedly influenced Sheptyts'kyi to redirect his immediate attention away from Canada toward the United States.

According to his secretary Sembratovych, the Metropolitan was convinced that the union with Rome guaranteed for immigrants the preservation of a Ukrainian national identity in America. Consequently, for both religious and national reasons he was determined to strengthen the Ruthenian Church in the United States. Sembratovych also indicated that Sheptyts'kyi received numerous reports from America via correspondence of returning priests and laymen, as well as frequent notices from Rome concerning petitions and complaints which had been sent to the Vatican by Ukrainians, Carpatho-Rusyns, and American Latin-rite bishops. He was well aware, therefore, of the scandals, litigation, fights, conversions to Orthodoxy, lack of clerical discipline, and efforts of the Russian Holy Synod to convert the Ruthenian Catholics to Orthodoxy. All these factors, particularly the need to preserve Catholicism among the Galician Ukrainians and Carpatho-Rusyns, made Sheptyts'kyi even more determined to have a bishop appointed for the Ruthenian Catholic Church in America.

Appointing that Eastern-rite (Greek Catholic) bishop for America would require the disruption of a two thousand year-old organizational tradition in the West, which held that all Catholics living in a given territory were subject to a single bishop. Therefore, the American Latin-rite bishops vigorously opposed the idea of introducing on "their" territories bishops from any other rites, and they frequently petitioned the Vatican regarding this matter. Moreover, they felt that in order to prevent any undermining of their own authority and the development of chaotic conditions, all priests in the United States must be celibate and subject to them. For his part, Sheptyts'kyi prepared countless memoranda and petitions in an attempt to convince the highest Vatican authorities that the appointment of an Eastern-rite bishop for the Ruthenian Church in the United States was an absolute necessity.[12] In fact, it was the Metropolitan's great concern to counter the arguments of those opposed to the appointment of a bishop that prompted his frequent visits to Rome. Ironically, these visits were interpreted by Sheptyts'kyi's critics as "proof" of his conspiracy with the Vatican to "Latinize our rite" or as a "betrayal of our people to the Poles."[13] Nonetheless, the persistent efforts of Sheptyts'kyi and others resulted in a decision made in 1907 by Pope Pius X (1903-1914) to name a bishop for the Ruthenian Catholics (Ukrainians and Carpatho-Rusyns) in America.

The struggle was not yet at an end, however. Sheptyts'kyi still had to convince the Vatican that his candidate, a boyhood friend and fellow monk of the Order of St. Basil the Great, Soter Ortynsky, was most suited to ending the chaotic conditions in America. The Metropolitan also had to obtain the acceptance of his candidate by the Austrian and Hungarian authorities, who were concerned about maintaining the loyalty of their former subjects. It was particularly difficult to obtain the approval of the Hungarian government, which feared that its former Carpatho-Rusyn subjects, who made up the majority of the Ruthenian Catholics in the United States, might be swayed towards either Ukrainophilism or Russophilism.[14] In the end, Sheptyts'kyi was successful and Ortynsky was appointed. However, from the moment of his arrival in the United States on 27 August 1907, the new bishop was faced with opposition from most of the Carpatho-Rusyn priests from Hungary who opposed him because he was Ukrainian. The result was a bitter struggle among pro-Ortynsky and anti-Ortynsky supporters within the clergy and laity.[15]

The twenty-first International Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal on 6-12 September 1910, finally provided Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi with the opportunity to fulfill his ambition to visit the North American continent and, at the same time, to acquaint himself first hand with the problems facing his friend Ortynsky. Ortynsky himself, among others, requested that Sheptyts'kyi come to the United States, since they felt he alone would be able to solve problems that seemed to defy solution.[16]

Thus, on 23 August, several weeks before the Eucharistic Congress was to convene in Montreal, Sheptyts'kyi was met at the Hoboken, New Jersey pier by Bishop Ortynsky, about forty priests, and a number of representatives from Ukrainian organizations.[17] As a high-ranking religious dignitary from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Metropolitan was also welcomed at the pier by a representative of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in New York. After brief welcoming ceremonies Sheptyts'kyi was driven to New York City, where that same afternoon, Bishop Ortynsky hosted a dinner in honor of the Metropolitan that was attended by about fifty ecclesiastical and civilian dignitaries. The main public welcoming took place in the evening at St. George's Ukrainian Church on East Twentieth Street. After celebrating a *moleben* (a service of gratitude), Sheptyts'kyi expressed pleasure that his wish to visit Ruthenian Catholic immigrants from Galicia and Hungary had finally become a reality, and he appealed to the faithful to adhere to their church.[18]

The New York press took a lively interest in the Metropolitan, whose imposing physical appearance and fluency in English attracted newsmen to interview him. The morning and evening papers carried articles, photographs, and notices about him. They also provided general information about the Ruthenians and their church. The Reverend Peter Poniatyshyn, editor of the Ukrainian-American newspaper *Svoboda*, suggested that during Sheptyts'kyi's brief two-month visit to the United States, Americans would learn more about Ukrainians than they had since the beginning of Ukrainian immigration to America.[19] Perhaps, however, it was simply the imposing stature of the Metropolitan which overwhelmed a *New York Times* reporter: ''He is nearly 7 feet in height, broad in proportion, and his flowing beard, which extends far below his waist, is nearly three feet long.''[20]

Sheptyts'kyi went the following day, 24 August, to Philadelphia, where Bishop Ortynsky's residence served as his home while he was in the United States. Philadelphia's *Public Ledger* reported that the Metropolitan was overjoyed about being in America, since that had been his ambition for many years, and that in addition to his plan to pay his respects to the Roman Catholic archbishop of Philadelphia, Patrick J. Ryan (1884-1911), he also hoped to visit former president Theodore Roosevelt, whom he greatly admired, as well as the current President William Howard Taft.[21]

It is unlikely that the Metropolitan had time to visit Taft and Roosevelt. His schedule of formal visitations to the churches within the jurisdiction of Bishop Ortynsky, as well as to the religious and civil dignitaries residing in the cities where those churches, were located was frequently an exhausting one. In addition to strengthening spiritually Bishop Ortynsky's widely scattered flock, Sheptyts'kyi wished personally to familiarize himself with the religious and material needs of the immigrants in order that he might seek realistic solutions to the problems they faced in America. Generally, the formal visits included celebrating a liturgy or a litany, delivering a short uplifting sermon urging the parishioners to remain steadfast in their faith, and providing mementos of his visit in the form of holy pictures, medals, or religious booklets. Frequently, the visitation also included dinners, concerts, and similar functions in his honor. Thus, prior to his departure for the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal, the Metropolitan made formal visitations to Ruthenian churches in Pittsburgh, McKeesport, and Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and Buffalo and Syracuse, New York. While in Pittsburgh, he also made courtesy calls to the Roman Catholic Bishop J. F. Regis Canevin (1904-1920) and to the Austro-Hungarian consul, Baron Paul Forster, who hosted a dinner in Sheptyts'kyi's honor.

After the Montreal Eucharistic Congress, Sheptyts'kyi returned to the United States on 17 September by way of Chicago. In addition to visiting the several parishes in Chicago, he also travelled to Whiting, Indiana, a parish comprised mainly of Carpatho-Rusyns. Returning to Chicago on 19 September, he made a courtesy call to the Most Reverend James Edward Quigley, the archbishop of Chicago (1903-1915), and that same day the local Austro-Hungarian consul hosted a formal dinner in the Metropolitan's honor. From Chicago, Sheptyts'kyi moved on to Cleveland, Ohio, where he had a taste of the internal conflicts within his American flock. On 21 September, he met in Cleveland with Bishop Ortynsky, who had opened the Eleventh Convention of the Ukrainian National Association (Rus'kyi Narodnyi Soiuz) the previous day. During the morning session, Ortynsky made an attempt to change that secular association into a specifically Catholic one. This led to harsh polemics between supporters of Ortynsky and those who wanted the association to remain non-denominational. Probably, in an effort to divert the delegates, a motion was made to invite Sheptyts'kyi to the convention. The great majority approved, but a small radical faction led by John Ardan objected and new fights erupted.[22] When he heard about the mean protest over the question of his attendance, Sheptyts'kyi left Cleveland abruptly and returned to Ortynsky's residence in Philadelphia.

For the next couple of weeks, the Metropolitan took part in several functions in Pennsylvania and neighboring states.[23] At this time the high point of his visit to the United States occurred—the consecration, on Sunday 2 October, of the first Eastern-rite Catholic cathedral in North America. On that day, the former St. Jude's Episcopal Church at 814 North Franklin Street in Philadelphia was formally dedicated as the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception by Sheptyts'kyi and Ortynsky, assisted by sixteen Ruthenian priests and the participation of distinguished members of the Latin hierarchy and priesthood, about fifty other Ruthenian priests, other civic and religious dignitaries, and a great throng of about 5,000 people who jammed in and around the church. There were actually two major Catholic ceremonies taking place in Philadelphia that day (the other being the laying of the cornerstone of St. Patrick's Latin-rite church), yet the city's *Public Ledger* singled out the aesthetic impact and historic importance of the Ukrainian event: "There was no more picturesque service during the day than the dedication of the First Greek Catholic Ruthenian Cathedral. . . . The dedication of this Greek Cathedral establishes a diocesan head in this country, which virtually means the beginning of a new era of the Church."[24] Even more enthusiastic was New York's *The Catholic News*: "It was a mingling of the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood in one solemn ceremony, such as has never before been witnessed in the United States."[25]

Soon after this most "important day in the history of the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Church in the United States,"[26] Sheptyts'kyi left for an extended tour of Ukrainian communities in Canada. When he returned, late in November, he received another taste of community conflict in the United States, this time with the Carpatho-Rusyns from Hungary. While he was blessing the cornerstone for a new church in Passaic, New Jersey, a hostile demonstration occurred. Finally, on 30 November, in Philadelphia, Sheptyts'kyi held the long-awaited conference with thirty-six of the forty-six Carpatho-Rusyn priests who had signed a petition against Bishop Ortynsky.[27] During an interview the following day, Sheptyts'kyi appeared very disturbed, and he denied the validity of the charges the priests had made against Ortynsky at the hearing, stating that the bishop's actions "have been discussed and found not objectionable."[28] In the end, it was obvious that the meeting with the Metropolitan did not improve relations between most of the Carpatho-Rusyn priests and Ortynsky.

Despite the irresolution of many internal community conflicts, Sheptyts'kyi nonetheless reported on the eve of his departure from the United States that his more than three-month visit to the American continent represented one of the most pleasant moments of his life.[29] He also promised that he would never fail to protect the rights of the Ruthenian Church in America.[30]

A decade later, Sheptyts'kyi was again in the United States. In the intervening years much had occurred in both Europe and America. Four years of World War I (1914-1918)—during most of which Sheptyts'kyi was a prisoner[31]—and four years of struggle for Ukrainian statehood (1917-1921) had left large portions of the Ukrainian homeland in ruins. Things had changed in America as well. Bishop Ortynsky had died in 1916, and that very same year the Vatican approved the division of the Ruthenian Church into a Ukrainian Catholic administration for Ukrainian immigrants from former Austrian Galicia, and a Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic administration for Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants from the former Hungarian kingdom. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the main purpose of Sheptyts'kyi's second visit to North America (1921-1922) was to obtain immediate help for Ukrainians in Galicia, who faced grave hardships following the war.[32] His second objective was to gain audiences with President Warren G. Harding, Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover, and Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes, with whom he wished to discuss the plight of the Ukrainians in Galicia.[33] The first objective was humanitarian, the second political.

Sheptyts'kyi arrived in New York City via Canada in the middle of November 1921. He quickly moved on to Philadelphia, where on 17 November he was met by his host, the administrator for Ukrainian Catholic parishes, the Reverend Peter Poniatyshyn, and about one hundred clerics and laymen.[34] In its account of the initial reception, *Svoboda* provided an insight into Sheptyts'kyi and the changes wrought by time and his experience during the war years: "... From the Metropolitan's face and his general disposition, it appeared as if he had suffered greatly during the war, particularly during his imprisonment by tsarist Russia. His disposition is sad, as if full of pain. The Metropolitan spoke very little."[35] The day after his arrival in Philadelphia, Sheptyts'kyi made a courtesy call on Cardinal Dennis Dougherty (1918-1951), and two days later he officiated at a special liturgy in the Ukrainian Cathedral.

Because the Metropolitan was especially anxious to begin his campaign for financial assistance on behalf of his people in Galicia, on 21 November he left for Washington, D.C. accompanied by the Reverend Poniatyshyn and William J. Kearns, the eparchial attorney.[36] Eventually, with the aid of Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen from New Jersey, the Metropolitan, together with Poniatyshyn and attorney Kearns, spoke with Harding for a few minutes on 23 November, prior to the president's weekly public reception. During that brief audience, the Metropolitan attempted to inform the American president about the harsh military occupation of East Galicia by the Poles.[37]

Sheptyts'kyi also wished to see Secretary of Commerce Hoover, who had been in L'viv in the summer of 1921 as head of the American Relief Administration. In a letter dated 22 November, Senator Frelinghuysen asked Hoover to receive Sheptyts'kyi, "in order that he may thank you for your activities in behalf of the peoples he represents."[38] The next day Hoover received Sheptyts'kyi, who thanked him in the name of the Ukrainian people for the American relief in Galicia. The Metropolitan then brought up the question of the unfair treatment of the Ukrainian needy in the distribution of the American relief packages by the Polish occupation authorities as well as the general political misfortune of the Ukrainians. He explained that the Polish regime in East Galicia had suppressed the Ukrainian press, imprisoned Ukrainian leaders, and liquidated the various rights and freedoms that Ukrainians had enjoyed under Austrian rule before the war. However, Hoover remained very reserved during the entire three-quarters of an hour discussion. When it was over, the Metropolitan emerged dejected, for he realized that his visit would not result in any improvement of conditions for Ukrainians in Galicia. When Poniatyshyn asked Sheptyts'kyi about his impression of the audience, he replied that "a well-fed man doesn't understand what it means to be hungry."[39] The Metropolitan lost interest in seeking an audience with Secretary of State Hughes, although before he left Washington he did leave a memorandum concerning the Ukrainian question at the State Department.

Sheptyts'kyi's other objective, to collect funds for the more than twenty thousand orphans in Galicia, was an ongoing process during the entire American visit.[40] Poniatyshyn made a special request that collections for the war orphans be made in all the Ukrainian churches under his administration. As early as 30 January 1922, Sheptyts'kyi informed Poniatyshyn that he had already received a total of $2,534.83 from forty-two churches.[41] In addition, Sheptyts'kyi visited parishes to which he was invited, usually for Sunday masses, at which the parishioners offered their contributions. There was hardly a church out of the approximately 130 in the Ukrainian administration that failed to contribute to the campaign.[42]

Sheptyts'kyi also attempted to get financial aid from Latin Catholics during his visits to various members of the hierarchy in whose territory Ukrainian Catholics and their churches were located. However, aid from this quarter was limited since the American bishops were deluged with requests for aid from various European nations devastated by war. For instance, Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle told Poniatyshyn that so many requests from Europe were received at his chancery that to satisfy them it would be necessary to arrange collections every Sunday for the next several years.[43] Sheptyts'kyi even tried raising money for the orphans with the aid of fund-raising agencies in New York.[44]

Many years after the events, Poniatyshyn suggested that when Sheptyts'kyi left the United States he could not have had more than $15,000 from all sources for the Galician orphans.[45] It would appear, however, that this estimate is overly conservative. For example, while it was hardly practicable to hold a special collection for Galician orphans in St. Patrick's Cathedral, this did not deter New York City's Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes (1919-1938) from presenting Sheptyts'kyi with $5,000 for the cause.[46] Analogously, at a dinner in Sheptyts'kyi's honor in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholic bishop of Harrisburg, Philip R. McDevitt (1916-1935), announced that he would hold a special collection in his diocese for Ukrainian orphans. As a result of the Metropolitan's eloquent plea at that fund-raising dinner, within a few minutes the non-Ukrainians present contributed $1,000. Even the owner of the hotel, where the banquet was being held, contributed $200 due him for the occasion. Moreover, at another dinner in his honor organized by the Ukrainian community in Chicago, contributions for the orphans exceeded $1,500.[47] On the basis of these examples alone, a more accurate estimate of the funds with which Sheptyts'kyi returned to Europe would place the figure at about $23,000,[48] but whatever the actual figure, it was certainly a considerable amount, given the value of the American dollar vis-à-vis Polish currency then.

In addition to his usual episcopal visitations to Ukrainian parishes, Sheptyts'kyi also made courtesy visits to other institutions, to different Latin ordinaries, and he participated in various civic and religious affairs.[49] For example, in December 1921, he visited the offices of the Ukrainian National Association in Jersey City, New Jersey, where he spoke very highly of the contributions of that organization to the Ukrainian-American community.[50] On his feast day, he was honored by the Ukrainian clergy at a great banquet held in New York City's Pennsylvania Hotel which was attended by more than 200 persons, while in January 1922, the city of Newark, New Jersey honored Sheptyts'kyi with its "Freedom of the City" award given to outstanding personalities.[51] Then, in February, he presided along with New York's Archbishop Hayes, at a pontifical mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral on the occasion of the coronation of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939).[52]

Between 16 March and 7 August 1922, Sheptyts'kyi interrupted his stay in the United States in order to visit Ukrainian communities in South America. Upon his return, he continued the familiar round of visitations to Ukrainian-American parishes.[53] During one such visit in Chicago Sheptyts'kyi fell seriously ill on 5 October with phlebitis in his legs.[54] While he convalesced in Chicago, he requested Poniatyshyn to arrange an audience with U. S. Secretary of State Hughes.[55] Again with the help of Senator Frelinghuysen's office, a meeting was arranged for early November. Sheptyts'kyi asked that the United States use its influence to intervene in the matter of the persecuted Galician Ukrainian church and clergy, but all he received was a promise by Hughes that he would study Sheptyts'kyi's memorandum.[56]

It was clear that when Sheptyts'kyi left the United States for the last time on 12 November 1922,[57] he had not succeeded in convincing the American government to work for the political freedom of his people in East Galicia. On the other hand, he was remarkably successful in collecting funds for Ukrainian war orphans. Moreover, his visits to numerous parishes provided him with first-hand knowledge concerning the conditions of the Ruthenian Church in the United States. In particular, his extended visit in 1921-1922 buoyed the spirits of the Ukrainian Catholics in America, so that a few days after his departure the Ukrainian newspaper *Ameryka* reported optimistically that it was now a certainty that the matter of a new bishop for the United States would soon be decided.[58] In fact, upon his return to Europe, the Metropolitan reported on his observations in America at an audience with

Pope Pius XI, and it was primarily through Sheptyts'kyi's influence and recommendations that finally in 1924, after countless letters and memoranda by both the Ukrainians and Carpatho-Rusyns, each group obtained its own bishop.[59]

From Rome, Sheptyts'kyi set out for his see in L'viv. He was arrested, however, on 24 August 1923, at the Polish-Czech frontier by Polish authorities, allegedly for his anti-Polish activities during his long sojourn abroad. News of the internment of the Metropolitan aroused Ukrainian Americans. Telegrams were sent to United States President Calvin Coolidge and Secretary of State Hughes protesting Sheptyts'kyi's arrest and seeking Washington's intervention to free him.[60] Eventually, after Sheptyts'kyi had acknowledged his loyalty to Poland and been granted an interview with Polish President Stanisław Wojciechowski on 4 October, he was permitted to return to L'viv.[61]

The appointment in 1924 of the Reverend Constantine Bohachevsky (1924-1961) as bishop for Ukrainian Catholics in the United States—after an interval in episcopal authority of over eight years—tended to strengthen the ongoing relations between that church and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. For example, from the outset of his administration Bohachevsky, aware of the hardships Ukrainians faced in his native Galicia after the war, made regular appeals for funds to help, particularly orphans, invalids, and schools.[62] Bohachevsky also sent some of his seminarians to the Galician seminaries in L'viv and Stanyslaviv for their theological studies. These and other ongoing contacts between Ukrainian Americans and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi continued uninterrupted until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Notes

1. Until the formation in 1916 of separate ecclesiastical administrations for the Ukrainians from Austrian Galicia and for the Carpatho-Rusyns and other Eastern-rite Catholics from Hungary, the early history of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in America was the common heritage of both the Ukrainian and Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants. Therefore, until 1916, the term Ruthenian will be used to describe the common church; subsequently, Ukrainian Catholic Church will apply to parishes representing Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia, and Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Church for parishes of Carpatho-Rusyn immigrants from Hungary.
2. See the brief discussions concerning these matters by Andrew J. Shipman, "Our Russian Catholics," in Conde B. Pallen, ed., *A Memorial of Andrew J. Shipman* (New York, 1916), p. 664; and Iuliian Bachyns'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka immigratsiia v Z''iedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* (L'viv, 1914), pp. 431-2.
3. *Svoboda* (Jersey City, N.J.), 6 June 1901, p. 2; 13 June, p. 2; and 27 June, p. 2, provide additional information by the leading priests of the association. The description "priest-radical" was applied by the opposition.
4. Ibid., 10 April 1902, p. 2 and 15 May, p. 4, contain an extended report on the con-

vention's discussions and resolutions.

5. *Uniïa v Amerytsï: prychynok do vidnosyn ruskoï tserkvy* (New York, 1902). For a broader discussion of the chaotic conditions among Ruthenians in the United States and the development of the anti-Vatican movement among Ukrainians, see Bohdan P. Procko, *Ukrainian Catholics in America: A History* (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 8-18.
6. Meletius Kiczura, "Die Lage der Ruthenen in Amerika und die römische Kurie," *Ruthenische Revue*, I, 4 (Vienna, 1903), pp. 136-40, cited by Osyp Kravcheniuk, *Veleten' zo Sviatoiurs'koï hory* (Yorkton, Sask., 1963), pp. 10-12.
7. For a brief analysis of the attacks on Sheptyts'kyi, see "Z pryvodu napadiv na mytropolyta Sheptyts'koho," *Svoboda*, 28 October 1922, p. 2.
8. Lev. I. Sembratovych, "Iak priishlo do imenovania nashoho pershoho epyskopa v Amerytsi," *Iuvileinyi al'manakh ukraïns'koï tserkvy u Zluchenykh Derzhavakh, 1884-1934* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 105.
9. Ibid., pp. 104-5.
10. He particularly wanted to see first hand the needs of the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada who were totally without the services of their own priests. Bohdan Kazymyra, "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyckyj and the Ukrainians in Canada," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1957* (Hull, Québec, 1958), p. 79.
11. It would appear that Ledóchowski's objection to Sheptyts'kyi's visit to Canada was influenced by the political conflicts between the Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia, as suggested by Archbishop Adelard Langevin's letter of 25 March 1900 to a fellow Canadian bishop. See ibid., pp. 79-80; and the discussion above, in Chapter 16.
12. Special efforts were made to win the support of Cardinal Jerome Gotti (Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith for Oriental Rites), Cardinal Raphael del Val (Secretary of State), and of course, Pope Pius X. See Sembratovych, "Iak priishlo," pp. 105-6.
13. Ibid., pp. 103-7.
14. Ibid., pp. 103-7.
15. M. J. Hanchin, "Istoria Sojedinenija iz pervych lit," *Kalendar Greko Kaftoličeskaho Sojedinenija, 1927* (Homestead, Pa., [1927]), p. 52. See also *Svoboda*, 5 September 1907, p. 4. For a recent discussion of this problem, see Paul R. Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 29-30.
16. Joseph Grodsky, "Vidvidyny Ameryky mytr. A. Sheptyts'kym v 1910 rotsi," *Kalendar' Provydinnia, 1927* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 104. Brother Ioseph Grods'kyi, the Metropolitan's secretary, accompanied him on the entire tour. Portions of this account of Sheptyts'kyi's two visits to America, with variations, are in Procko, *Ukrainian Catholics*, pp. 25-6, 49-52.
17. See the report on Sheptyts'kyi's arrival, "Tall Archbishop Here," *New York Times*, 24 August 1910, p. 6.
18. See Peter Poniatyshyn, "Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi v Niu Yorku," *Svoboda*, 1 September 1910, pp. 1 and 4, for additional comments on the welcoming ceremonies in New York City.
19. Ibid., p. 4.
20. "Tall Archbishop Here," p. 6. The reporter allowed himself some poetic license, since, as many photographs from the period reveal, although Sheptyts'kyi wore a full beard, it did not extend below his waist nor was it three feet long.
21. "Austrian Prelate in City," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 25 August 1910, p. 6.
22. Peter Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv: Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi v Amerytsi," in L. Myshuha and A. Dragan, eds., *Ukraïntsi u vil'nomu sviti: iuvileina knyha Ukraïns'koho Narodnoho Soiuza, 1894-1954* (Jersey City, N.J., n.d.), pp. 35-

6. It should be noted that Ardan had left the priesthood in 1902.

23. These included Yorktown, Virginia, where on 28 September he blessed the cornerstone for a seminary and orphanage that Ortynsky had planned to build; a Philadelphia banquet and reception where on 1 October he greeted Vincent Cardinal Vannutelli, the pope's legate to the Montreal Eucharistic Congress; and Newark, New Jersey, where he visited a Ruthenian parish on 4 October. *Svoboda*, 15 September 1910, p. 5 and *Public Ledger*, 2 October 1910, p. 1.
24. *Public Ledger*, 3 October 1910, p. 2.
25. "Consecration of Greek Cathedral," *The Catholic News*, 22 October 1910, p. 8.
26. Peter Poniatyshyn, "Ishche, den' 2 zhovtnia," *Svoboda*, 27 October 1910, p. 3.
27. *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik* (Munhall, Pa.), 15 December 1910, p. 4. See also "Comes from Europe to Pacify a Church," *The North American* (Philadelphia, Pa.), 1 December 1910, p. 12. The latter account claimed that fifty-six priests appeared before Sheptyts'kyi at the hearing.
28. "Priests Charges Denied," *Public Ledger*, 2 December 1910, p. 2.
29. From a speech at a farewell program in New York City on 1 December, "Prashcheniie Ekstselentsiï Andreia Sheptyts'koho," *Svoboda*, 8 December 1910, p. 1. He left on 3 December 1910.
30. From remarks at another farewell event in Jersey City as reported in ibid.
31. Prior to his death in March 1916, Bishop Ortynsky led the efforts in the United States to obtain Sheptyts'kyi's release from Russian imprisonment ("Seek Prelates Release," *New York Times*, 1 January 1916, p. 2). Early in January of 1916, for example, Ortynsky petitioned President Woodrow Wilson to assist in the attempt to free Sheptyts'kyi from his internment. He proposed that Sheptyts'kyi be permitted to come to the United States by way of Japan at Ortynsky's expense and support (Copy of Ortynsky's letter to Wilson, Department of State Central Decimal Files, 1910-1929 [RG 59], The National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

    After Ortynsky's death, the eparchial administrator, the Reverend Peter Poniatyshyn, continued the efforts to free the Metropolitan. He wrote to Congressman James A. Hamill of New Jersey on 27 December 1916, requesting that the United States government attempt to obtain Sheptyts'kyi's release. Poniatyshyn guaranteed to provide for Sheptyts'kyi's support as well as to bear the expense of his passage to the United States, from his internment in Suzdal', by way either of Archangel or Norway (copy of Poniatyshyn's letter to Hamill in the Archives of the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago, hereinafter referred to as Archives Ukrainian Chicago). With Congressman Hamill's help, the matter was brought to the attention of the State Department. As a result, cablegrams were sent to the American embassies in Vienna and Petrograd. Later, Poniatyshyn and Hamill also visited President Wilson's secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, who informed them that if the expected replies were not received in three weeks, the president would write personally to the tsar. Cf. Peter Poniatyshyn, "Ukraïns'ka sprava v Amerytsi," in *Iuvileinyi al'manakh Svobody, 1893-1953* (Jersey City, 1953), p. 71. In the meantime, the Russian Revolution broke out and the Metropolitan was released.
32. "Our life is sorrow, gloom, silence, misery, grief—blood and tears." Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Peter Poniatyshyn, dated L'viv, 18 December 1920, is in Archives Ukrainian Chicago.
33. Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," pp. 21-2.
34. "Ukraine Prelate Here," *Public Ledger*, 18 November 1921, p. 5.
35. "Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi v Zluchenykh Derzhavakh," *Svoboda*, 23 November 1921, p. 1.
36. "Archbishop of Lemberg Here to Get Relief for Galicians," *New York Times*, 22 November 1921, p. 1.

37. "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi na avdiientsiï u prezydenta Hardynga v bilomu domu," *Svoboda*, 28 November 1921, p. 1. See also Poniatyshyn's valuable recollections, "Z moïkh spomyniv," pp. 22-4.
38. A photocopy of Frelinghuysen's letter is in Herbert Hoover's correspondence file pertaining to Senator J. S. Frelinghuysen, Departments of Special Collections and Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick, N. J.
39. Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," pp. 25-7.
40. The *New York Times* placed the number of Galician orphans at fifty thousand in its 22 November 1921 account of Sheptyts'kyi's fund-raising objectives. *Svoboda* referred to thirty thousand orphans in its report on 23 November 1921.
41. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Poniatyshyn, dated Philadelphia, 30 January 1922 in Archives Ukrainian Chicago.
42. The highest per capita contribution came from St. Joseph's Church ($900) in Frankford, Pennsylvania. Voluntary contributions were also made by individual clergy. Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," p. 28.
43. Ibid. Nonetheless, Lavelle, of New York City's St. Patrick's Cathedral, was a great friend of Ukrainians.
44. Ibid., p. 29.
45. Ibid., p. 30.
46. "Honor Count Sheptytsky," *New York Times*, 14 December 1921, p. 17.
47. "Velyke torzhestvo v Shamokyn, Pa.," *Ameryka*, 18 January 1922, p. 2; "Pryniattie dostoinoho mytr. Sheptyts'koho v Shykago," *Svoboda*, 24 October 1922, p. 1.
48. Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," pp. 29-30. See also *Brat-bratovi: knyha pro ZUADK* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 20.
49. See Sheptyts'kyi's letters to Poniatyshyn, dated 18 and 29 October 1922, and his undated letter from Philadelphia during the 1921-1922 Christmas season in Archives Ukrainian Chicago.
50. Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," p. 22.
51. "Honor Count Sheptytsky," *New York Times*, 14 December 1921, p. 17; "Mytropolyt pochesnym horozhanynom mista Niuark, N. Dzh.," *Ameryka*, 18 January 1922, p. 1.
52. "Ekstselentsiia mytropolyt na torzhestvenim bohosluzhenniu v niu-iorks'kii katedri," *Ameryka*, 20 February 1922 p. 1.
53. Among these was a retreat at the Catholic Home in Bernardsville, New Jersey, attended by Ruthenian clergy from both the Ukrainian (fifty-three) and Carpatho-Rusyn (twenty-two) administrations. For a complete list of all clerics in attendance, see *Ameryka*, 12 September 1922, p. 2.
54. It even seemed for a while that his right leg would have to be amputated. According to Poniatyshyn, the Metropolitan had a festering sore below the knee of his right leg which was constantly irritated. Apparently it was the result of an accident during his service as a cavalry officer in the Austrian army as a youth. Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," p. 31. See also "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi tiazhko khoryi," *Svoboda*, 24 October 1922, p. 1.
55. Letter from Sheptyts'kyi to Poniatyshyn, dated Chicago, 29 October 1922, in Archives Ukrainian Chicago.
56. Address by Dr. Myshuga in Newark, N.J., 18 November 1945. Excerpts cited in Poniatyshyn, "Z moïkh spomyniv," pp. 32-3. Dr. Luke Myshuga, the representative of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile, accompanied the Metropolitan to the audience. With the help of Sheptyts'kyi he prepared a memorandum about Poland's occupation of East Galicia and its persecution of the Ukrainian church there.
57. For a report on the official farewell festivities held on 7, 9, and 10 November in honor of Sheptyts'kyi, see *Ameryka*, 15 November 1922, p. 1.

58. Ibid., p. 2.
59. It would appear that Sheptyts'kyi, as well as his friend Bishop Ortynsky, were convinced as early as 1914 that a single administration could no longer be viable. See Walter Paska, *Sources of Particular Law for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 53; and chapter 18 below.
60. Copy of the Reverend Alexander Prystay's telegram to President Calvin Coolidge, dated 29 August 1923 (and other telegrams and letters to Secretary Hughes) in Department of State Central Decimal Files, 1910-1929 (RG 59), the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
61. Copy of letter from the American Legation in Warsaw to the State Department, dated 8 October 1923, in ibid.
62. Numerous appeals in the *Eparkhiial'ni visti* (Philadelphia, 1924-1961), the official eparchial publication, attest to Bohachevsky's commitment to help the Ukrainian people in the European homeland. The funds collected were normally forwarded directly to Sheptyts'kyi or other Ukrainian bishops in Galicia.

Chapter 18

Sheptyts'kyi and the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the United States

Athanasius B. Pekar

Carpatho-Ruthenian immigration to the United States began in the 1870s, and continued to increase in volume during the decades prior to the outbreak of World War I.[1] Those years were marked by such large-scale movement of people from the Carpathian region[2] that an estimated 40 percent of the Carpatho-Ruthenian population in Hungary had left the homeland either temporarily as migrant workers or permanently as immigrants. By 1914, an estimated 125,000 to 150,000 Carpatho-Ruthenians had migrated to the United States.[3] They first settled in the hard-coal region of eastern Pennsylvania alongside Ukrainians from Galicia.[4] Since they shared the same language, the same customs and beliefs, and the same way of worshipping God, they established parishes and fraternal organizations together.[5]

Ecclesiastically, both groups in the United States formed one Ruthenian, or Greek Catholic Church, and the Vatican referred to them collectively as Ruthenian Catholics, or Catholics of the Ruthenian rite. The first Ruthenian Catholic parish was organized in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania by the Reverend Ivan Volansky, who arrived in the United States in December 1884 from the archeparchy of L'viv in Galicia.[6] Volansky soon established several other Ruthenian Catholic parishes in eastern Pennsylvania (Freeland, Hazleton, Mahanoy City, Kingston, Wilkes Barre, and Olyphant), and he even tried to organize parishes in Minnesota (Minneapolis) and Indiana (Whiting). Volansky also obtained the first Carpatho-Ruthenian priest, the Reverend Alexander Dzubay, who arrived in America at the end of 1888 to become the pastor in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. Dzubay organized some additional parishes and was able to bring more Carpatho-Ruthenian priests to the United States.

Thus, by the time of the first Conference of the Ruthenian Clergy in America, in Wilkes Barre on 29 October 1890, there were ten priests working among the Ruthenian faithful, of whom seven were from Carpatho-Ruthenian eparchies and only three from Galicia.[7] Ten years later, as the influx of the Carpatho-Ruthenian immigrants continued to increase, there were forty-three Ruthenian Catholic priests, of whom thirty-two came from the Carpatho-Ruthenian eparchies.[8] However, from the very beginning of its missionary work in the United States, the Ruthenian clergy met strong opposition from the American Catholic hierarchy, which at that time was striving to form a monolithic Catholic Church of America. For this reason, it absolutely opposed the formation of any national Catholic church in America, especially one of a different rite, and it strongly protested to the Vatican about the married clergy, insisting that the married Ruthenian priests were causing "scandal and confusion" among the Roman Catholic faithful.[9] The hierarchy also resented the fact that the Ruthenian Catholic priests tried to elude the authority of the local Roman Catholic bishops by claiming jurisdiction from their own bishops in the old country.[10]

The opposition of the American Catholic hierarchy to the establishment of separate Ruthenian parishes[11] and its insistence that the Vatican recall all married priests from the United States, prompted the so-called Orthodox movement under the leadership of the Reverend Alexis Toth. Toth, a Carpatho-Ruthenian priest from the Prešov eparchy, was offended by Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul (1888-1918), so the Reverend Toth and his entire parish in Minneapolis joined the Russian Orthodox Church in March 1891. Toth then became a zealous propagator of Orthodoxy among Ruthenian Catholics, and in 1896, he was joined by a Galician priest, the Reverend Gregory Hrushka, a pastor in Jersey City, New Jersey.[12] Orthodox propaganda directed at Ruthenian Catholic immigrants was greatly enhanced by Russophile sympathies among the emigrants from both sides of the Carpathian Mountains, who were enchanted by the then fashionable, although unrealistic, slogans of Russian messianism which were propagated by the partisans of Pan-Slavism.[13] Thus, the very existence of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the United States was threatened even before its canonical establishment.

In order to strengthen their position in the face of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox threat, in 1892 immigrants from both Hungary and Galicia joined forces to establish the Union of the Greek-Catholic Ruthenian Brotherhoods, popularly referred to as *Sojedinenije* (hereinafter: Greek Catholic Union). However, cooperation between the two groups was short-lived. The Galician priests, together with the secular brotherhoods which did not share the pro-Hungarian orientation of the Carpatho-Ruthenians, seceded from the Greek Catholic Union and founded their own Ruthenian National Association in 1894. What began, then, as an effort to consolidate strength, resulted in the existence of two fraternal organizations whose rivalry led to open fights and dissension between the two groups of Ruthenian immigrants. This division was also reflected in their religious life, since the leaders of both groups were priests.[14]

The second cause of estrangement between the Carpatho-Ruthenians and Ukrainians was the arrival, between 1895 and 1898, of seven young celibate priests from Galicia who were imbued with the "spirit of the Ukrainian national revival." They took control of the Ruthenian National Association and its organ, *Svoboda*; disseminated Ukrainian ideology; and laid the foundation for the national and cultural life of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States.[15] By identifying themselves and their people as Ukrainian, they started to disassociate themselves from the Ruthenian immigrants and began to organize their own Ukrainian Catholic parishes. Because of their radical methods, they were branded "radical priests," which provided the Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy with some seemingly valid arguments for their subsequent attacks against the first Eastern-rite bishop, Soter Ortynsky.[16]

The third, and in my view, decisive reason for division between the Carpatho-Ruthenians and Ukrainians in the United States was the planned interference of the Hungarian government in the national and religious life of the immigrants. This interference was aimed at isolating Carpatho-Ruthenians from their Galician brothers in order to prevent a national awakening. At a time of intensive magyarization among Carpatho-Ruthenians in Europe, the Hungarian government feared that on their return home these emigrants would frustrate official efforts to make them into "Hungarians." To achieve its assimilatory goals, the Hungarian government used the services not only of its own diplomatic officials and consular agents, but also turned to the magyarized Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy who, before "leaving for the United States, were compelled to take a special oath of loyalty to the Hungarian government" and, for their "patriotic services," received financial support.[17]

The other objective of Hungarian policy was to stop the spread of Pan-Slavic ideology, which had erupted among the Carpatho-Ruthenians first in the United States and later in their homeland in the form of the Orthodox movement. The Hungarians were concerned about Orthodoxy not so much as a religious issue, but rather as a political threat to the integrity of their country. After all, it was well known that tsarist Russia had for decades exploited Pan-Slavism and Orthodoxy as part of its imperialistic intentions among the Slavic ethnic groups of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore the Reverend Toth and those who followed him into Orthodoxy were promptly denounced by the Hungarian government as "traitors."[18]

To preserve and foster an appropriate "patriotic spirit," at the outset of the twentieth century the Hungarian government initiated the "American Action," which was aimed primarily at the Carpatho-Ruthenians, "to prevent them from uniting with the Galician immigrants in the United States."[19] Consequently, the Hungarians pressured Vienna and the Vatican to recall Ukrainian clergy from the United States and to replace them with Carpatho-Ruthenian priests who had already proven their "Hungarian patriotism" at home. These "patriotic priests" were also expected to seize the leading posts in Carpatho-Ruthenian organizations and to take control of their press to foster Hungarian superiority and patriotism. The Hungarian plan also envisioned the appointment of a bishop for the Ruthenian Church in the United States. To initiate such a goal, they arranged to have the Reverend Andrii Hodobay of the Prešov eparchy appointed as Apostolic Visitator.[20]

It is at this point that Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi became involved for the first time with the history of the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the United States.[21] By the end of 1900, the Hungarian government informed the officers of the Greek Catholic Union (to whom Carpatho-Ruthenian priests delegated the struggle for a bishop) that the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already initiated negotiations with the Vatican to appoint a Ruthenian bishop for the United States.[22] Since Sheptyts'kyi had been elevated to the Metropolitan See of L'viv, the highest dignity in the ranks of the Ruthenian Catholic Church, he necessarily had to turn his attention to the religious problems of his people in the United States.

The Metropolitan had to consider three main problems: (1) the Orthodox movement, which was making considerable inroads among Ruthenian Americans; (2) the utter division between Ruthenian clergy; and (3) the estrangement, if not open rivalry, between the Carpatho-Ruthenian and Galician-Ukrainian immigrants. Sheptyts'kyi's first purpose was to preserve the national and religious unity of the Ruthenian immigrants in the United States, because only as a united force would they be able to overcome the strong opposition of the American hierarchy and receive a bishop of their own rite. However, by the time Sheptyts'kyi was ready to take some concrete steps, the Hungarian government had already advanced its own plans through diplomatic channels at the Vatican.[23]

Sheptyts'kyi did not object to the appointment of Hodobay as Apostolic Visitator, since his only duty was to study conditions among the Ruthenian Catholic faithful and at the proper time to present a full report to the Vatican. What the Metropolitan did not know, however, was that Hodobay had a secret mission entrusted to him by the Hungarian government. He was to separate, at all costs, the Carpatho-Ruthenian from the Galician-Ukrainian immigrants.[24] For this reason, from the very first day of his arrival, Hodobay completely ignored the Ukrainian clergy. In such a situation, it was Hodobay's rival, the Reverend Cornelius Lavryshyn from the Mukachevo eparchy, who kept Sheptyts'kyi informed about the Visitator's activity and who sought information from the Metropolitan about the canonical status of Hodobay, who had not presented any documentation to the Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy about the character of his mission.[25]

In the end, Hodobay's mission proved a failure. He did not succeed in taking over control of the Greek Catholic Union, nor was he able to arrest the Orthodox movement. Even worse, he was instrumental in dividing the Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy into eparchial factions, with those from Mukachevo fighting against those from Prešov.[26] By 1905 it became evident, even to the Hungarian government, that Hodobay must be recalled. After he presented a report to the Vatican he was relieved of his duties as the Apostolic Visitator in the United States on 8 March 1907 and returned home.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi had from the outset followed closely these developments in the United States. When it became clear that the Hodobay mission would fail, Sheptyts'kyi felt it his duty to take all necessary steps to save the Ruthenians in the United States from committing what seemed to be national and religious suicide. Thus, he initiated his own diplomatic efforts to secure for the Ruthenian Catholic Church in America a proper leadership, and those efforts were soon crowned with the appointment of Bishop Soter S. Ortynsky (1907-1916).[27] However, it was not an easy task to convince the Apostolic See to appoint a Ruthenian bishop for the United States against the persistent opposition of the American Roman Catholic hierarchy. It was an even more arduous and complicated task to convince Vienna, and especially Budapest, that the bishop must come from the Galician clergy. Finally, Sheptyts'kyi was able to persuade the Carpatho-Ruthenian bishops in Europe to accept his candidate.[28] Thus a papal decree of 4 March 1907 delegated Bishop Ortynsky to establish "law and order" among Ruthenian Catholic communities in the United States.[29]

Because the appointment of the Ruthenian Catholic bishop for the United States was, from the very beginning, strongly opposed by the American hierarchy, after long and arduous bargaining the Vatican had to concede complete control over the activities of Bishop Ortynsky to the local Roman Catholic bishops.[30] Consequently, the administration of the Ruthenian Catholic communities was regulated by the apostolic letter *Ea Semper* (14 June 1907), which considerably limited Ortynsky's jurisdiction, reaffirmed celibacy (first decreed in 1890), reserved the administration of Holy Confirmation to the Roman Catholic bishop, and gave preference of choice to the Roman Catholic party in interritual marriages. Promulgated after Ortynsky's arrival in the United States, the *Ea Semper* decree was indeed a great humiliation and discrimination against the Ruthenian Catholic Church.[31]

In his efforts to secure the nomination of Ortynsky, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi overlooked one important thing. He neglected to prepare the Ruthenian faithful in the United States properly to accept their first bishop and he failed to give them an appropriate explanation of the canonical restrictions imposed on them by the *Ea Semper* decree.[32] The Carpatho-Ruthenians especially needed to be assured that Ortynsky would not interfere with their national feelings and that the next bishop would be one of their own. Left in such darkness, the Carpatho-Ruthenians, led by the Reverend Lavryshyn who had previously headed the opposition against the Apostolic Visitator, now rebelled openly against their new bishop.[33]

Bishop Ortynsky then became the victim of a conspiracy set up by certain Carpatho-Ruthenian priests. One of them, the Reverend Theodosius Vasovychyk who later had a "change of heart," wrote: "Hearing about the appointment of Bishop Ortynsky, they [Carpatho-Ruthenians] became alarmed because he was not a Hungarian, meaning *one of them*, and they immediately made up their mind not to accept him, even before they had a chance to meet the bishop and find out about his intentions."[34] The Magyarophile Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy unjustly accused Ortynsky of being a "Ukrainian chauvinist" and of trying to involve the Ruthenian Catholic Church in Ukrainian politics, although even the former editor of the *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, Michael J. Hanchin, argued that

> Bishop Ortynsky did not Ukrainianize. In every place where he appeared he delivered a most eloquent sermon, and in no time he would gain the confidence of our Carpatho-Ruthenian people, if only the Greek Catholic Union through its paper and our clergy would not work against him at every given opportunity.[35]

To coordinate their ruthless fight, the Carpatho-Ruthenians organized an Executive Committee of Clergy, headed by the Reverend Lavryshyn, and an Executive Committee of Laymen, headed by the president of the Greek Catholic Union, John Uhryn. Both committees were supported by the *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, whose Russophile editor Paul J. Zhatkovych resorted to all sorts of fraudulent allegations and even outright lies, just to compromise the authority and reputation of Ortynsky. This malicious fight, which fomented more internal divisions and defections to Orthodoxy, culminated with the convocation of the Congress of the Uhro-Rusyn Parishes in America, which met in Johnstown, Pennsylvania on 11-12 January 1910. Those parishes decided to break away from the jurisdiction of Bishop Ortynsky by proclaiming an "autonomous" Carpatho-Ruthenian Church.[36]

Sheptyts'kyi was then in Montreal to attend the Eucharistic Congress. Ortynsky insisted that the Metropolitan also visit the United States to help him solve some of his urgent problems, the most important of which was the open defiance of his authority by a significant number of the Ruthenian clergy and parishioners. He hoped that the high dignity and diplomatic skill of Sheptyts'kyi would bring an end to all opposition. The Metropolitan did meet with thirty-six Carpatho-Ruthenian priests led by the Reverend Lavryshyn in a hotel in Philadelphia on 30 November 1910. They loudly voiced dissatisfaction with Ortynsky's administration and demanded that the Metropolitan help them obtain their own Carpatho-Ruthenian bishop. Sheptyts'kyi tried to reason with them and showed them that their charges against Ortynsky were completely groundless and unjust, but they refused to listen and kept repeating their accusations. Finally, they handed a petition to him and left the room.[37]

The local press, deliberately misinformed by the opposition, reported "another" victory for the Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy. This distorted report greatly disturbed Sheptyts'kyi, and during an interview granted to reporters the following day, he denied the validity of the charges against Ortynsky that were presented to him by the Carpatho-Ruthenian priests.[38] Sheptyts'kyi's intervention did not help to solve the Carpatho-Ruthenian problem. On the contrary, from that time on he was considered the leading "agitator" against the appointment of a Carpatho-Ruthenian bishop for the United States.[39]

After Sheptyts'kyi returned to Europe, he tried to convince the Vatican that Ortynsky's lack of full episcopal authority and the humiliating apostolic letter, *Ea Semper*, were the main factors contributing to the confusion and anarchy within the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the United States. After renewed efforts by Sheptyts'kyi, on 28 May 1913, Bishop Ortynsky received full and ordinary jurisdiction over all the Ruthenian Catholic parishes in the United States.[40] The Carpatho-Ruthenians now had a choice either to recognize Bishop Ortynsky's jurisdiction or to join the Orthodox Church. They chose to submit themselves to the episcopal authority of Bishop Ortynsky,[41] although they continued the fight for canonical separation between the Carpatho-Ruthenian and Ukrainian parishes in the United States.

In June 1914, on the advice of Sheptyts'kyi, Ortynsky departed for Rome to extend his gratitude to the pope for granting him full episcopal jurisdiction and to present to him a report on the condition of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the United States.[42] The bishop also learned that a new document, which would correct the offensive provisions of the *Ea Semper* decree, was in preparation. Indeed, the new *Cum Episcopo* decree on the administration of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the United States was promulgated on 17 August 1914.[43] This time Ortynsky agreed to ask the Vatican to appoint a second bishop specifically for the Carpatho-Ruthenian parishes and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi arranged a meeting of the interested parties in Budapest on 24 July 1914. Sheptyts'kyi and Ortynsky were joined by Bishop Antonii Papp of Mukachevo and Bishop Stefan Novak of Prešov, who held long consultations with representatives of the Hungarian government. They all approved Sheptyts'kyi's proposal to ask the Vatican to appoint a Carpatho-Ruthenian coadjutor-bishop to Ortynsky or to establish a separate Carpatho-Ruthenian exarchate in the United States.[44]

Because of the outbreak of World War I just a few days later, there was no time to take the necessary steps to realize the Budapest proposals, but when Ortynsky died unexpectedly on 24 March 1916, two apostolic administrators were appointed—the Reverend Peter Poniatyshyn for the Ukrainian faithful and the Reverend Gabriel Martyak for the Carpatho-Ruthenian faithful.[45] However, nine Hungarian Greek-Catholic parishes, headed by the Reverend

Victor Kovalyts'kyi of Perth Amboy, N. J., preferred to submit themselves to the administration of the Reverend Poniatyshyn.[46] The administrative division of the Ruthenian Church in America into Ukrainian and Carpatho-Ruthenian exarchates was sealed in 1924, when the Vatican appointed two separate hierarchs for the United States—Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky (1924-1961) for the Ukrainian Catholics and Bishop Basil Takach for the Carpatho-Ruthenian parishes.[47]

Although the Metropolitan had no jurisdiction over the Carpatho-Ruthenians, he was well acquainted with their situation in the United States. Also, he always tried to be a unifying force and source of strength for all Eastern-rite Ruthenian Catholics, whether in the old world or the new. Unfortunately, the Carpatho-Ruthenians did not recognize in him either their protector or their spiritual father. Rather, they listened to their Magyarophile leaders, who were convinced that "under the Carpathian Mountains, in proximity to the Metropolitan of L'viv, a Ruthenian national consciousness was dangerous."[48] Therefore, they remained separated not only from their Galician-Ukrainian co-religionists in the New World, but eventually estranged from their own people in Europe as well.

Notes

1. In using the term Carpatho-Ruthenian, I intend neither to deny the group's Ukrainian national and linguistic character nor to suggest it constitutes a separate nationality. The term is simply used out of respect for the people in the United States who generally prefer to be identified by the historic term *rusyny*, which I render as Ruthenian instead of Rusyn (used elsewhere in this volume). This is in contrast to usage in the European homeland of Carpatho-Ruthenians, where the term Ukrainian is generally accepted.

   On the question of identity and nomenclature in the European homeland, see Paul R. Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1978), pp. 279-81; on similar questions concerning the group in the United States, see Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Toronto, 1984), p. 8.
2. It is impossible to identify the region south of the Carpathian Mountains inhabited by Ukrainian (Ruthenian) people by some specific name. Before 1918, the Hungarians loosely referred to it as *Felvidék* (The Highland or Upper District). Since then there have been descriptions like *Podkarpatská Rus* (Subcarpathian Ruthenia), *Karpats'ka Ukraïna* (Carpatho-Ukraine), *Kárpátalja* (Subcarpathia), and today, *Zakarpats'ka oblast'* (Transcarpathian District). However, these terms do not include some 25 percent of Carpatho-Ukrainians (Ruthenians) living in Eastern Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary. See Magocsi, *Shaping*, pp. 279-81.
3. Magocsi, *Our People*, p. 13. For more details on the migration process, see Oleksander Mytsiuk, "Z emihratsiï uhro-rusyniv pered svitovoiu viinciu," *Naukovyi zbirnyk Tovarystva Prosvita*, XIII-XIV (Uzhhorod, 1938), pp. 21-32; and Alexander Baran, "Carpatho-Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Emigration 1870-1914," in Jaroslav

Rozumnyj, ed., *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1983), pp. 252-75.

4. Magocsi, *Our People*, pp. 17-21; and the concise history of the group by Magocsi, "Carpatho-Rusyns," in Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1981), pp. 200-10.
5. It should also be remembered that until 1914, Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia also used the historic denomination *rusyny* (Ruthenian) to describe themselves. Even the Reverend Cornelius Lavryshyn, a Carpatho-Ruthenian priest who led the opposition against the Galician-born Bishop Ortynsky, had at the turn of the century admitted: "The Greek Catholic Ruthenians in America, coming from Galicia and Hungary, are of the same faith and of the same nationality, using the same language (even though they differ in their dialects). Belonging to the same faith and to the same nationality, they cannot be divided, they must remain united!" "D'ilo sorhanizovaniia nasheho naroda," *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik* (Homestead, Pa.), 7 December 1899, p. 2.
6. The Carpatho-Ruthenians, who formed a majority in the Shenandoah community, actually asked their bishops of Mukachevo and Prešov to send them a priest. Only when their petitions were ignored did they turn to Metropolitan Sembratovych of L'viv. Mária Mayer, *Kárpátukrán (ruszin) politikai és társadalmi törekvések, 1860-1910* (Budapest, 1977), p. 176.

   Although Volansky is recognized as the first Ruthenian Catholic priest in the United States, the first priest (although without a mandate from his bishop), was the Reverend Emmanuel Burik, a Carpatho-Ruthenian from the Prešov Eparchy. After a few months he was tragically killed in January 1884 by a train in New Brunswick, New Jersey. See R. Misulich, "First Byzantine Priest in U. S. Fatally Injured," *Eastern Catholic Life* (Passaic, N. J.), 22 January 1984, p. 3.
7. E. Volkay, "Sobor Vyselyvshykhsia v Ameryku hreko-katol. sviaschennykov vo Wilkes Barre, Pa.," *Lystok*, VII, 2 (Uzhhorod, 1891), pp. 15-17; A. Pekar, "Historical Background of the Carpatho-Ruthenians in America," *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, XIII, 1-4 (New York, Toronto, and Munich, 1976), pp. 96-8.
8. *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, 16 August 1900, p. 2.
9. Gerald P. Fogarty, "The American Hierarchy and Oriental Rite Catholics, 1890-1907," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, LXXXV (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 17-28.
10. Cf. letter from Bishop J. Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, dated 12 January 1888 (to be taken to Rome by Archbishop J. P. Ryan of Philadelphia) in Archive of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches, "Ruteni," vol. 117, an. 1887-1906, n.n.
11. The American bishops claimed that the Ruthenian immigrants would be denationalized in no time. Cf. the letter from D. J. O'Connell of Philadelphia, 18 February 1888, in ibid.; and T. McAvoy, "Americanism—The Myth and the Reality," *Concilium*, XXVII (Glen Rock, N. J., 1967), pp. 119-32.
12. Unlike the case of Toth, Hrushka's parish did not follow him in his acceptance of Orthodoxy. On the instrumental role of Toth in the Orthodox movement, see George Soldatow, ed., *Archpriest Alexis Toth: Letters, Articles, Papers and Sermons*, 2 vols. (Chilliwack, B. C. and Minneapolis, Minn., 1978-1982); and *Diamond Jubilee Album of St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Gr. Cath. Church in Minneapolis, Minn., 1887-1962* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1962), pp. 15-23.
13. In this regard, the Slovaks exercised a strong influence on the Carpatho-Ruthenians both at home and abroad. T. Čapek, *The Slovaks of Hungary: Slavs and Panslavism* (New York, 1906).
14. Among the points of disagreement were the pro-Hungarian orientation of the Carpatho-Ruthenian priests and the Panslavic and Russophile orientation of the

Greek Catholic Union newspaper, the *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, on whose pages bitter polemics were carried out with the Ruthenian, later Ukrainian National Association's newspaper, *Svoboda*, which was accused of fostering Ukrainian nationalism among the Ruthenian people.

15. Despite their influence, the Ruthenian National Association did not change its name to the Ukrainian National Association until 1914.
16. The Ukrainian "radical priests" caused many problems within the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the United States. They ignored the authority of Bishop Ortynsky and the decrees of the Vatican; they performed their pastoral duties without seeking the jurisdiction of the local bishop; and they openly opposed Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, and later Bishop Ortynsky. Their radical views were expressed in a booklet by I. Konstankevych and A. Bonchaves'kyi, *Uniïa v Amerytsï: prychynok do vidnosyn Rus'koï tserkvy* (New York, 1902), in which they challenged Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letter of 20 August 1902. Their opposition to Ortynsky stemmed from the fact that he did not approve of their "radical methods" which were in violation of canon law.
17. Nikolai M. Beskid, "Popradov," *Karpatskii sviet*, II (Uzhhorod, 1929), p. 515. Among Hungary's officials, its consul in Chicago, Alexander Nuber, was especially deeply involved in these activities. Mayer, *Kárpátukrán*, pp. 181-4.
18. Emil Lengyel, *Americans from Hungary* (Philadelphia and New York, 1948), pp. 188-90.
19. Mayer, *Kárpátukrán*, p. 183.
20. The appointment was made on 14 April 1902. Both Hodobay and his secretary, the Reverend Ivan Korotnicky, were paid by the Hungarian government. Ibid.
21. The eparchy archives in the United States are not open to researchers, and although the Vatican Archives are now available down to 1922-1923, I was unable to make use of them for this study. Therefore, my remarks are based on some scattered documentary evidence but mostly on secondary sources.
22. In its 17 January 1901 issue, the *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, p. 2, joyously announced that the appointment of a Ruthenian bishop for the United States was already "discussed on the floor of the Hungarian parliament, and that Premier Kálmán Szél reported that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had already initiated the negotiations with the Vatican."
23. Nonetheless, an editorial in the *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, 27 September 1901, spread rumors that Sheptyts'kyi was trying to promote one of his own priests for the episcopacy in the United States.
24. Actually, at a meeting in Brooklyn, N. Y. on 21 May 1902, Hodobay admitted that he was an "official representative of the Hungarian government." See "Nash Vikarii i ieho d'iistvovaniie," *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, 22 May 1902, p. 3. Also, in a letter to Bishop Iulii Firtsak of Mukachevo, dated 12 February 1902, the Hungarian Minister of Cults and Education stated: "Besides his [Hodobay's] religious duties, he will also be responsible for carrying out secret instructions of a political character." Cited in *Taiemne staie iavnym*, 2nd rev. ed. (Uzhhorod, 1965), p. 15.
25. Reported in John Slivka, *Historical Mirror: Sources of the Rusin and Hungarian Greek Rite Catholics in USA., 1884-1963* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1978), p. 30.
26. Having failed to dominate the Greek Catholic Union and its influential newspaper, *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, Hodobay made an unsuccessful attempt to publish his own newspaper, *Tserkovna nauka*, of which a few issues appeared in 1903. Mayer, *Kárpátukrán*, pp. 190-1. On the sometimes scandalous infighting between the Mukachevo and Prešov clergy, see Stephen C. Gulovich, "The Rusin Exarchate in the United States," *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, VI, 8 (London, 1946), p. 474.
27. A general account of Sheptyts'kyi's role in the appointment of Bishop Ortynsky is given by his secretary, the Reverend Lev. I. Sembratovych, "Iak pryishlo do im-

enuvannya nashoho pershoho Epyskopa v Amerytsi," in *Iuvileynyi al'manakh Ukraïns'koï Hreko-katolyts'koï tserkvy u Zluchenykh Derzhavakh, 1884-1934* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1934), pp. 103-7; also Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Iepyskop-Pioner Kyr Soter z Ortynych Ortyns'kyi, ChSVV* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1963), pp. 57-61.

28. Hodobay, the candidate of Bishop Valyi of Prešov, had already been discredited, while the candidates of Bishop Firtsak of Mukachevo—the Reverend Simeon Sabo and the Reverend Iurii Shuba—were disqualified by the Hungarian government because they were "Panslavists." Therefore, the bishops were appeased by the fact that at least Ortynsky's successor would be appointed from the Carpatho-Ruthenian clergy.
29. The papal decree is reprinted in Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*, vol. II (Rome, 1954), pp. 495-6.
30. In other words, Ortynsky did not enjoy full episcopal power and his jurisdiction depended on the "discretion of the local Latin Ordinaries." John A. Duskie, *The Canonical Status of the Orientals in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1928), p. 42. The mentality of the American hierarchy at the time was aptly described in two articles by Foranaeus [pseudonym], in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, LII (Washington, D. C., 1915), pp. 42-50, 645-53.
31. The complete Latin text of the *Ea Semper* is reprinted in Welykyj, *Documenta*, pp. 496-502; extensive excerpts in English are in Magocsi, *Our People*, p. 31; and commentary is in Walter Paska, *Sources of Particular Law for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1975), pp. 44-7, 126-9.
32. It is said that Sheptyts'kyi protested against the *Ea Semper* and that Pope Pius X allegedly admitted to him that he had been ill-advised. Gulovich, "The Rusin Exarchate," p. 478, n. 1.
33. Ibid., p. 475. The history of the fight against Ortynsky is described well by Rozhen, "Kto vede vojnu protiv Rus'koj Gr. Kat. Cerkvi i rus'kaho naroda v Americ'i," *Rusin* (McKeesport, Pa.) 16-30 November 1911; and A. Pekar, "Ternystym shliakhom Vladyky-Pionera," *Svitlo*, XXX, 3 (Toronto, 1966), pp. 100-2.
34. *Rusin*, 16 October 1913, p. 2, based on a translation of Vasovychyk's article in the Hungarian paper, *Egyetértés* (New York) 11 October 1913.
35. Michael J. Hanchin, "Istorija Sojedinenija iz pervych l'it," in *Kalendar Sojedinenija na 1937 hod* (Munhall, Pa., 1936), p. 54.
36. *Protokol Vel'koho, Všeobecnoho Kongressu Amerikanskych Gr.-Kat. Uhro-Russkych Farnoscoch, 11-12 Januara 1910, v meste Johnstown, Pa.* (Homestead, Pa., n.d.). pp. 31-2.
37. See the brief description of the meeting given by J. Grods'kyi, a Basilian monk who accompanied the Metropolitan as his personal valet, in J. G., "Vidvidyny Ameryky Mytr. A. Sheptyts'kym v 1910 rotsi," in *Kalendar Provydinnia na 1927 rik* (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 135-6; and the very biased article, "Halitskyi Mytropolyt, graf Sheptyts'kyi i aktsiia Amerikanskaho Uhro-Russkaho naroda," *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, 15 December 1910, pp. 4-5. Unfortunately, I was unable to get more reliable information about this meeting.
38. "Priests Charges Denied," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 2 December 1910, p. 2. In all probability, the charges against Ortynsky were the same made by the opposition (out of forty-two priests six were from Galicia) in their "Petition to Pope Pius X," reprinted in *Amerikanskii russkii viestnik*, 31 August 1911. The English text is in Slivka, *Historical Mirror*, pp. 89-92.
39. Cf. "Meta našoj bor'by," in *Kalendar' Sojedinenije na 1914 hod* (Homestead, Pa., 1913), p. 99.
40. The decree was communicated by the apostolic nuncio to the American hierarchy on 25 August 1913. See the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, XLIX (Washington, D.

C., 1913), pp. 473-4; promulgated by Bishop Ortynsky in his *Official Communication*, 25 August 1913; and reprinted in *Rusin*, 28 August 1913, p. 1.

41. The recalcitrant Carpatho-Ruthenian priests submitted to the jurisdiction of Bishop Ortynsky and took an oath of obedience on 3 September 1913, *Rusin*, 18 September 1913, pp. 2-3. On the other hand, the Executive Committee of Laymen tried to carry on their fight but, finally, on 12 December 1913, they also acknowledged Ortynsky's authority.
42. Unfortunately, Bishop Ortynsky's report is not available in the United States nor to researchers at the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches.
43. The text is in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. VI (Vatican City, 1914), pp. 458-63; and Paska, *Sources*, pp. 158-62.
44. Joseph Hanulya, "Historical Notes" (Unpublished manuscript in the Archbishop's Chancery, Byzantine Catholic Church, Pittsburgh, n.d.), p. 25.
45. See the decree of the apostolic delegate, dated 11 April 1916, in ibid., p. 32.
46. Petro Poniatyshyn, "Iz chasiv administratsiï Eparkhiï," in *Iuvileinyi al'manakh*, p. 111.
47. Before his departure for the United States, Bishop Takach paid a visit to Sheptyts'kyi in July 1924, seeking some advice concerning pastoral work in the United States. Takach was accompanied to L'viv by the bishop-designate of Mukachevo, Canon Peter Gebei, *Nyva*, XIX, 7-8 (L'viv, 1924), p. 209. Then again, in the fall of 1927, Takach attended the episcopal conference of all the Byzantine-Slavonic rite bishops in L'viv, which was convoked and presided over by Sheptyts'kyi with the approval of the Apostolic See. See the description of the episcopal conference in L'viv in *Dushpastyr'*, V, 1 (Uzhhorod, 1928), pp. 19-21; and *Nyva*, XXXII, 12 (L'viv, 1927), pp. 325-8.
48. As quoted by Augustine Voloshyn, *Spomyny* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1959), p. 15.

Sheptyts'kyi Studies

Chapter 19

Sheptyts'kyi in Polish Public Opinion

Andrzej A. Zięba

The image of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi in Poland today is the result of a fascinating, century-long process of myth-making closely connected with the complicated status of Polish-Ukrainian relations. That period also represents a history, nearly as long, of attempts to break through the Sheptyts'kyi myth. Poles observed Roman Sheptyts'kyi closely from the very beginning of his commitment to religion. At first, public opinion was friendly and supportive. Zofia Szeptycka described her son's 1887 tour of Ukraine:

> everywhere he went, his plans were already known and people generally understood in what spirit he wished to examine old wounds, why he visited Orthodox churches and inquired into their origins, their liturgy, their traditions, and even their legends. As I was told afterwards, nearly everywhere he went it was felt that he brought with him a little ray of hope, some good news.

Similarly, in his native Galicia,

> not a single voice was raised against his choice of vocation once it became known, even though it appeared so unusual, so contrary to the views of the world and to current public opinion. . . . Not only did no one condemn or even question his vocation, on the contrary, it was generally accepted as genuine. Even those who one could expect to oppose him . . . understood what he felt called to do . . . [1]

Such an attitude stemmed from a strong interest in reform of the Greek Catholic Church present in Polish society since the 1870s.[2] The tragic circumstances of that church in neighboring tsarist-controlled Podlachia (Podlasie) appealed to the patriotic feelings of Poles and increased their concern about Russian influence among the Greek Catholic population of Galicia. As a result, Polish circles approved of Sheptyts'kyi's vocation, just as they had supported the initiatives taken by the Jesuits and the Order of the Resurrection.[3] In that regard, Sheptyts'kyi's decision was most likely seen as a continuation of the earlier initiative of Prince Adam Sapieha in 1848.[4]

The Polish Catholic journal *Przegląd Kościelny*, aptly illustrated the general view after Sheptyts'kyi entered the novitiate at Dobromyl' in 1888: "This young man who, at the height of his youthful powers, eagerly rejects the illusory pleasures of this world to put on the habit of a monk, is clearly being prepared by Providence to become a pro-Union champion among the Rusyns and to be a peacemaker between the two sister nations of whom he is a son."[5] The approval of the Catholic Church was also unqualified both in Galicia and at the Vatican,[6] and similar reactions came from both Polish conservative and liberal political circles.[7] In fact, the general Polish support for Sheptyts'kyi continued up to the time of his nomination as bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1899 and then as Metropolitan at L'viv in 1900.[8] This support was undoubtedly one of the main reasons for his rapid advancement.

An interesting commentary that reflected the general attitude at the time appeared in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* on the occasion of Sheptyts'kyi's nomination as bishop to the eparchy of Stanyslaviv: "His election surprised no one and it was greeted on all sides with joy and confidence." The article further emphasized that the nominee's deeds bore witness to the nobility of his character, and that he was indeed a man "of deep faith, religious fervor, priestly spirit, and exceptional talents."[9] This positive opinion of the Polish hierarchy continued and was later reflected in the speech made by the Armenian-rite Catholic archbishop of L'viv, Izaak M. Isakowicz (1882-1901), at Sheptyts'kyi's consecration as metropolitan.[10] That installation was attended by Polish bishops and high officials of Galicia headed by the province's viceroy. Even *Słowo Polskie*, the official publication of the National Democrats (Endecja), declared at the time: "Fairness forces us to admit that the new dignitary of the Ruthenian church is, in spite of his youth, a man of wide knowledge, intelligence, hard work, deep faith, and unblemished character."[11]

At that time, Sheptyts'kyi's decision to embrace the Eastern rite and his subsequent career in the Greek Catholic Church (the leading institution of Ukrainian national life in Galicia), was not viewed as "treason" even by those who subscribed to the principle of Polish "national egoism." Rather, it was interpreted as an admirable act of self-sacrifice motivated by the highest Christian ideals. This does not mean, of course, that there were no opposing voices. The laudatory comments of *Słowo Polskie* were to a large extent forced upon it by the remarkable "aura" of approval which surrounded Sheptyts'kyi, but even in such an atmosphere the National Democratic organ did not fail to allude to his "self-interest" and to imply that when he decided to become a priest he was aware of the honors which awaited him. In short, "the career of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi clearly bears a stigma of patronage."[12] Similarly, the satirical L'viv weekly, *Śmigus*, also of the National Democratic persuasion, did not attack the Metropolitan directly, but nonetheless rudely poked fun at his family and at the Greek Catholic clergy who attended the installation ceremonies.[13]

The animosity toward the Metropolitan's ideology, which the National Democrats found so hard to contain, stemmed from the most fundamental principle of their program. In 1887, one of the movement's leaders, Zygmunt Miłkowski, considered that one of the party's fundamental objectives was to support church union in its struggle with the Russian Orthodox Church. When, however, it became evident that Greek Catholicism played the same kind of role for the Ukrainian nation as the Roman Catholic Church did for the Poles, and that, in fact, the Greek Catholic Church could become one of the most important obstacles to Polish assimilation of Galicia's Ukrainians, the National Democrats were forced to revise their program.[14] By then the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and the reforms planned by Sheptyts'kyi were viewed as detrimental to the Polish national interest. As a result, the new Metropolitan, whose abilities were otherwise fully appreciated, was perceived as an exceptionally dangerous potential enemy, and systematic efforts to discredit him were begun as soon as the initial wave of enthusiasm for him began to subside. *Słowo Polskie* and, at a more primitive level, *Śmigus*, played leading roles in this propaganda campaign.[15]

The other important Polish political camp in Galicia, the Conservatives based in Cracow, followed a program which called for accommodation with Ukrainians, so they supported Sheptyts'kyi. The Conservative view was best expressed by Stanisław Tarnowski, a professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow: "The hope of church union has been nearly extinguished. To fan the flame again, to prevent it from going out completely, that is a mission worthy of a priest and a Pole! Service to God demands it, as does service to one's country!"[16] The decisive factor in the Conservative attitude toward Sheptyts'kyi was the hope that his activities would create a barrier against Russian influence among the Ukrainians. An exception among the Conservatives was a group of landed gentry from Podolia. These so-called Podolians (Podolacy) could not share the enthusiasm of the Cracow Conservatives for Sheptyts'kyi, because the emancipation of Ukrainian peasants directly threatened their economic interests. Their mistrust was expressed in a confidential petition presented in 1908 to the viceroy of Galicia, Michał Bobrzyński, by a group of Polish and Armenian aristocrats who accused Sheptyts'kyi of supporting Ukrainian radicalism.[17] Other Polish political groups do not appear to have been very interested in Sheptyts'kyi.[18]

However, Sheptyts'kyi's relations with the Polish Catholic Church were always rather sensitive and they underwent a far-reaching evolution in the period from 1900 to 1924. The direction is apparent in a comparison of two biographical notes in separate editions of the official Polish Catholic encyclopedia. In the first edition published in 1903, there was a tone of general approval for the Metropolitan's efforts on behalf of his people, with barely an allusion to his "support of the political aspirations of the flock committed to him."[19] However, in the second edition which came out a decade later, the long litany of praise was followed by a strongly worded criticism of his policies and an accusation that he contributed to "the breakdown of relations between the two brotherly nations [Poles and Ukrainians] which till now have lived in harmony and peace."[20]

A similar transformation occurred in his relations with individual members of the episcopate. The Metropolitan's closest friend among the hierarchy was the Armenian-rite Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz (1902-1938), despite the fact that he was the most politically involved of all Polish bishops and, moreover, a supporter of the National Democrats.[21] Relatively good relations existed between Sheptyts'kyi and the conservative Cardinal Jan Puzyna of Cracow (1895-1911). However, the worst relationship (and probably for personal reasons) was with the Latin-rite metropolitan of L'viv, Józef Bilczewski (1901-1923).[22] For a long time these animosities and resentments were kept hidden from public view as the bishops visited each other and attended the same conferences. For instance, when the Metropolitan's mother died in 1904, Polish bishops attended her funeral.[23]

Sheptyts'kyi maintained and increased his ties with other prominent members of the Latin-rite Catholic Church: Piotr Mańkowski, later bishop of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi (1918-1926); Bronisław Markiewicz, the founder of the Michalite Congregation; the Carmelite Sister Maria Xavera Czartoryska; Jerzy Szembek, metropolitan of Mahiloŭ (1903-1905); the Redemptorist Bernard Łubieński; the Dominican Jacek Woroniecki; Mother Marcelina Darowska, founder of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate; and Brother Albert Chmielewski.[24] Sheptyts'kyi continued to enjoy support from most Jesuits as well. The Jesuit periodical *Przegląd Powszechny*, alone among all Polish publications, gave him an opportunity to reply to the accusations made against him in connection with the development of Polish-Ukrainian relations.[25]

During this period, Sheptyts'kyi also had numerous close contacts, both personal and social, with members of his own social class, the Polish aristocracy (Sapiehas, Lubomirskis, Mycielskis, Czosnowskis, Puzynas, Tyszkiewiczes, Wodzickis, Dębickis, Szembeks, Niemojewskis, Skrzyńskis).[26] Moreover, he was on intimate terms with members of the Polish artistic and cultural community, especially with the painters Jacek Malczewski, Stanisław Dębicki, and Tomasz Lisiewicz.[27] In 1908-1909, the Metropolitan appeared for the first time on the pages of Polish literature as the Basilian monk Konstanty Mogilnicki, in a novel by Tadeusz Miciński.[28]

Critical attacks against Sheptyts'kyi by Poles were becoming more and more frequent and were the result of the position he took on several Polish-Ukrainian conflicts at the time. His support of the idea of a Ukrainian university at L'viv particularly aroused the anger of the National Democratic press, which threw its support behind Włodzimierz Kozłowski.[29] The Polish press bias against Sheptyts'kyi became especially evident in 1908, when a Ukrainian student assassinated Galicia's viceroy, Andrzej Potocki. Although the Metropolitan condemned the murder, Polish newspapers accused him of insincerity and even insinuated his moral responsibility for the assassination.[30]

Misunderstandings with the Latin-rite church also intensified. These resulted from what came to be known as the "war for souls," that is, the attempts of each hierarchy to entice the other's faithful into its own fold. Each side accused the other of bad faith and of acting against the terms of the agreement that had been signed between the Latin- and Greek-rite bishops of Galicia in 1863. The real cause of the tension, however, lay in the rivalry between the two national groups which was provoked by the bilateral process of assimilation. The urban population of East Galicia was being Polonized while the Polish element in rural areas was being Ukrainianized. Things went so far that during the census of 1910 a public confrontation between L'viv's two Catholic hierarchs, Sheptyts'kyi and Bilczewski, took place.[31]

Perhaps the greatest commotion was caused by Sheptyts'kyi's plan for missionary activities in Russia. Even those who were previously friendly turned against him, because it was generally feared that the realization of his project could weaken Polish influence in the Catholic Church in Russia.[32] The Polish Latin-rite bishop of Vilnius, Edward Ropp (1904–1917), put forward a counter proposal, and steps were taken at the Vatican to discredit Sheptyts'kyi's ideas.[33] The National Democratic movement took advantage of this opportunity and accused Sheptyts'kyi of pro-Russian sympathies. This crude political maneuver had an impact on Polish public opinion which was deeply anti-Russian.[34]

The final break in relations between Sheptyts'kyi, the National Democratic camp, and the Polish Latin-rite episcopate occurred in 1913, over proposed electoral reform in Galicia. The Metropolitan was sharply criticized by the Polish bishops (at the time deeply influenced by the National Democratic movement) for his support of viceroy Michał Bobrzyński's proposal.[35] With the Catholic Church and the National Democrats against him, Sheptyts'kyi quickly lost the support of the Polish people, even among the class closest to him, the landed gentry. This was the beginning of a phenomenon that became much more widespread during the interwar years—the ostracism of Sheptyts'kyi by Polish society.[36]

Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, *Słowo Polskie* published a long article by a well-known Polish philosopher of the "Neomessianic" school, Antoni Chołoniewski, entitled "Desertion." That summed up all the attacks made against Sheptyts'kyi, but primarily it attempted to justify the most fundamental accusation—treason against Poland. On the assumption that the history of Poles in the nineteenth century rendered Poland unique among nations, the author decided that the "Polonization" of all other ethnic groups and individuals was a most "natural" and positive process and that any opposite tendency was an example of the "Great Apostasy." Chołoniewski then concluded that a Pole who reverted to another ethnic identity must be labeled a traitor forever and that Polish public opinion must be sufficiently determined to insist on this in all cases, even if the individual in question wore episcopal purple: "In our situation, loyalty to Poland is the standard by which character must be judged."[37] Chołoniewski's point of view became ever more popular in Polish society. Even outside Galicia, Sheptyts'kyi's name became so synonymous with treason that contacts with him were treated as an indication of disloyalty to the Polish cause.[38] Publications friendly to the Metropolitan became extremely rare, although there were some attempts to defend him in Belorussia and Ukraine by small groups of so-called countrymen.[39]

The confusion within Polish public opinion due to National Democratic propaganda was so profound that at the beginning of World War I rumors circulated that Sheptyts'kyi had been arrested by the Austrian authorities and accused of collaboration with the Russians.[40] Later, however, during his imprisonment in Russia, the Polish press watched and reported events carefully, objectively, and with much sympathy. In fact, Sheptyts'kyi maintained close contacts with Poles during this period and was shown much friendship and support. Persecution at the hands of tsarist Russia aroused feelings of solidarity with the Metropolitan and seemed to erase memories of former misunderstandings.[41]

Yet before long voices in the press became sharply divided. When the Metropolitan was liberated from prison in 1917 by Russia's new Provisional Government, he lost the protection of his "privileged" status as a victim of tsarist Russian oppression. In particular, the old differences reappeared because he attempted to organize the Greek Catholic Church both in Russia and in Ukraine; because he opposed the Latinizing reforms of Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn (1904-1947) in Galicia; and because he supported the Ukrainian struggle for independence. In part, Sheptyts'kyi was still protected by the aura of his recent "martyrdom" in Russia,[42] so that alongside attacks on him by the forces of the Polish nationalistic right,[43] there were also some friendly comments, especially an article in *Dziennik Poznański*. The anonymous author of that article removed from Sheptyts'kyi the stigma of treason and then concluded:

> And so, although yesterday he was a Pole, now he had become a Rusyn. He had done this for noble and religious motivations that are above national considerations. Only a narrow, egotistical nationalism can condemn

> him. . . . It should be sufficient to recall the statement of Professor Marian Sokołowski that without him church union would be now on its deathbed.[44]

Another decisive change in Polish opinion occurred in 1918, following Sheptyts'kyi's speech in the Austrian House of Lords in Vienna (28 February) in which he expressed support for the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which included the cession of the Chełm region to Ukraine. Józef S. Pelczar, the Latin-rite bishop of Przemyśl (1900-1924), issued an immediate protest, and shortly afterward the whole Polish episcopate addressed a memorandum on this question to the Austrian government.[45] Sheptyts'kyi's stand on this issue meant that from then on all his efforts on religious issues would be condemned a priori.[46] Hence, any attempt to create a Greek Catholic Church in the Chełm region, Podlachia, or farther east in Ukraine, would be viewed from the perspective of its political consequences. The perceived threat to the eastern borders of the reborn Polish state was the decisive factor leading to the rejection of Sheptyts'kyi's policies not only by the laity, but also by the ardently patriotic Polish episcopate.[47] Thus, the Reverend Nikodem Cieszyński, editor of the very popular *Roczniki Katolickie*, argued that the plan of church union could not be considered apart from Polish national interests.[48]

This decisive change in the attitude of the Polish press towards Sheptyts'kyi is quite evident in two articles which appeared in the semi-official newspaper of the Cracow Catholic diocese, *Głos Narodu*. The first article, published in January 1918, declared that "everything seems to indicate that the cause of church union in Ukraine has a great future."[49] However, after the Metropolitan's speech in Vienna had revealed his political orientation, the same newspaper published a report about Greek Catholic services at Kiev under the title "Another Rusyn Trick," which described church union as "mere fantasy . . . too unfounded to merit serious consideration."[50] On the other hand, views were divided concerning Sheptyts'kyi's moderate attempts to introduce celibacy. Some Poles were convinced that this matter also concerned Polish national interests, so they welcomed the ensuing controversy, hoping it would cause dissension among Ukrainians.[51] Others, however, feared that the reform would strengthen the Greek Catholic Church and thus improve the status of anti-Polish forces in East Galicia. This latter view was represented mainly by newspapers in Cracow which cited arguments put forward by the Reverend Władysław Chotkowski.[52]

The Polish-Ukrainian struggle for L'viv in November 1918 further increased the antagonism against Sheptyts'kyi. The heads of the city's three Catholic metropolitan sees—Latin rite, Greek rite, and Armenian rite—found themselves on opposing sides in the struggle.[53] Sheptyts'kyi's position was publicly criticized, and for a while he was even placed under house arrest.[54] The impact of these events was most strongly felt during the years from 1919 to 1923, when many attacks against Sheptyts'kyi appeared in the press. These were inspired by the National Democrats, by clerical circles in L'viv, and by the local Polish administrative apparatus then being formed. The attacks were intended not only to influence public opinion inside Poland but also in the rest of Europe. They accused the Metropolitan of betraying religion for politics, of adopting an incorrect strategy toward the Orthodox in Galicia and Russia,[55] of opposing the Polish-Ukrainian compromise of 1918,[56] of cooperating with Archduke Wilhelm Habsburg in his attempt to create an independent Ukrainian state,[57] of writing a servile letter to the tsar in 1914,[58] and of sympathizing with Communism.[59]

Sheptyts'kyi's departure from L'viv for nearly three years (1920-1923) did not lessen the force of these attacks. Instead, the few friendly voices were drowned in the sea of condemnation. Moreover, as he continued his activities abroad, he succeeded in increasing the geographical scope of the attacks against him. Newspapers representing Polish communities abroad joined in the chorus of criticism, whether in Canada (*Czas* of Winnipeg), the United States (*Dziennik Związkowy* of Chicago), or Brazil (*Lud* of Curitiba).[60] With very few exceptions, the attitude of these papers resembled that of the press in Poland and was inspired by Polish diplomatic missions which closely observed Sheptyts'kyi during his travels.[61] At the same time, Polish police at home organized an undercover operation intended to undermine Sheptyts'kyi's international reputation.[62]

The storm of protest in the press which followed that operation concentrated its anger on the Metropolitan, who was accused this time of supporting Ukrainian Communists in their anti-state activities.[63] The improbability of this accusation, as well as the fact that the true nature of the intrigue was quickly uncovered during the court proceedings which followed, forced the government to withdraw its charges against Sheptyts'kyi. This, however, did not prevent the National Democratic propaganda machine from using the charges as arguments in their campaign against him.[64] That campaign reached its climax on 28 June 1923 when it became known that the government had decided to allow him to return to L'viv.[65]

The avalanche of protest inspired by the National Democrats which greeted this decision intimidated the local authorities to such an extent that they informed the government they were unable to guarantee the safety of the Metropolitan. It is difficult to determine the purpose of this campaign. It may have been intended to supply the new right-of-center government of Wincenty Witos with a pretext for withdrawing from the agreement reached between the Vatican and the former government of General Władysław Sikorski. Perhaps it was an attempt to create a psychological climate similar to the one in which the assassination of President Gabriel Narutowicz took place at the end of 1922. In any event, one year later, the National Democratic papers used identical propaganda techniques. They published truly hysterical reports referring to the "return of the 'arch-traitor'." They called Sheptyts'kyi "a criminal in a cassock," who was "morally responsible for the fraternal battles and acts of murder committed against the Polish population," and they declared that this "robber chief of Ukrainian irredentism and the greatest enemy of Poland must not be admitted within its borders."[66] The *Gazeta Poranna* stated bluntly: "Lwów [L'viv] will not allow within its gates the man who wanted to deprive Poland of the eastern part of Małopolska [i.e. East Galicia]." [67]

It is likely that the witch hunt was organized on the initiative of the local branch of the National Democratic party in L'viv. The central executive of the party, which had come to power in Poland, was not happy with the anti-Sheptyts'kyi campaign since it was against party interests both on the international stage and in Poland. Moreover, the government included within its ranks as minister of defense, General Stanisław Szeptycki, brother of the Metropolitan, who represented the conservative wing of the military. Since the National Democratic executive realized the continuing influence over the army of its archenemy, Marshal Józef Piłsudski, it did not wish to jeopardize losing the support of those few individuals among the military (like Stanisław Szeptycki) who were willing to cooperate but who viewed the local National Democratic agitation in L'viv as an attempt to sabotage government policy. Faced with this situation, the government first of all tried to defuse some of the tension by delaying the Metropolitan's return to Poland. When that proved impossible, they attempted to keep him away from L'viv for a while and to try to persuade him to make a few ostentatious gestures to prove his loyalty. At the same time, the government put pressure on the most aggressive among the anti-Sheptyts'kyi newspapers.[68]

A logical result of this conciliatory policy was the appearance of some voices defending the Metropolitan. The excessive emotionalism of the National Democratic press in L'viv provided an opportunity for the socialist newspaper *Naprzód* to attack the government for its failure to protect the civil rights of its citizens.[69] There were also protests from Piłsudski's supporters against the Metropolitan's detention. For instance, the Reverend Nikodem Cieszyński, who had considerable influence on public opinion, spoke out in a conciliatory spirit.[70] However, the episcopate as a whole abstained from taking a stand, and some bishops were even involved in an attempt to have Sheptyts'kyi placed in a monastery far from East Galicia.[71]

Generally Polish public opinion remained hostile to Sheptyts'kyi down to 1939. While left-wing newspapers were rather indifferent and rarely wrote about him, the extreme right-wing Polish nationalistic press was heard from most often and in a demagogic style fully developed by 1901.[72] Enjoying a large circulation and employing the kind of super patriotic rhetoric which appealed to the majority, the nationalists held a virtual monopoly as creator of the Metropolitan's image in Polish social consciousness. Apart from L'viv's *Słowo Polskie*, the most important newspaper in this process was Cracow's *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*. The Metropolitan's cathedral church was represented as:

> a bewitched castle from which at times emerge sounds of religious singing, but which in reality is the seat of the evil spirit and a hotbed of all kinds of

> diabolical activities. St. George's Cathedral is the inspiration and the moving spirit of all anti-state activities among the Ukrainians. . . . It is most likely that every prelate and canon who resides there carries a bomb under his cassock, and that, in its sacristy, there is an arsenal of weapons and ammunition supplied by the German army. St. George's Cathedral buildings are the seat of militant Ukrainian nationalism in its most brutal form, while its forests serve as a refuge for the fighting units of the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists]—of course with the approval of the Metropolitan's chancery. St. George's chancery is in fact behind every political upheaval, and all its activities have the character of a bloodthirsty anti-Polish demonstration.[73]

In essence, the National Democratic press had evolved its own negative stereotype of Sheptyts'kyi, which it used, for the most part unchanged, year after year. This simple "treatment," applied consistently and systematically, provided virtually guaranteed results.

Official Latin-rite Catholic Church circles, however, reverted to the period of fundamental conflict that characterized the years 1912 to 1923. As the Reverend Szczepan Szydelski rightly observed, the restoration of Polish independence and the disappearance of the threat of Russification had changed the way the Polish Catholic Church viewed the question of church union. A continuing refusal to consider the idea of church union could leave the Polish church open to the accusation of chauvinism.[74] The Polish-Vatican Concordat of 1925 seemed to give the Latin-rite Catholic Church authority to conduct a pro-Union policy. That fact, together with the defeat of the Ukrainian independence movement, allowed the Polish church to view Sheptyts'kyi with more indulgence and to assess his activities with greater understanding. After all, he seemed broken by sickness and without any chance of success when confronted by the superior power of the Polish state.

Still, nobody, with the exception perhaps of the Jesuits,[75] was prepared to defend publicly what the Latin-rite Bishop Piotr Mańkowski called Sheptyts'kyi's "ravaged reputation." That would have been too unpopular and would have risked conflict with the National Democrats. In the circumstances, it did not seem worthwhile to support a bishop for whom no one felt any particular solidarity. Such an attitude is poignantly reflected in Mańkowski's memoirs. According to him, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was not a nationalist or a "careerist," and it was to his credit that he had become an Eastern-rite Catholic. He had many spiritual qualities and could have become a saintly ascetic or an outstanding bishop in the Latin rite. Unfortunately, however, he had allowed his politically fervent and religiously lukewarm flock with its rather primitive clergy to lead him off the correct path. While Sheptyts'kyi insisted obstinately on church union as the means of reconciling the churches, this, according to Mańkowski, was of doubtful value, since it was based on the principle of respect for the Eastern Christian tradition, which filled the Latin-rite prelate "with disgust." So Mańkowski concluded,

> if we look over his whole activity and note many grave errors which he committed, we observe that his ideology was false in several respects; his point of view, contrary to appearances, too narrow; and that he tended to hold too obstinately to his opinions once he had made up his mind. But it would be unfair to accuse him of bad intentions, vain ambition, or the lack of a religious spirit.[76]

The general attitude of the Polish episcopate to Sheptyts'kyi was aptly described as "Ostrich-like," since the Latin-rite bishops were never willing to reveal their true position.[77] Although they did not approve of the Metropolitan's policies, they were far from sharing the extremist critical views of the National Democratic party. However, the bishops' silence created the impression that they agreed with the position of the National Democratic commentators who always made a big show of their Catholicism.[78] On the other hand, the attitude of the Conservatives toward Sheptyts'kyi underwent an interesting evolution. The older generation, disappointed in its hopes for reconciliation with Ukrainians during the period of the Habsburg monarchy, now considered Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv the best partner for further discussions. As for Sheptyts'kyi himself, the Conservative attitude was one of respect, but distance, as reflected in their periodical, *Nasza Przyszłość*.[79] A leading member of the Conservatives, Jan Stanisław Łoś, also took a moderately critical position towards the Metropolitan.[80]

However, the younger members of the movement, the "New Conservatives," who were not actively involved in contemporary politics and thus less prone to make rash judgments, were able to consider matters from a larger perspective. In their view, expressed in *Bunt Młodych* and *Polityka*, Sheptyts'kyi represented an authoritative and authentic Ukrainian voice which could not be undermined by the more doubtful authority of Bishop Khomyshyn. They also considered Sheptyts'kyi to be a man of moderation and political wisdom. The group's chief specialist on ethnic problems, Adolf Bocheński, believed that "St. George's chancery and its head represented the most law-abiding element, best able to cooperate loyally with the Polish state."[81] Some voices friendly to Sheptyts'kyi were also heard among liberal-minded Poles in the far northeastern city of Vilnius: "One can only hope that these manifestations of blind nationalism, hypocritically dressed in the vestments of Catholicism, are not signs of a general poisoning of our Catholic spirit by the chauvinistic venom of one section of Polish society."[82]

Among members of the governing elite, which ruled Poland from 1926 to 1939 and derived its authority from Marshal Józef Piłsudski, there were two orientations. The group closest to the Piłsudski tradition, the "Prometheans,'' tended to support rather than attack Sheptyts'kyi and his policies.[83] As proof of their good will, they frequently made the pages of their publications (*Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, *Sprawy Narodowościowe*) available to the Metropolitan's compatriots and defenders.[84] The other group, closely connected to the military, actively opposed Sheptyts'kyi. Their activities were first apparent in the early 1930s, when this group began to formulate its own policy towards Poland's ethnic minorities. That policy was in fact based on the principles of the National Democratic party as represented by its leading exponent, Jędrzej Giertych.[85] The general antipathy to Sheptyts'kyi by the Polish military also created pressure on the members of the military chaplaincy (Bishop Józef Gawlina) to distance themselves from him.[86]

These organizations represented two opposite extremes of the government camp. In practice, the policies of the Polish government were closer to the second orientation. Therefore, throughout the whole period of the interwar Second Polish Republic, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was invariably portrayed as an opponent, although he was not entirely cast in the role of a devil working on behalf of Ukrainians. This is because the real danger was perceived as emanating not from the forces led by Sheptyts'kyi, but from the Ukrainian nationalists. While Polish authorities put forward serious accusations against the Metropolitan, they did so only for propaganda purposes (in part, for leverage in their own dealings with the Vatican). At the same time, in their own internal documents, they admitted those accusations were biased.[87]

During this period there were two waves of especially sharp attacks against Sheptyts'kyi. In 1930 and 1931, the most direct cause of these attacks was the Metropolitan's refusal to support the policy of repossessing Greek Catholic churches which had been taken over by the Orthodox and his protest against military ''pacification'' of Poland's Ukrainian-inhabited southeastern provinces. For instance, on the issue of Orthodox churches, an interview published by a few papers friendly to the Metropolitan was violently attacked by the National Democratic press, which accused Sheptyts'kyi of ''an unheard of religious perversion.''[88] The same kind of negative reaction applied to Sheptyts'kyi's position on the pacification policy.[89]

The climax in this campaign of character assassination directed against the Metropolitan came during the two years before World War II began. In January 1938, there was a confrontation between Sheptyts'kyi and the commander of the L'viv garrison, General Michał Karaszewicz-Tokarzewski, when the Metropolitan refused to allow the Polish army to participate in the celebration of the feast of the Epiphany. This provoked a bitter denunciation by a member of the Polish parliament (Sejm), Bronisław Wojciechowski, which he delivered during a meeting of the budgetary committee. That attack, repeated at the plenary meeting of the Sejm on 16 February, was taken up by the press as well as by several organizations which even proposed that the state should take over the administration of the Greek Catholic Church.

However, the defense of Sheptyts'kyi, led by some New Conservatives (Aleksander and Adolf Bocheński), was as extreme as the attack itself. The Conservative organ *Polityka*, which maintained that Sheptyts'kyi's influence was as important among the Ukrainians as Piłsudski's had been among the Poles, described the Metropolitan as "the main pillar of the most healthy, the most sophisticated, westernized, Ukrainian legal nationalism."[90] In the Sejm, Sheptyts'kyi was defended by Wanda Pełczyńska, representing the Promethean group, and in the press by the Jesuit journal *Oriens*.[91]

In July 1938, the National Democrats became agitated once again. This time they were reacting to the Metropolitan's denunciation of the destruction of Orthodox churches in the Chełm region. Then, in October, their ire was raised because Sheptyts'kyi sent a telegram blessing the establishment of an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine in federalized Czechoslovakia. The hostile attitude of the press actually provoked riots in L'viv.[92]

The increased militancy of Ukrainian organizations and the encouragement given them by German Nazi propagandists created a sense of panic among the Polish population in East Galicia. This was particularly the case among Poles in small towns, who felt isolated in a sea of Ukrainian villages. Such an atmosphere was tactically useful for the strategy of the National Democrats, since that made it easier to spread fear and Ukrainophobia by means of carefully contrived rumors. The campaign against Sheptyts'kyi was one of the elements in this strategy. Hence, reports were widely circulated that stores of weapons and ammunition were found in buildings belonging to the St. George Cathedral complex. These rumors gained wide currency in spite of their obvious absurdity and official government declarations to the contrary. However, not wanting to be outdone by the National Democratic press, local pro-government papers adopted a similar tactic. Thus, when war came in September 1939, Poles throughout the country, not only in southeastern provinces, had formed a very negative image of the religious leader of the Ukrainians. Those who tried to break down this stereotype were few and of little influence.[93]

The German and Soviet occupation of Poland led to restrictions on Polish intellectual life, and this prevented most public expression. Nevertheless, there were some wartime publications, both from the Polish underground and from the émigré press, which are worth noting because the war years decisively confirmed Poles in their negative attitude to Sheptyts'kyi. Again, this was related to the critical deterioration of Polish-Ukrainian relations. In areas where bloody conflicts between Poles and Ukrainians occurred and where the Polish inhabitants already held a well established negative stereotype of the Metropolitan, the Polish public easily concluded that he was responsible for the events which were taking place. Insinuations that Sheptyts'kyi approved the Soviet deportation of Poles from Volynia and East Galicia originated in National Democratic circles. *Słowo Polskie* declared categorically:

> Let nobody talk to those who are suffering and dying at the hands of a bloodthirsty mob [or be swayed by] the sweet songs heard from Sheptyts'kyi and others like him! For they are the guilty ones who must be held responsible for the slaughter—these criminals dressed up as priests. . . . Not only the "blind sword" but also the hand which signs declarations of peace at the same time as it issues orders to commit murder is guilty of the blood of those whose only crime is that they are Polish![94]

The cornerstone of such accusations against Sheptyts'kyi was that "he made the Eastern-rite church an instrument of hatred towards Poland, that he placed that church officially on the side of Hitler's new paganism, and that he never condemned the murderers."[95] The editors of *Słowo Polskie* even threatened "that old man consumed by hatred" with the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church after the war.[96] Apparently official Polish Catholic Church circles held similar views, although personal contact between Sheptyts'kyi and his Latin-rite colleagues never ceased completely.[97] Nonetheless, the few attempts by some sections of the Polish resistance to rehabilitate him went practically unnoticed.[98]

Although public opinion in occupied Poland was totally dominated by the National Democratic myth of Sheptyts'kyi, the attitude of Polish political leaders in exile, which represented the prewar state apparatus, in the course of the war became decidedly favorable toward him. Hence, using information supplied by the intelligence branch of the Polish Home Army and by representatives of Poland's government-in-exile,[99] several public figures (including the primate of Poland, August Hlond) issued statements of support for the Metropolitan.[100] It is therefore not surprising that the death of Sheptyts'kyi on 1 November 1944 evoked expressions of grief by the government press agency PAT, the official Polish military newspaper, *Orzeł Biały*, and the publication of the military chaplaincy, *W Imię Boże*.[101] Admitting its errors in the past, *W Imię Boże,* declared: "We are convinced that around the coffin of this great Prince of the church, this fearless fighter for freedom and justice, there will arise from all Polish as well as Rusyn hearts a sincere prayer for his eternal rest."[102] This change of heart was due largely to the loss of control over events in Poland, and the impossibility of applying previously acceptable methods to relations with the Ukrainian population. Hence there was the necessity of a more constructive attitude in order to gain Ukrainian support. A symbolic gesture of assuming patronage over the Greek Catholic Church-in-exile accompanied that attitude.[103]

In Poland itself, however, opinions from abroad were hardly heard, or if they were heard, rarely heeded. Thus, the obituary which appeared in *Słowo Polskie* contained the old catalogue of the Metropolitan's "sins," enriched by new accusations relating to the war years. This reflected clear evidence of the views held by Poles who were forced to leave what was formerly southeastern Poland (East Galicia) for resettlement westward in postwar Poland.[104]

A very important role in the dissemination of this negative stereotype of Sheptyts'kyi was played by oral tradition which was given a further boost by the official silence about the Metropolitan from Communist propagandists in Poland after the war.

In such a situation, it was left to the Paris Polish periodical *Kultura* to attempt to demythologize the character of Sheptyts'kyi. In 1952, *Kultura* put forward a point of view that was in the tradition of the prewar *Bunt Młodych* and *Polityka*, with which in fact many members of the Paris group had been connected.[105] Moreover, interest in Sheptyts'kyi greatly increased as a result of his beatification process, which in its first stages was directed by a Polish priest, Piotr Rzewuski (Kreuza).[106]

Meanwhile, in Poland official propaganda turned its attention for the first time to Sheptyts'kyi, basically by reprinting arguments put forward in the Soviet press.[107] In her novel, *Krzywe litery* (Crooked Letters), Julia Prejs presented the character of the Metropolitan as somewhere between these two extremes.[108] On the other hand, Józef Łobodowski, a twentieth-century representative of the "Ukrainian School" of Polish poetry, made Sheptyts'kyi into one of the heroes of his decidedly hagiographical *Tryptyk o zamordowanym Kościele* (Tryptych on a Murdered Church).[109] More ominous was the old interwar National Democratic tradition. While supporters of this political orientation were forced into exile,[110] their point of view, combined with official Communist phraseology, was popularized in Poland in a series of articles that appeared in the 1970s by Edward Prus.[111]

After Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, the Metropolitan's nephew, published a reply to Prus, and after the publication of the Metropolitan's own recollections of Brother Albert Chmielewski,[112] a lively debate took place in the Polish press. This debate revealed that although the controversy around Sheptyts'kyi continued, Polish public opinion had, on the whole, undergone an important change. *Tygodnik Powszechny* had taken a stand in defense of the Metropolitan, even though as an "opposition" paper, it was attacked by the official newspaper of the Communist party, *Trybuna Ludu*. There are reasons to believe, however, that the Sheptyts'kyi controversy was only a pretext to undermine the favorable reputation of *Tygodnik Powszechny* by accusing it, in an underhanded way, of propagating the memory of "a leading representative of extreme Ukrainian chauvinism and of anti-Communist and anti-Polish nationalism."[113] Consequently, *Trybuna Ludu* accused Sheptyts'kyi of collaboration with the Germans and of approving the murders of Poles and Jews carried out by Ukrainian extremists during World War II.[114] *Tygodnik Powszechny* replied: "in some measure, the accusation that Sheptyts'kyi collaborated with the Third Reich is justified, but that he was an enemy of the Polish nation is debatable, and to call him an enemy of the Ukrainian nation is absurd."[115]

Other Catholic publications on this subject were also blocked by the censors,[116] so that they appeared only in the underground press.[117] This fact must be viewed in the context of changes in the general political climate in Poland, due to experiences of the war and the postwar period. The vision of the supremacy of the Polish ethnic element belonged to the past. In the case of Sheptyts'kyi, these changes were reflected in a willingness to question the premise that he could be considered guilty of national treason. In this way, the fundamental assumption on which accusations against him had been based was undermined, and in its place a desire to work out a more objective interpretation appeared.

The first Polish biography of Sheptyts'kyi, *Władyka świętojurski* (The Bishop of St. George's Hill) by Edward Prus, provided a stimulus for further discussion.[118] Based mainly on Soviet published materials, the Prus book had only the appearance of a scholarly study. In fact, it was a very simplistic and uncritical work reflecting the nearly century-long tradition of Polish hostility to Sheptyts'kyi. The contradictory nature of some of Prus' conclusions revealed a softening of the most uncompromising accusations against the Metropolitan, but on the whole the interpretation was still deeply rooted in the libelous attacks of the National Democratic press, enriched by the "achievements" of Soviet scholarship. The book also showed clearly the incompatibility of the Polish National Democratic and Soviet models of interpretation, despite the fact that both are equally hostile to Sheptyts'kyi. On the other hand, Polish public opinion was for the first time exposed to the Soviet technique of argumentation in this attempt to discredit the character and personal life of Sheptyts'kyi. The reaction of the critics, even those who basically agreed with Prus, showed that this kind of approach was totally inappropriate in Poland.[119]

Nonetheless, Prus' book was applauded in some sections of Polish society. In particular, it met the needs of the group of individuals born in Poland's interwar eastern provinces, and it also provided an opportunity for a full discussion of a problem which until then had been forbidden. The reaction of the Polish academic community, however, was decidedly negative. Both the methodology and basic assumptions of the Prus biography were severely criticized.[120] After all, the results of postwar Polish historical research on the subject of Polish-Ukrainian relations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had already made it possible to interpret some aspects of Sheptyts'kyi without having to rely on the old stereotypes as Prus did.

Apart from the Prus biography, no other monograph on Sheptyts'kyi has appeared in Poland.[121] As for other historical works, whenever the Metropolitan is discussed in passing, it is usually as a "representative of Ukrainian nationalism."[122] Such a depiction appears in two very popular historical works, *Droga do nikąd* (The Road to Nowhere) and *Ogniem próbówane* (Tried by Fire), both written from a fundamentally political perspective.[123] On the other hand, the same period has been marked by the appearance of several monographs on aspects of Ukrainian life in Poland during the interwar years which have revealed a high degree of scholarly objectivity.

These volumes have clarified the causes of Polish-Ukrainian conflicts and at the same time have provided a different perspective on Sheptyts'kyi.[124]

The existence in Polish social consciousness of a strongly emotional stereotype of Sheptyts'kyi is in some measure the result of the manner in which he had been treated in general histories of modern Poland,[125] Ukraine,[126] and in Polish-language general reference works.[127] Analogously, surveys of Polish church history produced in Catholic university circles in Warsaw and Lublin depict Sheptyts'kyi as a Ukrainian chauvinist.[128] Such an attitude of deep resentment against him, still so prevalent in Polish Catholic circles, was epitomized by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński's opposition to the beatification process.[129] However, the role of historiography in shaping the image of Sheptýts'kyi within Polish society has remained secondary. That historiography was itself influenced by the already existing popular stereotype of the Metropolitan or, if the more scholarly publications presented a reliable image of the man, these had little impact on public opinion. Moreover, any attempts to change the common Polish stereotype of Sheptyts'kyi have not been motivated by the need for scholarly inquiry but rather reflect the beginnings of a Polish-Ukrainian dialogue. This new atmosphere itself resulted from the disappearance of the sources of direct conflict between the two nationalities, in particular the cooling off of emotions caused by the events of World War II and the subsequent loss of Poland's eastern territories.[130]

In essence, the image of Sheptyts'kyi that still prevails in contemporary Polish consciousness was created by National Democratic propaganda. Moreover, the easy acceptance of that image was to a large extent due to the already existing Ukrainian stereotype common in Polish society. Such deep-rooted attitudes explain why no new interpretation has been able to replace the prevailing National Democratic point of view. Moreover, what few attempts at revision that have occurred have come from individuals and groups with little influence.[131]

Besides this deep-rooted stereotypical image, why was the National Democratic model accepted so easily? One reason was its single mindedness. It operated on the principle of persistent simplification and was propagated incessantly in every part of Poland after 1902. Elements of Polish society that in the past were friendly to Sheptyts'kyi were not able to resist the National Democratic propaganda machine. Groups potentially able to resist it (the church, the state, other influential political orientations), were either disinterested (the Socialist party and the peasant movement) or were themselves influenced by the National Democratic argumentation. Hence, the basis of evaluation was always higher reasons of state to which all other interests had to be subordinated. Opinions of Sheptyts'kyi, whether positive or negative, that were based on more general ethical considerations or on the interests of the church, were very few and far between. Positive opinions, more often than not, were motivated by a somewhat simplistic fascination with his personality. Yet despite the supremacy of the stereotype propagated by National

Democratic propaganda, different opinions did exist. Moreover, the extent of those differences was immense, ranging from condemnation to adoration, from efforts toward beatification to attempts to block it, but these differences can only be perceived with a closer analysis of the issue. From a distance one usually has the impression of a monolith.

During a conversation in 1940 with a Philippine seminarian in Manila, Professor Klemens Jędrzejewicz was introduced to the accusation that it was "Polish Catholics who, because of their persecution of Archbishop Sheptyts'kyi, prevented the conversion of Russia."[132] This same view was held by many western European Catholics. Thus, in a world of image-making and icon-destroying, those who judge are themselves being judged.

Notes

1. Zofia Szeptycka, "Młodość i powołanie ojca Romana Szeptyckiego zakonu św. Bazylego Wielkiego opowiedziane przez matke jego, 1865-1892," Sheptyts'kyi family archive of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Warsaw, manuscript (hereinafter JKS Archive), p. 85.

   For the views of Sheptyts'kyi at this time, see Iosyf Slipyi, "Pro molodechyi vik nashoho mytropolyta," in his *Tvory*, vol. II (Rome, 1969), pp. 195-219; E. Archremowicz and T. Żabski, *Towarzystwo Literacko-Słowiańskie we Wrocławiu, 1836-1886* (Wrocław, 1973), pp. 343, 416, 447; Nikodem Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, XII (Poznań, 1933), p. 285; Andrzej Szeptycki, "Ze wspomnień o bracie Albercie," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, XXXVIII, 37 (Cracow, 1984), with a general explanation by Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki; Piotr Mańkowski, "Pamiętniki," vol. I, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, ms 7896, pp. 84-5, 98; "Korespondencja Leona Mańkowskiego z lat 1871-1909," Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, ms 7641 II, pp. 5-6, 24-5, 90-3, 117-8, 165-6; Elżbieta Dębicka, "Sprawa ruska," JKS Archive, ms pp. 5, 8; Maria Krysta Szembek, "Wspomnienie o metropolicie Andrzeju Romanie Szeptyckim," JKS Archive, ms p. 12; letter of the Reverend Walerian Kalinka to Jadwiga Sapieżyna, L'viv, 11 February 1885, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Muzeum Narodowe, Cracow, ms 1190; Jerzy Wolny, ed., *Ksiega Sapieżyńska*, vol. I (Cracow, 1982), p. 107; Tadeusz G. Jackowski, *W walce o polskość* (Cracow, 1972), p. 77; Ilarion Swiencickyj, "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki jako działacz społeczny i narodowy," *Przegląd Wileński*, XIII, 5 and 6 (Vilnius, 1930). See also below, notes 24, 26-8.
2. Several Polish politicians were anxious about the Orthodox tendencies within the Greek Catholic Church of Galicia, which often oscillated between the Russophile and populist Ukrainian national orientations. As a result, Polish leaders pressed the Vatican and Vienna in this matter in which the Polish press showed a keen interest.
3. About this time the Polish Jesuits were instructed by the Apostolic See to reorganize the Basilian Order, and the Polish Order of the Resurrection established a boarding school in L'viv for Greek Catholics, the Internat Ruski (1884-1895).
4. Henryk Wereszycki in J. Horoszkiewicz, *Notatki z życia* (Wrocław and Cracow, 1955), p. xxvi; Stefan Kaczała, *Polityka Polaków względem Rusi* (L'viv, 1879), p. 291.
5. *Przegląd Kościelny*, X (Poznań, 1888), pp. 473-4.

6. In Galicia, Roman Sheptyts'kyi's decision was supported by the Jesuits and the bishop of Cracow, Jan Puzyna. See the letter of Zofia Szeptycka to Izabella Szeptycka, Prylbychi, 22 February 1895, JKS Archive; and Szeptycka, "Młodość," p. 120. At the Vatican, Cardinal Włodzimierz Czacki and Cardinal Mieczysław Ledóchowski were particularly interested in this matter. See Szeptycka, "Młodość," pp. 68, 100; and Szembek, "Wspomnienie," p. 46.
7. For the conservative view, see Henryk I. Łubieński, "Austriacka polityka wyznaniowa w stosunku do kościoła greko-katolickiego," *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, VI, 38 (Warsaw, 1934), p. 7; "Korespondencja Michała Bobrzyńskiego," Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, ms 8096. For the liberal view, see the writings of Stanisław Witkiewicz.
8. Maurycy Prozor, "Stare i nowe w polskiej legendzie o metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Arka*, no. 16 (Cracow, 1986), pp. 101-10.
9. *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, XLI, 45 (Warsaw, 1899).
10. *Halychanyn*, IX, 3 (L'viv, 1901); letter of Ludwik Dębicki to Zofia Szeptycka, L'viv, 17 January 1901, JKS Archive. Similar positive attitudes were expressed when Sheptyts'kyi was transferred as metropolitan to L'viv: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, XLII, 49 (Warsaw, 1900); *Przegląd Kościelny*, XII, 49 (Poznań, 1900), p. 781.
11. *Słowo Polskie* (L'viv), 19 and 22 November 1900 and 18 January 1901.
12. Ibid., 19 January 1901.
13. *Śmigus*, XVIII, 2, 3, 10 (L'viv, 1901).
14. Teodor Mistewicz, "Rewindykacje terytorialne w ideologii ruchu nacjonalistycznego," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XVII, 2 (Warsaw, 1986), p. 24; Ludwik Kolankowski, *Kościoł a cerkiew w Galicji Wschodniej* (Cracow, 1909), especially pp. 12-15.
15. *Śmigus*, XXVII, 16, 23 (L'viv, 1910); XXVIII, 2, 14, 22 (L'viv, 1911).
16. Stanisław Tarnowski in Zofia Szeptycka, *Pisma*, vol. I (Cracow, 1906), pp. 20-5.
17. Michał Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamiętników* (Wrocław, 1957), p. 393. The petition was signed by Władysław Sapieha, Stanisław Stadnicki, Mikołaj Krzysztofowicz, Wincenty Krasiński, Artur Zaręba-Cielecki, and Tadeusz Fedorowicz.
18. Although he had some contact with the Polish peasant movement, the evidence is insufficient to allow us to formulate a view of that movement's attitude towards him. For evidence of such contacts, see the letter of Andrzej Szeptycki to Zygmunt Lasocki, L'viv, 24 April 1902, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cracow, ms 4064.
19. Michał Nowodworski, ed., *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, vol. XXVI (Warsaw, 1903), p. 426.
20. Zygmunt Chełmicki, ed., *Podręczna Encyklopedia Kościelna*, vol. XXXVII-XXXVIII (Warsaw, 1913), p. 376.
21. See the comments of Szembek, "Wspomnienie," pp. 34, 61; Józef Teodorowicz, *Obecny moment kwestii polsko-ruskiej*, Broszury o chwili obecnej, vol. XVII (Cracow, 1908), pp. 6-7; *Posłaniec św. Grzegorza*, I, 5-6 (L'viv, 1927), p. 10; Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, VI (Poznań, 1927), pp. 467-8; and Bogusław Longchamps de Berier, *Ochrzczony na szablach powstańczych: wspomnienia 1884-1918* (Wrocław, 1983), p. 265.
22. Bobrzyński, *Z moich*, p. 370; Wacław Urban, *Sługa Boży Józef Bilczewski, arcybiskup metropolita lwowski* (Wrocław, 1977), pp. 106-22.
23. Szembek, "Wspomnienie," p. 17.
24. On these various relationships, see Mańkowski, Pamiętnik," vol. II, p. 118; the letters of Andrzej Szeptycki to Bronisław Markiewicz, L'viv, 28 October and 9 November 1911 and to the Michalite Congregation L'viv, 18 February 1912, JKS Archive; Zofia Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych* (Wrocław, 1967), p. 78; Szembek,

"Wspomnienie," pp. 12, 114; Teodor Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. XXVIII (Poznań, 1898), pp. 131, 149; Maria Krysta Szembek, "Odpowiedź na rozprawę 'Sprawa Ruska' Elżbiety Dębickiej i jej zarzuty przreciw metropolicie Andrzejowi Szeptyckiemu," p. 34, JKS Archive; and Szeptycki, "Ze wspomnień, p. 1.

25. For examples of the attacks on the Metropolitan, see Jan Urban, *Wobec propagandy schizmy w Galicji: broszury o chwili obecnej*, vol. II (Cracow, 1912), pp. 22-3; ZXY [Aleksander Mohl], *Prawosławie w Rosji i jego podłoże w Galicji* (L'viv, 1912); Aleksander von Radlitz [A. Mohl], *Unter uns—ohne Maske: Eine Antwort auf die Ruthenenfrage von den Ruthenen selbst gegeben* (Vienna, 1912). Sheptyts'kyi's study appeared in *Przegląd Powszechny*, CXXIX, 385 (Warsaw, 1916), pp. 97-101. Cf. I. K-ch, "Mytropolyt hr. Sheptyts'kyi pro ukraïns'ko-pol's'ki vzaiemyny," *Nyva*, XII, 4 (L'viv, 1916), pp. 124-6.
26. Szembek, "Odpowiedź," p. 34; Szembek, "Wspomnienie," pp. 3, 5; Dębicka, "Sprawa," pp. 4-5; letters of Andrzej Szeptycki to Stanisław Szeptycki, L'viv, 12 August 1903 and 19 August 1909, JKS Archive.
27. Swiencickyj, "Metropolita"; Szembek, "Odpowiedź," p. 34.
28. This novel first appeared serially in *Sfinks*, II-VI (Warsaw, 1908-1909), and then separately as *Nietota: księga tajemna Tatr* (Warsaw, 1910).
29. Kozłowski, one of the leaders of the Podolians, was attempting to organize a movement of Greek Catholic Poles. Stanisław Głębiński, *Wspomnienia polityczne*, pt. 1: *Pod zaborem austriackim* (Pelplin, 1939), p. 43, 47, 59; Głębiński, *Sprawa ruska na Ziemi Czerwieńskiej* (Warsaw, 1937); Andrzej Zięba, "Metropolita Szeptycki," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XCII, 4 (Warsaw, 1986), p. 893, note 37; and *Unia*, VI, 5-6 (Cracow, 1929).
30. Only a few Polish periodicals wrote objectively about Sheptyts'kyi's attitude. For instance, *Przegląd*, XXIV, 97 (L'viv, 1908), published the courageous sermon he preached at the Cathedral of St. George in L'viv; and *Złota Księga*, XXXI (Poznań, 1908), p. 118, printed his telegram to the viceroy's widow. Cf. Urban, *Sługa*, p. 107; and Dębicka, "Sprawa," p. 9.
31. Urban, *Sługa*, p. 108; *Nyva*, VII, 2 (L'viv, 1911), pp. 61-2.
32. Edward Woroniecki, "O cerkwi wschodniej i ruchu katolickim na Rusi," *Świat Słowiański*, V, 2 (Cracow, 1909), pp. 93-107; Jan Urban, "Welehradskie utopie," ibid., pp. 218-32; J. Borodzicz, *Na Rusi galicyjskiej szyzma sie gotuje* (Chrzanów, 1911); Longchamps de Berier, *Ochrzczony*, p. 361; Dębicka, "Sprawa," p. 47; and O. Volans'kyi, "Polaky proty uniï i konkord ïï," *Nyva*, IV, 4 (L'viv, 1909), pp. 121-4.
33. J. Ostrowski, *Z za kulis kurii biskupiej w Piotrogrodzie* (Moscow, 1929); Volodymyr Kosyk, "Nezdiisnena podorozh Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho do Rymu w 1917 rotsi," in *Intrepido Pastori: naukovyi zbirnyk na chest' blazhenishoho Patriarkha Iosyfa a 40-littia vstuplennia na halyts'kyi prestil', 1.11.1944* (Rome, 1984), pp. 421-2.
34. The pretext for these attacks was found in certain theories about Eastern Christianity which had been published by a close friend of the Metropolitan, Prince Maximilian of Saxony, and in the ecumenical congresses at Velehrad, which took place on Sheptyts'kyi's initiative. *Ateneum Kapłańskie*, XVI, 3 (Włocławek, 1930), p. 330.
35. See the contemporary reports in the *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), 17 April 1913; *Gazeta Narodowa* (L'viv), 17 April 1913; *Przegląd Katolicki*, LI, 17 (Warsaw, 1913); and the subsequent discussions in Wolny, *Księga*, pp. 50, 251; Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamietników*, pp. 115, 365-70 passim; and Józef Buszko, *Sejmowa reforma wyborcza w Galicji 1905-1914* (Warsaw, 1956), pp. 164-5.

36. Dębicka, "Sprawa," p. 7; Szembek, "Odpowiedź," p. 34; and Szembek, "Wspomnienie," pp. 12-14.
37. *Słowo Polskie*, 16-17 March 1914.
38. See, for instance, the Polish-language daily in Kiev, *Dziennik Kijowski*, no. 151 (1909), as discussed in Zygmunt Jundziłł, "Z dziejów polskiej myśli politycznej na Litwie historycznej," *Niepodległość*, VI (London, 1958), p. 58.
39. These countrymen were Polish landowners who believed in the necessity of cooperation with ethnic majorities in those territories. See the articles in the organ of Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi's group, *Przegląd Krajowy*, I, 11-12 (Kiev, 1909). Ludgard Grocholski, one of Lypns'kyi's collaborators, actively pleaded with Sheptyts'kyi in L'viv. For similar attitudes toward Sheptyts'kyi held by some circles in Belorussia and Lithuania, see Edward Woyniłłowicz, *Wspomnienia 1847-1928* (Vilnius, 1931), vol. I, p. 281; and Walerian Meysztowicz, *Gawędy o czasach i ludziach* (London, 1983), p. 29.
40. Jan Dąbrowski, *Dziennik 1914-1918* (Cracow, 1977), p. 39.
41. For a view that was typical of the Polish press at the time, see K. B[artoszewicz], "Metropolita X. Szeptycki w Rosyi," *Czas*, 11 May 1917. On his contacts with Poles while in the Russian Empire, see Marian Tokarzewski, *Straż przednia: ze wspomnień i notatek* (Warsaw, 1926), pp. 164-6; Józef Talko-Hryncewicz, *Wspomnienia z lat ostatnich (1908-1932)* (Warsaw, 1932), p. 105; Józef Godlewski, *Na przełomie epok* (London, 1978), pp. 110-1; Czesław Falkowski, "Cieplak, Jan," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. IV (Cracow, 1938), p. 56; *Tsarskyi viazen', 1914-1917* (L'viv, 1918), p. 50; *Zjazd Polski na Rusi* (Vynnytsia, 1917), p. 13; Ivan Muzychka, "Ekumenichna diialnist' Metropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho v Rosiï v 1914-1917 rokakh," *Bohosloviia*, XL (Rome, 1983), p. 18; and a letter from Walenty Fedorowicz to Andrzej Szeptycki, 14 May 1917, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, ms II 5606.
42. See the telegram from the marshal of the Galician diet, Stanisław Niezabitowski to Sheptyts'kyi, which ended with a characteristic phrase: "To a martyr for the Union—all veneration and glory." *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (Cracow), 17 September 1917.
43. Władysław Glinka, *Pamiętnik z wielkiej wojny*, vol. II: *Na wygnaniu* (Warsaw), pp. 235-6; *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 5 August and 15 September 1917; Leon Biliński, *Wspomnienia i dokumenty*, vol. II (Warsaw, 1924), pp. 116, 119; and Stanislaus Smolka, *Les Ruthènes et les problèmes religieux du monde russien* (Berne, 1917).
44. Ks. X., "Metropolita Szeptycki i unia," *Dziennik Poznański* (Poznań), 11 September 1917. The article also rejected the attacks made against the Metropolitan for his participation in the Velehrad conferences and the accusation that he had supported Prince Maximilian of Saxony. Even though the commentator did not share the Metropolitan's enthusiasm for spreading the church union in Russia, his final conclusion was that Sheptyts'kyi was "a harbinger of a fruitful and salutary future."
45. Sheptyts'kyi was supported by only a few Polish priests, for example Bernard Łubieński, who looked at this problem from the church's point of view. He still hoped to rebuild the Catholic-Orthodox Union in Podlachia. For a discussion of the Polish hierarchy's views, see Karolina M. Kasperkiewicz, *Sługa Boży: J. S. Pelczar, biskup przemyski* (Rome, 1972), pp. 275-8.
46. See, for example, the commentaries in *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 8 March 1918, on the Metropolitan Rescue Committee, which Sheptyts'kyi established in December 1917, modeled on an analogous charity organization of Cracow's Bishop Adam S. Sapieha.

47. Like Sheptyts'kyi for the Ukrainian side, Polish bishops often expressed their own patriotism. See the statements of Józef Bilczewski, Latin archbishop of L'viv, in *Wiedeński Kurier Polski* (Vienna), 24 February 1917; or of Władysław Zaleski, Latin-rite patriarch of Antioch, in a letter to Jan Ignacy Paderewski, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, ms. Akta J. I. Paderewski 1002, pp. 1-2. Both episcopates (from the Polish side, particularly Bishops Józef Teodorowicz and Adam S. Sapieha) carried on political intrigues at the Vatican.
48. N. Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, I (Poznań, 1922), p. 254.
49. *Głos Narodu* (Cracow), 18 January 1918. Cf. *Nowa Reforma* (Cracow), 17 January 1918, and *Kurier Lwowski* (L'viv), 10 January 1918.
50. *Głos Narodu*, 25 April 1918. Cf. *Gazeta Wieczorna* (L'viv), 30 April 1918; *Czas* (Cracow), 26 July 1918; *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 30 June and 2 August 1918; *Dziennik Kijowski*, 26 June 1918; *Wiedeński Kurier Polski* (Vienna), 9 July 1918; *Gazeta Poranna* (L'viv), 24 July 1918.
51. *Dziennik Poznański*, 24 September 1918.
52. See the Cracow newspapers *Naprzód*, 14 August 1918; *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 21 September 1918; and *Czas*, 21 September 1918; and the L'viv Polish-language newspapers *Gazeta Wieczorna*, 19 September 1918 and *Kurier Lwowski*, 19 September 1918.
53. On the activity of the Latin-rite Bishop Bilczewski and Armenian-rite Teodorowicz, see *Ateneum Kapłańskie*, XVIII (Włocławek, 1937), p. 130; Czesław Mączyński, *Boje lwowskie*, vol. I: *Oswobodzenie Lwowa (1-24 listopada 1918)* (Warsaw, 1921), p. 205; Jędrzej Giertych, *Pół wieku polskiej polityki: uwagi o polityce Dmowskiego i polityce polskiej lat 1919-1939 i 1939-1947* (Zachodnie Niemcy, 1947), pp. 401-2. On the attempts at Polish-Ukrainian negotiations in which Sheptyts'kyi or his representatives took part, see Bolesław Roja, *Fakty i legendy* (Warsaw, 1931), pp. 190, 209, 217; *Głos Narodu*, 27 November 1918; "Polityczna działalność metropolity Szeptyckiego," Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, ms 400, pp. 180-2; "Memoriał Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych o A. Szeptyckim," March 1922, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ambasada Rzeczypospolitej w Londynie, ms 879, p. 112; and N. Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, VIII (Poznań, 1929), p. 292.
54. Mączyński, *Boje*, vol. II, p. 82; X. M[aciejewicz] St., *Cerkiew unicka we wschodniej Małopolsce w czasie inwazji rosyjskiej: fakty i refleksje (1914-1917)* (L'viv, 1920), pp. 54-6; *Generał Rozwadowski* (Cracow, 1929), pp. 165-6; Taras Hunchak, ed., *Ukraine and Poland in Documents, 1918-1922*, Vol. I (New York, 1983), pp. 66, 209, 211; *Słowo Polskie*, 19 March 1920; *Vpered* (L'viv), 29 January 1919.
55. Eugeniusz Pełczyński, *Prawosławie w Galicji w świetle prasy ruskiej we Lwowie podczas inwazji 1914-1915* (L'viv, n.d.); X. M. St., *Cerkiew*; L. R[adziejowski], "Akcja Ks. Szeptyckiego," *Ziemia Lubelska* (Lublin), 10 April 1921; and I. Skruten, "Aktsiia protiv uniï i uniiativ," *Nyva*, XVII, 2 (L'viv, 1922), pp. 62-4, 99-103.
56. *Słowo Polskie*, 19 March 1920; "Z opowiadań i ze wspomnień Felicji Skarbkowej (1872-1963) spisała i opracowała Maria z Paygertów Bobrzyńska," Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, ms 9812 II, p. 129.
57. *Documents rutheno-ukrainiens* (Paris, 1919).
58. *Rzeczypospolita* (Warsaw), 10 September 1920 and 23 September 1923; Szembek, "Odpowiedź," p. 36.
59. "Świetojurski sfinks," *Kurier Lwowski*, 10 October 1920.
60. Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ambasada Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Londynie, ms 903, p. 29; John Hamcock Jr., "Bishop Szeptycki's Machinations in the United States," *Dziennik Związkowy*, 14 December 1922; *Lud* (Curitiba, Brazil, 1921), no. 51.

61. "Konsul generalny w Nowym Jorku do Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych," New York, 21 February 1922, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ambasada Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Paryżu, ms 159, pp. 118-20. Chicago's Polish daily newspaper, *Dziennik Chicagowski*, published a favorable opinion of Sheptyts'kyi after he preached conciliatory sermons in St. Nicholas Church in Chicago. See "Konsul generalny w Montrealu do Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych," 22 November 1922, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ambasada Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Londynie, ms 904, pp. 1-4.
62. Through an agent in police employ, a meeting of Communist activists was arranged in one of the buildings belonging to St. George's Cathedral complex, which they then preceded "to unmask." J. Kowalczyk, *Zwołał kongres św. Jur* (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 7-10.
63. L'viv's Polish press was filled with accusatory articles which were then reprinted widely throughout Poland. Cf. *Gazeta Podhalańska* (Nowy Targ), no. 46, 1921. For the Greek Catholic view of this press campaign, see "V spravi mnymoho bol'shevyts'koho kongresu v zabudovanniakh s'viatoiurskykh u L'vovi," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XXXIV, 4 (L'viv, 1921).
64. See *Proces komunistów we Lwowie (sprawa świętojurska): sprawozdanie stenograficzne* (Warsaw, 1958); "W sprawie zamachu na Naczelnika Państwa i kongresu świetojurskiego: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych do placówek zagranicznych," Warsaw, 19 November 1921, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, ms 3294, pp. 118-20.
65. *Gazeta Poranna* (L'viv), 28 June 1923.
66. These characterizations are taken from several L'viv newspapers: *Gazeta Poranna*, 14 and 22 July 1923; *Gazeta Lwowska*, 14, 15, and 27 July 1923; *Gazeta Codzienna*, 16 and 22 July 1923; *Kurier Lwowski*, 16 July 1923; and *Słowo Polskie*, 13 and 19 July 1923.
67. *Gazeta Poranna*, 16 July 1923.
68. See the discussion in Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek, *Sprawa ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej, 1922-1926* (Cracow, 1979), pp. 198-200; and the contemporary reports in *Gazeta Poranna*, 24 August 1923; *Kurier Polski* (Warsaw), 6 June 1923; and *Głos Narodu* (Cracow), 14 October 1923.
69. After all, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was legally a Polish citizen. *Naprzód*, 31 August 1923. See also *Kurier Poranny* (Warsaw), 29 August 1923, and other press opinions collected in the L'viv wojewoda's report to the ministry of the interior, dated 14 July 1923, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw, Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, ms 423.
70. Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, II (Poznań, 1923), pp. 528-46.
71. Jan Leon Szeptycki, "Wspomnienie," JKS Archive, ms, p. 10; Mańkowski, "Pamiętniki," vol. III, pp. 147-9.
72. As examples, see *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy* (Warsaw), 15 November 1935; *Gazeta Podhalańska*, no. 16, 1925; and Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, III (Poznań, 1924), pp. 434-48, who collected the opinions from the Polish press about Sheptyts'kyi's mission in Volhynia.
73. Iwan Kedryn, "Widmo sw. Jura," *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, II (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 3-6. On the relations towards Ukrainians of the *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, see Teofil Piotrkiewicz, "Ukraińcy w Polsce na lamach 'Ilustrowanego Kuriera Codziennego' 1926-1930," in *Historia XIX i XX wieku: studia i szkice* (Wrocław, 1979), pp. 168-81.
74. This did not mean that the church had to approve of Sheptyts'kyi's activities. On the contrary, it simply meant that the bishops had to formulate their own policy. Szczepan Szydelski, *Ateneum Kapłanskie*, XVI, 3 (Włocławek, 1930), p. 330. See also Antoni Około-Kułak, "Misja Polski na Wschodzie, dawniej, obecnie i w

przyszłosci," *Rodzina Polska*, 1, 8-10 (Warsaw, 1927), pp. 181-4, 207-9, 225-6, 240; and Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, II (Poznań, 1924), pp. 225-30 and VII (1929), p. 401.

75. Piotr T. Rzewuski, "Na usługach jedności," *Misje Katolickie*, LXIX (Cracow, 1930), p. 446; J. U[urban], "Jubileusz Ks. Metropolity Szeptyckiego," *Oriens*, IX, 7-8 (Cracow, 1939), p. 119.
76. Mańkowski, "Pamiętniki," vol. III, p. 155. Mańkowski was the former Latin-rite Catholic bishop of Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi, who during the interwar years was living in retirement in Buchach in East Galicia.
77. *Przegląd Wileński*, XIII, 21-2 (Vilnius, 1930).
78. On the ever-changing relations between the Latin-rite and Greek-rite hierarchies, see Kasperkiewicz, *Sługa*, p. 189; Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie*, V (Poznań, 1926), p. 369; *Polska*, I, 68 (Warsaw, 1929); *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. II, pt. 2 (Poznań, 1979), p. 58; *Lwowskie Wiadomości Parafialne*, III, 27 and 29 (L'viv, 1930), pp. 2, 6 and pp. 6-7 and 30; Szembek, "Załączniki do 'Odpowiedzi na *Sprawę ruską Elżbiety Dębickiej*'," JKS Archive, ms, p. 46; *Oriens*, IX, 7-8 (Cracow, 1939), p. 119; *Głos I Kongresu Eucharystycznego w Polsce*, I, 1-4 (Poznań, 1930); *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 25 and 27 August 1936; *Mały Dziennik* (Niepokalanów), 27 and 29 August 1936; *Gazeta Polska*, 6 September 1936.

    The change in tone of those relations is graphically evident in the series of commentaries throughout the interwar years by Nikodem Cieszyński in *Roczniki Katolickie*, II (Poznań, 1923), pp. 523-48; IV (1925), pp. 296-309 and 478-9; VII (1928), p. 379; IX (1931), p. 381; XII (1934), pp. 404-25; XIV (1937), p. 276.
79. Stańczyk, "Katolicyzm ukraiński: na marginesie enuncjacji ks. Metropolity Szeptyckiego," *Nasza Przyszłość*, XXI (Warsaw, 1932), pp. 11-24. It was edited by Jan Bobrzyński, son of the former viceroy of Austrian Galicia.
80. See the discussion in Andrzej Chojnowski, "Kwestia ukraińskiego szkolnictwa wyższego w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Historia XIX i XX wieku*, p. 166.
81. Adolf Bocheński, Stanisław Łoś, and Włodzimierz Bączkowski, *Problem ukraiński w Ziemi Czerwieńskiej* (Warsaw, 1938), p. 44.
82. *Przegląd Wileński*, XIII, 21-2 (Vilnius, 1930). The Vilnius group lost much of their importance after the collapse of the federalist cause during World War I.
83. Their program was based on the idea of a united front of all East European nations against Soviet Russia. See, for instance, Henryk I. Łubieński, "Największa reforma w Kościele greko-katolickim," *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, III, 51-2 (Warsaw, 1934); Łubieński, *Kościół greko-katolicki w województwach południowo-wschodnich*, Biblioteka Spraw Narodowościowych, vol. XXI (Warsaw, 1935); *Sprawy Narodowościowe*, V (Warsaw, 1931), pp. 458-9; and *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, III, 3 (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 5-6.
84. See Kedryn, "Widmo"; and Mykoła Andrusiak, "Szeptyccy," *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, III, 41 (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 3-6.
85. For instance, the position taken by Sheptyts'kyi on the question of the so-called rural gentry (*szlachta zagrodowa*), the Greek Catholic Poles, the administrative methods for converting the Orthodox to Catholicism, and especially the destruction of Orthodox churches in the Chełm region, all provoked violent diatribes against him by individuals (Reverend Antoni Miodoński) and periodicals (*Unia*, *Polak Greko-Katolic*) subsidized by the Polish military. "Czy patriarchat Kościoła Wschodniego?" *Unia*, V, 5 (Cracow, 1928). On the activity of the Reverend Miodoński, see Szembek, "Odpowiedź," p. 58; and *Tęcza*, XII, 2 (Warsaw, 1938).
86. Leon Broel-Plater, *Dookoła wspomnień* (London, 1972), pp. 108-9.
87. A broad spectrum of opinion within the Polish administration about Sheptyts'kyi is preserved in Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw. See in particular the personal files of

Sheptyts'kyi in the collection of the Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, ms 429.

88. The interview appeared in *Dzień Polski* (Warsaw), 2 February 1930; *Przegląd Wileński*, XIII, 3-4 (Vilnius, 1930); and *Oriens*, I, 9-10 (Cracow, 1930), p. 20. The attack appeared in the National Democrat *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 5 February 1930.
89. *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 5 October 1930; *Nowy Świat*, 18 October 1930; *Wiek Nowy* (Warsaw), 5 October 1930; *Nyva* (L'viv, 1930), pp. 352-3.
90. *Polityka*, IX, 3 and 5 (Warsaw, 1938).
91. Wanda Pełczyńska was wife of the chief of the Intelligence Department of the General Staff, who supported *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*. Typical of the defense in the Jesuit journal was an article by Jan Urban, "Co i jak piszą," *Oriens*, IX (Cracow, 1938), p. 60.
92. A gang of young National Democratic sympathizers attacked the Greek Catholic seminary. Peace was restored only after Papal Nuncio Felipe Cortesi visited the city in November. Łacinnik, "Rok 1938 w metropolii halickiej," *Oriens*, X, 1-2 (Cracow, 1939), p. 20.
93. Piotr Dunin-Borkowski, "Panikujacy i spanikowani," *Problemy Europy Wschodniej*, I, 1 (Warsaw, 1939), pp. 50-6.
94. "Występy metropolity Szeptyckiego," *Słowo Polskie*, 4 May 1943.
95. "Ślipyj nastepcą Szeptyckiego," *Słowo Polskie*, 21 May 1944.
96. Such suggestions occurred in several issues of *Słowo Polskie*, 26 July and 29 August 1943; 9 January, 27 February, and 2 July 1944. See similar threats in *Lwowski Kurier*, 26 March 1944; and *Szaniec* (Warsaw), 7 July 1944.
97. On the negative views in Polish Catholic circles, see Wacław Szetelnicki, *Zapomniany lwowski bohater ks. Stanisław Frankl 1903-1944* (Rome, 1983), p. 167; and Marian Brzezicki, "Wspomnienie z okresu współpracy ze śp. ks. W. Cieńskim w konspiracji," *Biuletyn Koła Lwowian*, XXII, 45 (London, 1983), p. 17. On the positive personal contacts of Sheptyts'kyi with Polish church leaders, see I. Bocheński, "List do redakcji *Kultury*, Freibeurg, 16. 3. 1986," *Kultura*, XXXX, 4 (Paris, 1986), pp. 154-5; B. Kroll, *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza 1939-1945* (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 392-3; and Pavlo Senytsia, "Ostanni dni, smert' i pokhoron S. B. Mytropolyta Andriia," *Svityl'nyk istyny: dzherela do istoriï ukraïns'koï Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï u L'vovi 1928/1929-1944*, vol. III (Toronto and Chicago, 1983), pp. 302-9.
98. Ryszard Torzecki, "Z problematyki stosunków polsko-ukraińskich," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XVII, 2 (Warsaw, 1985), p. 165; *Prawda*, 8-9 (L'viv, 1943), pp. 22-4.
99. "Sprawa ukraińska," *Zeszyty Historyczne*, LXXI (Paris, 1985), p. 137; *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939-1945*, Studium Polski Podziemnej, vol. II (London, 1973), pp. 474, 481, and vol. III, pp. 59-60; Ryszard Torzecki, "Kontakty polsko-ukraińskie na tle problemu ukraińskiego w polityce polskiego rządu emigracyjnego i podziemia (1939-1944)," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XXIII, 1-2 (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 319-46. It should also be pointed out that some émigré Polish political circles objected to Sheptyts'kyi because of his letter to Hitler. See "Notatka z rozmów z monsignorem Montini w dniu 19 marca b. r., monsignorem Tardini w dniu 21 marca b. r., z kardynałem Tisserant w dniu 24 marca 1943 i z kardynałem Maglione w dniu 25 marca 1943," Instytut Historyczny imienia Generała Sikorskiego, London, ms 122/SA/53-6n.
100. See the discussion in *Kultura*, XIV, 4 (Paris, 1960), pp. 150-1.
101. Jarosław Nagórski, "Metropolita Szeptycki w latach 1939-1941," *Orzeł Biały*, V, 6 (Rome, 1945), pp. 6-9.
102. "Ks. Metropolita Szeptycki," *W Imię Boże*, I, 22 (London, 1944), p. 4.

103. "Ks. Biskup J. Buczko w 2 Korpusie (od naszego korespondenta)," *W Imię Boże*, I-II, 23-1 (Rome, 1944-1945), p. 5. Polish commentators also remained concerned with the status of the Greek Catholic Church under Soviet rule; see M. Bocheński, "Kościół polski," *W Imię Boże*, II, 4 (Rome, 1945), p. 3; Valerian Meysztowicz, *L'église catholique en Pologne* (Vatican, 1944).
104. "Andrzej hr. Szeptycki," *Słowo Polskie*, 12 November 1944. It was published secretly in territories under Soviet occupation.
105. Jan Tokarski, "Co nas dzieli," *Kultura*, VI, 5 (Paris, 1952), pp. 119-20. *Kultura* was a new, but increasingly important, center of Polish cultural life in the West. Before long it became influential in Poland as well. See also Wacław Żylinski, "Tragedia kościoła grecko-katolickiego w Polsce," *Kultura*, II, 8 (Paris, 1948), pp. 29-34; and Benedykt Heydenkorn, "Polityczna działałność metropolity Szeptyckiego," *Zeszyty Historyczne*, LXXII (Paris, 1985), pp. 99-114.
106. *Visti pro velykoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho*, I, 1 (Rome, 1955). Andrzej Vincenz, for instance, welcomed the beatification process: Av, "Aktualność Szeptyckiego," *Kultura*, XIII, 12 (Paris, 1959), pp. 142-7.
107. W. Sulewski, "Metropolita halicki i protektor SS Galizien," *Argumenty*, IV, 12 (Warsaw, 1960).
108. Julia Prejs [J. Brystygierowa], *Krzywe litery* (Warsaw, 1960), pp. 388-94.
109. Józef Łobodowski, "Tryptyk o zamordowanym kościele," *Kultura*, XXII, 12 (Paris, 1968), pp. 45-50.
110. *Komunikaty Towarzystwa imienia Romana Dmowskiego*, I (London, 1970), pp. 179-80; II, pt. 1 (London, 1979-1980), pp. 161-9, 172-5, 177-81, 201-3.
111. Edward Prus, "Kto pozyska Metropolitę?" *Argumenty*, XVI, 12 (Warsaw, 1972), p. 13; Prus. "Metropolita i pseudoksiężna," *Argumenty*, XVII, 31 (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 12-15; Prus, "Arcybiskup Szeptycki i problemy unii kościelnej," *Euhemer—Przegląd Religioznawczy*, XVII, 2 (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 47-61; Prus, "Cerkiew grecko-katolicka w okresie wojny i okupacji," *Śląskie Studia Historyczne*, I (Katowice, 1976), pp. 61-90; and Prus, "'Ukraińskie siły zbrojne' w walce z ZSRR i Polakami: list metropolity hr. Szeptyckiego do Stalina, X 1944," *Życie Literackie*, XXII, 30 (Cracow, 1972), pp. 13-14. See also the criticism of that last article by Ryszard Torzecki in *Życie Literackie*, XXIII, 1 (Cracow, 1973), p. 13, and the replies by Prus in *Życie Literackie*, XXIII, 4 (1973), p. 11, and Prus, "Metropolita Szeptycki," *Argumenty*, XXIV, 50 (Warsaw, 1980), p. 11. Other articles, all by Prus, include: "Dramaty pogranicza: Metropolita Andrzej hr. Szeptycki i jego bracia," *Tak i Nie*, I, 24 and 27 (Katowice, 1983), pp. 1 and 7; "Polemika: dramaty pogranicza," *Tak i Nie*, II, 6 (1984), p. 9; "Władyka świętojurski i jego bracia," *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, III, 48 (Warsaw, 1984), p. 10; *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, IV, 21 (Warsaw, 1985); *Tak i Nie*, IV, 34 (Katowice, 1986), and V, 21 (1987).
112. Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, "O metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, XXXVIII, 4 (Cracow, 1984), p. 4; Andrzej Szeptycki, "Ze wspomnień o bracie Albercie," ibid., XXXVIII, 37 (1984).
113. Jerzy A. Salecki, "Autor niegodny bohatera: na marginesie publikacji 'Tygodnika Powszechnego'," *Trybuna Ludu*, 221 (Warsaw, 1984), p. 4
114. Edward Prus, "Jeszcze o metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Trybuna Ludu*, 278 (Warsaw, 1984), p. 6; Ignacy Krasicki, "O A. Szeptyckim—raz jeszcze: prawdziwe próby rehabilitacji," ibid., 173 (1985), p.5.
115. This article never passed censorship and hence never appeared. The uncensored text from *Tygodnik Powszechny* was reproduced in Roman Graczyk, "Czy wróg i kolaborant?," *Kontakt*, III, 12 (Paris, 1984). A censored letter to the same organ was also published in the West: Maria O. Pryshlak, "Szeptyckyj a porozumienie

polsko-ukraińskie: kilka uwag," *Suchasnist'*, XXVI, 1-2 (Munich, 1985), pp. 46-51.

Instead an article by Tadeusz Żychiewicz was permitted, in which he defended the Metropolitan, if only by implication, against the accusation of treason. Tadeusz Żychiewicz, "Podwójna miara," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, XXXVIII, 47 (Cracow, 1984), p. 6. See also L. Tomaszewski, "Poszukiwanie ojczyzny?—zdrada ojczyzny!," and Juliusz Bardach, "Rażą mnie kategoryczne anatemy," *Polityka*, XXIX, 32 (Warsaw, 1985), p. 14. *Przegląd Katolicki*, the organ of the archbishop of Warsaw, also published a short but symptomatic statement by Jacek Bocheński, who suggested that Poles had ignored Sheptyts'kyi, whose stature warrants attention.

116. For instance, the Cracow monthly *Znak* had planned to publish an article on Sheptyts'kyi by Ryszard Torzecki and some letters by the Metropolitan from the World War II period, but neither of these publications ever saw the light of day.

117. P. L., "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki w służbie Kościoła Chrystusowego," *Bez Dekretu*, 9-10 (Cracow, 1985), pp. 42-58; Prozor, "Stare"; P., "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki," *Konkret*, 3 (Wrocław, 1986), pp. 30-3. See also the materials about Sheptyts'kyi in *Spotkania*, 33-4 (Lublin, 1987), pp. 113-57; and *Droga: Wolność i Niepodleglość*, 12-1 (Warsaw, 1985-1986).

118. Edward Prus, *Władyka świętojurski—rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim (1865-1944)* (Warsaw, 1984).

119. Not surprisingly, the most favorable comments came from Polish émigrés from East Galicia: Sławomir Nicieja, "Tragizm i okrucieństwo," *Opole*, XVII, 5 (Opole, 1986), pp. 21-2. The theses of Prus were uncritically repeated by Jacek Wilamowski, "Między tryzubem a swastyką," *Perspektywy*, XVII, 13 (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 31-3, which prompted a critique by Ryszard Torzecki and a response by Wilamowski in no. 19 of *Perspektywy*. Prus was also praised by Jacek Młynarski, "Galicyjski patriarcha," *Ład*, V, 4 (Warsaw, 1985), p. 4; Jerzy M. Nowakowski, *Tygodnik Polski*, IV, 24 (Warsaw, 1985), p. 13; and in *Biuletyn na 25 lecie Koła Lwowian*, pt. 1 (London, 1986), pp. 100-1.

Some critical comments were raised by Krzysztof Drozdowski, "Ukraiński Mojżesz," *Kontrasty*, XVIII, 12 (Białystok, 1985), pp. 42-4, while the Prus book was viewed most negatively by Aleksander Neuverth, "Paszkwil o metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Bez Dekretu*, no. 11 (Cracow, 1985), pp. 59-61; Tadeusz Szafar, "Uwaga: Fałszywka!" *Suchasnist'*, XXVI, 1-2 (Munich, 1985), pp. 39-45; *Solidarność Nauczycielska*, III, 10 (Lublin, 1984); *Kultura Niezależna*, III, 26 (Warsaw, 1986); and Bogusław Gancarz, "Nie tak o przeszłości polsko-ukraińskiej," *Ład*, V, 28 (Warsaw, 1987) p. 13. The polemics with the review in *Biuletyn na 25 lecie Koła Lwowian* were published in *Kultura*, LXII, 1-2 (Paris, 1988), pp. 220-1 and signed by members of the political group "Dialogs." For a discussion of the Polish debate on Prus' book, see Roman S. Holiat, "Poliaky pro Mytropolyta Andreia," *Svoboda* (Jersey City, N. J.), 16 July 1987; and Daniel Doniec, "Problematyka ukraińska w polskiej publicystyce niezależnej," *Spotkania*, no. 33-4 (Lublin, 1987), p. 263.

120. Władysław A. Serczyk and Ryszard Torzecki, "Na marginesie książki Edwarda Prusa o metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XVIII, 1 (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 103-19; Andrzej Zięba, "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XCII, 4 (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 885-900.

121. During the late 1930s, the Polish Ministry of Religions and Public Education financed Stefan Kieniewicz to do research for a book on Sheptyts'kyi and the Greek Catholic Church, but the outbreak of World War II halted that plan.

122. See, for instance, the notes by Adam Galos in Bobrzyński, *Z moich pamietników*,

p. 116, or the history textbook of Poland during the interwar years by Andrzej Ajnenkiel, *Od rządów ludowych do przewrotu majowego* (Warsaw, 1977), p. 219.

123. A. B. Szcześniak and W. Szota, *Droga do nikąd: działalność OUN i jej likwidacja w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1973), esp. pp. 10, 50, 60, 105-6, 119, 125, 155, 174; Bohdan Cywiński, *Ogniem probówane: z dziejów najnowszych kościoła katolickiego w Europie środkowo-wschodniej* (Rome, 1982), esp. pp. 117-8, 121.

124. Ryszard Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraiańska w polityce III Rzeszy, 1933-1945* (Warsaw, 1972); Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek, *Sprawa ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej, 1922-1926* (Cracow, 1979), pp. 198-200; Andrzej Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921-1939* (Wrocław, 1979); Tadeusz Dąbkowski, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji Wschodniej, 1912-1923* (Warsaw, 1985); and Jerzy Krasuski, *Miedzy wojnami* (Warsaw, 1985).

125. Marian Kukiel, *Dzieje Polski porozbiorowe 1795-1921* (Paris, 1983), esp. pp. 501, 632; P. Zareba, *Historia dwudziestolecia (1918-1939)* (Paris, 1981), esp. pp. 76, 167; Władysław Pobóg Malinowski, *Najnowsza historia polityczna Polski*, vol. II: *1914-1939* (London, 1983), pp. 35, 152.

126. W. A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy* (Wrocław, 1979). It is interesting to note that in the index prepared by the publisher, the name Sheptyts'kyi is followed by the descriptor: "spokesman of Ukrainian nationalists" (p. 475).

127. *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Vol. XI (Warsaw, 1968), p. 214.

128. Hieronim E. Wyczański, "Cerkiew greckokatolicka," *Historia Kościoła*, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 78; *Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Lublin, 1981), pp. 155, 173; and Jerzy Kłoczowski, Lidia Müllerowa, and Jan Skarbek, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła Katolickiego w Polsce* (Cracow, 1986), pp. 297-9, 353.

129. The official argumentation which Cardinal Wyszyński presented to Pope John XXIII, 6 December 1957, is given in Andrzej Micewski, *Kardynał Wyszyński: prymas i mąż stanu* (Paris, 1982), p. 185. At about the same time, some Polish priests provided positive accounts of Sheptyts'kyi in their memoirs: Broel-Plater, *Dookoła*; Meysztowicz, *Gawędy*, pp. 29, 261, 265, 323; Walter J. Ciszek and D. J. Flagherty, *With God in Russia: My 23 Years As a Priest in Soviet Prisons and Labor Camps in Siberia* (New York, Toronto, and London, 1964), p. 20.

130. For examples of this more sanguine attitude, see Kazimierz Podlaski, *Białorusini, Litwini, Ukraińcy: Nasi wrogowie—czy bracia?* (Warsaw, 1983), esp. p. 96; and Stefan Tomaszewski, *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków: mniejszości narodowe w Polsce w latach 1918-1939* (Warsaw, 1985), esp. pp. 43, 67, 218.

131. Besides Torzecki, "Z problematyki," Zięba, "Metropolita," and the useful commentary by Stanisław Stepień in "Nieznany list metropolity Andrzeja Szeptyckiego do Administratora Apostolskiego Łemkowszczyzny Wasyla Maściucha," *Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne*, III (Przemyśl, 1985), pp. 201-5, it is useful to mention the recent increase in Poland of lectures about Sheptyts'kyi. These include Andrzej Zięba, "Metropolita Szeptycki i Polacy," at a conference on the "Slavs and Their Interrelations in the Twentieth Century" (Cracow, 15-16 December 1986); and Ryszard Torzecki, "Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki wobec zagadnień współczesności," at a conference on "Lithuanians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Poles—Premises for Unity" (Łódź, 23-25 October 1987). Both lectures and conferences provoked discussion in reviews by Marek J. Karp, "Sesja o pobratymcach," *Więź*, XXX, 4 (Warsaw, 1987), p. 126; Andrzej Chodkiewicz, "Przesłanki pojednania: sympozjum na temat mniejszości narodowych w Polsce," *Ład*, VI, 2 (Warsaw, 1988), p. 9. Torzecki also delivered a lecture on Sheptyts'kyi before the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia in Warsaw (October 1987) and Zięba before the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia in Cracow (April 1985) and at the ecumenical meeting in Leśna Podlaska (May 1986). On that May meeting, see Uczestnik, "Ku pojednaniu

przez wiarę: rekolekcje ekumeniczne w Leśnej Podlaskiej,'' *Spotkania*, no. 33-4 (Lublin, 1987), p. 39.

132. ''Klemens Jędrzejewicz do Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych,'' Manila, 26-28 November 1940, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Konsulat Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Nowym Jorku, ms 114, p. 24.

Chapter 20

The Symbol of Sheptyts'kyi in Soviet Ideology

Roman Waschuk

Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of L'viv, has come to symbolize the church which he led for almost a half-century in the eyes both of its faithful and its opponents and detractors. While Ukrainian Catholics in the West have sought to beatify him, representatives of the Soviet government and the ruling Communist party have sought with equal vigor to discredit his reputation as a religious and national leader. In 1945, he was first introduced into Soviet official discourse as a prominent symbol representing the ostensibly negative forces of religion and nationalism. This essay will trace the evolution of the Soviet portrayal of the Metropolitan's life and works. The image of him presented in Soviet sources will be examined for possible variations, both over time and across various media and genres.

Books, of course, are only one of the many media used by the Soviet government to portray Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the desired light. Public lectures, radio, film, and television have also tried to mold public opinion on this subject. However, these sources are almost completely unavailable to researchers in the West. Materials in print provide a more suitable base, for which the Stefanyk Library of the L'viv branch of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has provided a bibliographic guide.[1] However, of the materials listed there, articles in the Ukrainian central and oblast press are also largely inaccessible. Thus, we are left with books as the only easily comparable reflection of the image of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in Soviet ideology.

Serhii Danylenko has contributed one of the more comprehensive Soviet publications dealing with Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady* (The Road of Shame and Treason). It provided an all-encompassing condemnation of the Metropolitan, albeit with a hint of grudging admiration:

> In analyzing Sheptyts'kyi's activities, one has to wonder at how much evil and how many acts hostile to the people and progress this person had managed to commit in a lifetime! It sometimes seems that this was the work of several people; that the Metropolitan had several lives. One, for example, devoted to espionage for the Austro-German authorities and the Vatican "apostles", another for his flock, a third for the Uniate Church which he controlled, and so on.[2]

Yet Soviet authors were not always as overwhelmingly negative in their evaluation of Sheptyts'kyi as this quotation may suggest. There are no publications specifically attacking him in Iurko Nykyforchuk's bibliography of Soviet writings about western Ukraine in the 1920s.[3] Although an article in one of the few accessible issues of the interwar journal *Zakhidnia Ukraïna* described Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi as a formidable adversary, it stopped far short of ascribing near-occult powers of evil to him.[4] Even Iaroslav Halan, who was instrumental in the post-war destruction of the Greek Catholic Church, prior to 1939 was only moved once to attack the Metropolitan in a satirical article.[5]

In the words of a recent study published in the West, Sheptyts'kyi was a "hierarch whose stature and reputation made him one of the few leaders respected by most factions of the Ukrainian community, as well as in Polish government circles."[6] It was, in fact, this widespread perception that complicated matters for future generations of Soviet writers who were determined to discredit and vilify him, and it may well have contributed to the fairly lenient treatment experienced by the Greek Catholic Church during the initial period of Soviet rule in western Ukraine.

That period, which lasted from September 1939 to June 1941, produced a rather half-hearted (by Soviet standards) campaign to reduce the influence of the Greek Catholic Church. Society in the Ukrainian lands formerly under Polish rule was to be Sovietized in accordance with party guidelines by means of mass organizations based on the atheistic Communist credo and by the elimination of the socioeconomic basis of religion, that is, the exploitative social order and, especially, the material wealth of organized religion. Thus,

> Male monasteries were reduced in size, while female monasteries were abolished and replaced by schools and nurseries. Church parish buildings were "nationalized," and the priests evicted. . . . Church lands were, at first, distributed among the peasants, then collectivized. . . . Church ar-

> chives and libraries were also 'nationalized'.... Church publishing was stopped.[7]

Local administrators aided this campaign by levying extortionate taxes on Greek Catholic priests who were branded as "non-working elements." Churches, however, were not closed and the Greek Catholic hierarchy led by Sheptyts'kyi emerged unscathed.

The Metropolitan could even savor a victory of sorts. A memorandum protesting the "fanatical atheist propaganda" being spread by the schools and the Communist party's ancillary organizations (Octobrists, Pioneers, and the Komsomol) brought no direct response, and may have contributed to the phasing out of militantly atheistic propaganda in early 1941.[8] An appeal to Soviet Ukrainian party head Khrushchev helped to ease the tax burden on the clergy. While church-state relations were by no means flourishing, the emerging rapprochement between the Soviet regime and the Russian Orthodox Church discouraged a violent country-wide anti-religious campaign which might have involved the immediate destruction of the Greek Catholic Church in western Ukraine.[9]

While Soviet actions remained fairly restrained during this period, the press was permitted to launch several assaults against the church, by accusing it of having "performed the role of a faithful servant of bourgeois Poland in western Ukraine.... The Uniate Metropolitan, the bishop, the priest, [and] the monk were faithful servants of the counterrevolution, traitors to the interests of the people, its enemies."[10] After several such articles in the initial months of Soviet rule, the nascent press campaign was cut short, and an uneasy truce between the spiritual and temporal authorities held until the outbreak of hostilities with Germany in June 1941.

In the wake of the Soviet retreat, Sheptyts'kyi was once again free to express his highly negative views about Soviet Communism in sermons, pastoral letters, and articles.[11] Initially, he supported the proclamation of Ukrainian statehood by the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists on 30 June 1941. However, after the suppression of this administration by the German occupation authorities, he lent his authority to the more moderate Ukrainian National Council,[12] and when even this body was disallowed, he continued to try and mitigate the harshness of German policy toward the Ukrainians.

In his dealings with the Nazis, Sheptyts'kyi was not afraid to criticize their excesses, a stance which enhanced his respect among the populace. This phenomenon was not lost on the Soviets, whose leading western Ukrainian propagandist, Iaroslav Halan, refrained from criticizing the Greek Catholic hierarchy until well after the Red Army had retaken L'viv. On the contrary, in a commentary written in April 1942, Halan even accused the Nazis of manufacturing evidence of supposed Catholic support. Halan also asked rhetorically whether "Goebbels still encourages himself with the hope that with the assistance of such a primitive falsification [a photo of Greek Catholic priests welcoming Hans Frank to L'viv] he could ever convince the world that Hitlerite Germany is purportedly being supported in its evil-doing by the Catholic Church?"[13]

The Metropolitan overcame his distaste for Communism so he could come to terms with the re-establishment of Soviet rule in western Ukraine in 1944. He wrote a conciliatory letter to Stalin, and ordered local parishes to take up a collection for the Soviet Red Cross. In fact, these were among the last acts of the seriously ill hierarch, who died in L'viv on 1 November 1944, without having secured any guarantees from the state regarding the future of his church. His death was a turning point. The very personality and stature that had made the living man virtually unassailable in western Ukrainian society were then taken up by the enemies of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as the justification for its destruction. A terse TASS dispatch dated 2 November 1944, was the last Soviet official voice to refer to the Metropolitan without resorting to invective.[14]

The first of the new defamatory school of Sheptyts'kyi biographers was Iaroslav Halan.[15] His debut in this genre, *Z khrestom chy z nozhem?* (With the Cross or with the Knife?) was essentially an unflattering biographical sketch of Sheptyts'kyi prefaced by a very brief history of church union in Galicia which concluded with the Old Church Slavonic query, "Kamo hriadeshy?" (Quo vadis?), directed to the Ukrainian Catholic clergy. They, in turn, were described as criminals whose "bloody activities... must be decisively curtailed."[16]

To assist further in achieving the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church, Halan's second brochure, *Shcho take uniia?* (What's the Union?), was released in 1946. This publication contained a much more detailed treatment of the church's early history, but it, too, did not neglect to devote considerable ink to Sheptyts'kyi's life and work. It concluded with condemnations of Ukrainian Catholic priests as "outlaws who wear the cassock only because it is easier to hide a knife under it." As for a solution to the Uniate problem, it was to be found in the officially-sanctioned formulation: "Thanks to Soviet rule and thanks to the Soviet Constitution, the descendants of those who once fought and suffered for the Orthodox faith today have an unrestricted opportunity to return to the faith of their ancestors."[17]

These early postwar works by Halan provided the basic outlines of the stereotyped image of Sheptyts'kyi which is still flourishing in the Soviet Ukrainian media. The basic scenario is that the Vatican, in association with the Prussia of Wilhelm II (1888-1918), schemed during the 1880s and 1890s to subjugate all of eastern Europe both politically and spiritually. In particular, they sought someone who could transform the Greek Catholic Church into an offensive weapon. "Thus began the career of a young, brilliant officer in the Austrian army, a Ukrainianized Pole, Count Andrii Sheptyts'kyi, of the land-owning Sheptyts'kyi family."[18] Halan's *Z khrestom chy z nozhem?* is considered by scholars in the West as the second phase in the suppression of the Uniates. Then "attacks were launched against the UCC's [Ukrainian Catholic Church's] hierarchy, questioning their loyalty and tarnishing the image of the Church,"[19] or more graphically, it was "a vast campaign of slander and intimidation... in the Soviet Ukrainian press and radio... recalling by its violence the witch hunts of *Yezhovshchina*."[20]

Without detracting from the validity of these observations, it is worth noting that *Z khrestom chy z nozhem?* and *Shcho take uniia?* occasionally gave the Metropolitan the benefit of the doubt (from the Soviet point of view), especially in their treatment of his last years. On the one hand, Halan claimed that the Metropolitan "was sinking ever deeper into the swamp of treason. His ambitious dreams knew no bounds: he was ready to do anything for the sake of their realization."[21] Halan also detailed Sheptyts'kyi's alleged collaboration with the Nazis. On the other hand, the author seemed to detect a change of heart in Sheptyts'kyi during the winter of 1941-1942. At first, that change—as depicted by Halan—was insincere:

> Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, seeing that his master Hitler, despite initial successes, will lose, came to the conclusion that one must think of the future; it was necessary to camouflage his links with the Germans and their faithful hirelings from the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army]. . . . [He] was not one of those people who faint upon seeing blood. He was shaken by something else: the consciousness of his failure, the consciousness of the terrible catastrophe which had befallen his entire world view and shattered the results of more than a half-century of his feverish activity.

Halan went on to ascribe to Sheptyts'kyi the conviction that "the church cannot be based on the betrayal of the people, on the innocent blood of its children, on mercenary and amoral clergymen,"[22] and he quoted from several of the Metropolitan's pastoral letters dating from 1941-1943, in which Sheptyts'kyi condemned fratricide and murder. This "maneuver" purportedly alienated his advisors who began to look "with increasing hostility at their enfeebled pastor."[23] After the "liberation" of L'viv, Halan's Sheptyts'kyi resolutely decided to call an archeparchial sobor, to condemn "the bloody deeds of the Banderite gang," and to welcome the "spring breeze" of Soviet rule:

> This was Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's swan song. Evidently, in his dying days there glowed in his consciousness that feeling of responsibility which he had toward the Ukrainian people for all the anti-popular deeds he had committed. In his last days he had wanted to make up for his transgres-

> sions. But his aspirations were cut short. He died unexpectedly, and only time will tell if, at the moment of his mysterious death, the mournful shadow of Ivan Naumovych did not appear above him.[24]

In effect, Halan was accusing those nearest to the Metropolitan of poisoning him, for this was the fate that ostensibly had befallen Naumovych. Thus, even the death of the Metropolitan was exploited, in order to cast suspicion on his successor, on the entire leadership of the Greek Catholic Church, and even on the Vatican.[25]

As soon as the Greek Catholic hierarchy had been arrested (in most cases, only five days after the publication of *Z khrestom chy z nozhem?*) and sentenced to long prison terms, this accusation, as well as the story of Sheptyts'kyi's deathbed conversion to Soviet patriotism, disappeared from the propagandistic repertoire. Halan changed his story without offering any explanations. This was made easier by the fact that *Z khrestom chy z nozhem?* and *Shcho take uniia?* had originally appeared under the pseudonym Volodymyr Rosovych.[26] By 1948, and writing under his own name, Halan described the Metropolitan as a collaborator "to the end" and co-organizer of the Waffen-SS Division Galizien. All of this

> happened during the period of the mass execution of Jews by the Hitlerites and of the Polish population by the Banderites. Of course, this was a crime, but the Metropolitan had a clear conscience. In the end, he personally was not doing the killing; and besides, the victims of the killing did not belong to the church which he controlled.[27]

Halan's initial attacks on Sheptyts'kyi were a strictly Galician phenomenon. His brochures were published in press runs of ten thousand by the L'viv newspaper, *Vil'na Ukraïna*. For example, *Z khrestom chy z nozhem?* was one of only two publications dealing with religion and atheism released in any language throughout the entire Soviet Union in 1945. Indeed, Halan's writings accounted for six of the nine Ukrainian-language books and pamphlets on religion published in 1945-1950.[28] The general anti-Catholic propaganda campaign unleashed during Stalin's last years had only an indirect bearing on the banned Greek Catholic Church and its late primate.[29] It was only after Khrushchev's consolidation of power in 1957 that the publication of anti-religious literature in Ukrainian increased five-fold and the publication of anti-Uniate propaganda in book form became widespread.[30]

The Soviet image of Sheptyts'kyi is promoted on several levels. He is accorded attention in academic histories, popular histories, documentary fiction, and the school curriculum. A recent example of the accepted Soviet academic view on these matters is Violli Dobretsova's *Natsionalizm i relihiia na sluzhbi antykomunizmu* (Nationalism and Religion in the Service of Anti-Communism), with the more descriptive subtitle: "On the counterrevolutionary activities of bourgeois nationalist and clerical organizations in the western Ukrainian lands in the 1920s and 1930s and the struggle of progressive forces against them." The author accepted as axiomatic the innate perfidy of the Uniates, noting that "the anti-popular, reactionary character of the Uniate Church and of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism has been researched and exposed in the works of Soviet historians and philosophers, and in doctoral dissertations." Thus, it followed that "the activities of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and the Uniate Church headed by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi were counterrevolutionary and anti-popular already on the eve of and during World War I."[31]

Dobretsova went on to describe the role of Sheptyts'kyi in the formation of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (a Ukrainian military unit in the Austro-Hungarian army), which she accused of war crimes. Sheptyts'kyi's key position in interwar Ukrainian economic life was highlighted and his views on social life were debunked. Quotations from clerical sources were countered with references to the classics of Marxism-Leninism.[32] As for the Metropolitan during the "Great Patriotic" World War II years, he and "his 'holy warriors' during the war exhorted the faithful to a 'holy war' against the Soviet Union, to the destruction of the partisans, while they blessed the bloody carnage of the nationalists and handed Soviet patriots over to the Gestapo."[33] Although this is a rather distorted and unappealing presentation of some of the more important aspects and periods of the Metropolitan's life, Dobretsova does appear to want her evidence to speak for itself and did not resort to crude epithets and comparisons. A further discouragement to defamatory flights of fancy is her use of footnotes which is by no means standard Soviet procedure.

In 1983, a group of twelve Soviet "candidates and doctors of science," including Klym Dmytruk (author of *Svastyka na sutanakh* [The Swastika on the Priestly Cassocks]) and Iurii Iu. Slyvka (editor of two collections of documents concerning the Uniate Church)[34] published a collective English-language study entitled, *Uniate Church: Forcible Establishment, Natural Failure*. The authors set for themselves some rather ambitious goals. They claimed that in their work "a critical analysis of the ideology and activity of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and the gloomy prospects for the subversive acts of the remnants of the Uniate-nationalist emigration are shown."[35] Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was depicted first and foremost as the link between the Greek Catholic Church and "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Moreover,

> having mastered methods of Jesuit diplomacy. . . . [he] began taming officials of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist camp, and insisted that each of their actions should be carried out with his blessings. . . . The Metropolitan's residence in the Church of St. George became not only a religious centre but also the headquarters of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.[36]

In essence, Sheptyts'kyi was portrayed as a complete opportunist who "served bourgeois Poland with the same loyalty he previously showed to the Habsburg monarchy."[37] Yet, even while loyally serving Poland, the Metropolitan had already pinned his hopes on Nazi Germany. This return to a German orientation was, they claimed, somehow reflected in the creation of KAUM (Katolyts'ka Aktsiia Ukraïns'koï Molodi), translated in the volume rather clumsily as the "Catholic Act of Ukrainian Youth" and described inaccurately as "national assault bands according to the fascist style." The authors confused KAUM with the scouting organization Plast—which had been dissolved in 1930, almost three years before Hitler's takeover in Germany—and mentioned that Plast awarded its Swastika of Merit to the Metropolitan. They then came up with a striking image: "The cross and swastika on the chest of the head of the Uniate Church clearly symbolized its new essence."[38]

They said the new, ostensibly Nazified Uniate Church "openly appeared as assistant to the fascist invaders" in 1941. In addition to greeting the victorious German army, "Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his accomplices in every way supported and blessed the bloody acts of the subversive and police sub-units which were formed by the German fascist invaders."[39] This last assertion, while not directly branding the Metropolitan as a criminal, went a long way towards implying it by describing his associates as accomplices or even myrmidons. Since it would be out of place for the Soviet figure of Sheptyts'kyi to have any humanitarian impulses, an alternative explanation was necessary to describe his rescue of L'viv's Jewish leaders. The authors admitted "that the Metropolitan's residence—the St. George Cathedral—became a hiding place for the Zionist Levin and rabbi Kahane." However, they hastened to add, this was only because "already in those times, to save these two representatives of the 'God-chosen' people was planned by an anti-Semite Sheptytsky with the far-reaching aim of having a profitable cooperation with Zionists in the future."[40]

The image of Sheptyts'kyi which the Soviet authors of *Uniate Church* presented to English-language readers, appears to be at least as negative, if not more so, than the image presented to the Soviet Ukrainian academic reader in Dobretsova's *Natsionalizm i relihiia*. Nevertheless, in both volumes the accusations were restricted to the Metropolitan's participation in public life, and direct name-calling was avoided. One reason may be that these two publications were intended primarily to deal with broader historical problems, such as the "Great October Socialist Revolution and the Struggle of Workers in Western Ukrainian Lands Against Clericalism," and not to focus on personalities. Thus, while both works widely discussed the role of Sheptyts'kyi, they were not, strictly speaking, biographies. In fact, there is no scholarly Soviet biography of Sheptyts'kyi, unless one were to include Serhii Danylenko's *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady* in the biographical category.

However, that work is rather difficult to place within the Soviet publishing spectrum.[41] In a brief summary on the reverse of the title page, *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady* is described as:

> a book about the criminal activities of the Uniate Church . . . an indictment of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. Everything here is credible: the facts, the events, and the names. . . . The book is based largely on hitherto unpublished archival materials. It is aimed at researchers, lecturers, and students at the post-secondary level, teachers, [atheist] lecturers, and propagandists, and will also capture the interest of the mass reader.[42]

Danylenko opened his "historical chronicle" with an imaginary "dialogue of the conspirators" which, while it contributed little to the advance of scholarship, admirably illuminated the threat which the Soviets believe the memory of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi represents. In that dialogue a Ukrainian Catholic cleric implored an unidentified cardinal to

> give us a saint! Our national saint! One who by his chivalry and courage would constantly inspire us in the battle with Godless Communism!
>
> . . . . .
>
> Under the present conditions, he can help us more dead than he could if he were alive. . . . The duration of the process of beatification and later canonization of Metropolitan Andrii will be for us a factor with the assistance of which we can keep the faithful in the homeland and in exile in a state of constant religious . . . fervor. And this fervor is a spiritual state which, with skillful manipulation, can be transformed into an active hatred of the Godless Communist regime.[43]

It is precisely because the late Metropolitan is feared as a potential rallying point for dissidence and opposition that the remainder of the book was devoted to tearing down every conceivable aspect of his reputation. Sheptyts'kyi's vocation was portrayed as a career change from "dashing cavalry officer" (in truth, he spent a miserable four months in the army four years before taking his monastic vows) to hand-picked agent of the Vatican. His aristocratic background was emphasized by the use of the titles "count" and "magnate" rather than Metropolitan. His journeys to Russia were termed "dangerous espionage adventures" on behalf of Vienna, Berlin, and the Vatican.[44] Even the establishment of the Ukrainian National Museum was held against the Metropolitan, for its ostensible purpose was "the falsification of historical facts, that is, the application of his ideology in order to 'adjust' archaeological and linguistic data and historical sources to fit the slogan: 'Galicia—Piedmont of Ukraine'."[45]

Apart from the usual accusations of aiding and abetting Austro-German militarism, Danylenko justified the actions of the tsarist Russian army command, which decided "to put an end to the subversive activities of the Uniate hierarch" by exiling him to Nizhnii Novgorod in September 1914.[46] Even there, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi did not abandon his "insane plans for the eastern Ukraine and the entire Russian East."[47] After his return from exile, the Metropolitan found time to assist both Ievhen Petrushevych and Symon Petliura, thereby simultaneously "betraying" the Ukrainian people and inspiring the creation of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) which, "insidiously duping Ukrainian youth by supposedly setting as its goal the sacred struggle against the Polish occupiers, actually acted in concert with them."[48] Sheptyts'kyi was also accused of having been one of the masterminds of the 1930 "pacification" campaign in which "many thousands" of Ukrainians were executed.[49]

Unlike Dobretsova, Danylenko pried into the Metropolitan's private life, but with mixed results. Despite a professed concern for credible facts, Danylenko was guilty of glaring errors, such as the statement that Roman/Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was one of three brothers, when in fact there had been seven, of whom five survived past childhood.[50] Also, in view of the lack of salacious gossip about the Metropolitan, the author resorted to leering generalities, including a reference to the young Sheptyts'kyi as a "capricious aristocrat who had earlier intrigued his paramours."[51] In an attempt to show that even in old age, the Metropolitan remained as allegedly depraved as ever, Danylenko quoted from what he claimed was the diary of a nun: "I still burn when I think of confession with the Metropolitan, his shameless questions and even more shameless interrogation. . . . He must have sinned many, many times himself to be able to interrogate me in such detail about 'my sin'."[52]

Sheptyts'kyi's relations with the Nazis were treated as inventively as his earlier activities. Danylenko spiced up his narrative with "reconstructed conversations" between historical figures and he refused to be shackled by the constraints of documentation. Even so, one is still rather taken aback when the author went as far as to accuse "the Uniate hierarch Andrii Sheptyts'kyi" of having been "the direct practical instructor and mentor of the most select detachment of the executioners of the Ukrainian people."[53] From this last allegation, it requires only a small further leap of the imagination for another author to produce a screenplay in which an elderly man, upon being asked whose body is being carried through the streets of L'viv on 4 November 1944, replies: "They are burying a murderer . . . "[54]

Such leaps of imagination make possible the scenario for the script of Vladimir Beliaiev's *Ivanna*, which was filmed in 1959 and published as a book soon afterward. It is about the daughter of a Greek Catholic priest who also happens to have Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi for a godfather. This latter connection does her more harm than good, for the Metropolitan helped to keep her out of university under Soviet rule and encouraged her romance with an unsavory nationalist theologian. When, under German rule, the scales finally fell from her eyes and she joined a Soviet partisan group, the Metropolitan joined forces with the Gestapo to lure her to her death. After Ivanna's public execution, Beliaiev's Sheptyts'kyi complained to Admiral Canaris, chief of the German Abwehr: "Why was this not done so as to avoid casting suspicion on me and the Church? Couldn't this impudent girl have been taken somewhere farther away? . . . One should act subtly, not provoke the people!"[55]

There is a revealing Soviet evaluation of the screen portrayal of the Metropolitan in *Ivanna* in a major unsigned review in the journal *Mystetstvo*. The reviewer praised actor D. Stepovyi's "strong" performance as Sheptyts'kyi:

> Because of his illness, the Metropolitan is always sitting in a chair. He is an immobile, sinister figure. Only his eyes move, screened by the lenses of his glasses; the large and restless hands also move a little. This lends greater expressiveness to the voice... sometimes threateningly calm, sometimes insidiously soft and mock-sincere. Before us is a strong and ruthless enemy and misanthrope, a spider who day after day spins a web of spiritual poison and treason.[56]

Clearly, the conscientious Soviet educator must warn young people against the pernicious influence of Sheptyts'kyi and his deeds. This is done with the aid of the works of Iaroslav Halan, which are required reading in Soviet Ukrainian schools. A teacher's handbook suggests that students be assigned an essay on "The Satirical Exposure of the 'Holiness' of the Uniate Church, Metropolitan Andrii Sheptyts'kyi, and of the 'Infallible' Roman Pope in the pamphlets of Ia. Halan." These assigned essays are expected to show how "the biography of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi is the biography of the Uniate Church" and to underline the pernicious "union of the Vatican Satan with the Fascist Beelzebub and the imperialist yellow devil."[57] After the student has completed such a classroom assignment, the identification in the student's mind of Sheptyts'kyi with the forces of evil and darkness should be complete.

Nonetheless, reports from western Ukraine suggest that many Ukrainians, both young and old, continue to disagree with the official Soviet assessment of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. It is this persistence of memory in Soviet Ukraine about the real Sheptyts'kyi, combined with knowledge about the existence in the West of the church he had led for almost half a century, that forces the Soviet authorities to continue what can only be described as a defamatory propaganda campaign against the memory of the Metropolitan. The authorities believe that "even dead he is capable of deceiving the people... and disarming ignorant individuals before the enemy."[58] After all, as the symbol of a rejected past, he has the potential to cause problems for the present and future. Thus, for the foreseeable future Metropolitan Andrei

Sheptyts'kyi is likely to remain the target of unwarranted attacks and the subject of an ominous and negative image in Soviet discourse.

Notes

1. L. I. Il'nyts'ka, *Antynarodnia diial'nist' uniats'koï tserkvy na Ukraïni: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (L'viv, 1976).
2. S. T. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady: istorychna khronika*, 2nd rev. ed. (Kiev, 1972), p. 27.
3. Iurko Nykyforchuk, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna, materialy do bibliohrafiï: spys literatury opublikovanoï na tereni URSR, 1917-1929 rr.* (Kharkiv and Kiev, 1932).
4. M. Konchak, "Khrestom i bahnetom," *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, no. 10 (Kharkiv, 1931), pp. 67-73.
5. Iaroslav Halan, *Tvory*, vol. II (Kiev, 1977), p. 25. The article, "Kury na ganku" (1931), was directed against the entire Ukrainian socio-political elite in L'viv.
6. Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, 1983), p. 201.
7. Milena Rudnyts'ka, ed., *Zakhidnia Ukraïna pid bol'shevykamy, 1939-41* (New York, 1958), p. 119.
8. Ibid., p. 126.
9. Ironically, the rapprochement was prompted by Stalin's desire to enlist it in "smoothing the absorption" of the new western borderlands by introducing a more compliant church into these territories. David E. Powell, *Antireligious Propaganda in the Soviet Union: A Study of Mass Persuasion* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 32.
10. F. Iastrebov, "Uniats'ke dukhivnytstvo na sluzhbi u pol's'koho panstva," *Komunist*, 9 October 1939, quoted in Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "The Uniate Church in Soviet Ukraine: A Case Study in Soviet Church Policy," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, VII (Toronto, 1965), pp. 93-4.
11. In 1936 Sheptyts'kyi issued a pastoral letter in which he described Bolshevism as a threat to the church and to the Ukrainian nation: "Whoever helps the Communists in any of their activities, betrays his own people." Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, "Nebezpeka teperishnoï khvyli . . . ," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkiial'ni vidomosti, XLIX*, 7–9 (L'viv, 1936), p. 84. In October 1941, Sheptyts'kyi contributed an introduction to a collection of essays on the period of Soviet rule in which he wrote: "The entire body of society, the whole people, and every cell out of which a people is formed, that is, every family, weakens and decays in the atmosphere of the Bolshevik state; and everyone sees before him, like some hellish vision, death by exhaustion, by hunger, by loss of blood." Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraïna*, p. 10.
12. Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu* (New York and Toronto, 1957), pp. 50, 73.
13. From a radio commentary, "Kham," written in April 1942, first published in a brochure, *Front v efiri* (Moscow, 1943), and reprinted in Halan, *Tvory*, vol. II, pp. 89-205, especially p. 98.
14. "Smert' mitropolita Sheptitskogo," *Izvestiia*, 4 November 1944.
15. For contrasting views of Halan's own life, see the biography by Borys Buriak in Iaroslav Halan, *Tvory*, vol. I (Kiev, 1977), pp. 5-47; and Pavlo Tereshchuk, *Istoriia odnoho zradnyka* (Toronto, 1961).
16. Halan, "Z khrestom chy z nozhem," in his *Tvory*, vol. II, p. 441. It was first published as an article in the L'viv oblast Ukrainian-language daily newspaper *Vil'na*

Ukraïna on 8 April 1945, and twice reprinted as a brochure,

17. Halan, "Shcho take uniia?," in his *Tvory*, vol. II, p. 486.
18. Halan, "Z khrestom chy z nozhem," in his *Tvory*, vol. I, p. 428.
19. Vasyl Markus, "The Soviet Government and the Ukrainian Catholic Church," in Miroslav Labunka and Leonid Rudnytzky, eds., *The Ukrainian Catholic Church 1945-1975: A Symposium* (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 26-7.
20. Bociurkiw, "The Uniate Church," pp. 98-9.
21. Halan, "Z khrestom chy z nozhem?," in his *Tvory*, vol. II, p. 434.
22. Ibid., p. 437.
23. Ibid., p. 438.
24. Ibid., p. 439.
25. Halan, "Shcho take uniia?," in his *Tvory*, vol. II, p. 485. As for Naumovych, the nineteenth-century Galician-Ukrainian convert to Orthodoxy, he actually died in 1891 far from Galicia in the Black Sea port of Novorossisk, after having emigrated to the Russian Empire seven years before.
26. In Vladimir Beliaiev's novel based on Halan's life, *Do ostann'oï khvylyny*, a colleague asked the writer why he chose to write under a pseudonym. The answer: "Out of tactical considerations. . . so as to confuse the enemy camp. They know me from way back, but now they'll think a new adversary has appeared." V. P. Beliaiev, *Ostannie sal'to Siroho* (Kiev, 1981), p. 281. "Rosovych's" articles were written from an anti-Uniate but not anti-religious perspective, perhaps in the hope that they would be ascribed to an Orthodox or apostate Uniate author.
27. Halan, "Prysmerk chuzhykh bohiv" (1948), in his *Tvory*, vol. II, p. 527.
28. *Ezhegodnik knigi SSSR* (Moscow, 1945-1950). Halan's writings have since been brought out in seventy different editions for a total of over 2.5 million copies in Soviet Ukraine alone. Cf. Iaroslav Moroz, "Muzei na Hvardiis'kii," *Zhovten'*, XXXIV, 7 (L'viv, 1984), p. 78.
29. Powell, *Antireligious Propaganda*, p. 39.
30. From four to twenty-three titles between 1956 and 1957. Cf. *Ezhegodnik knigi SSSR* (Moscow, 1956-1957).
31. V. V. Dobretsova, *Natsionalizm i relihiia na sluzhbi antykomunizmu* (L'viv, 1976), p. 7.
32. Ibid., pp. 21, 24, 27, 28.
33. Ibid., p. 47.
34. Iurii Iu. Slyvka, ed., *Dokumenty rozpovidaiut'* (Uzhhorod, 1971) and *Pravda pro uniiu* (L'viv, 1965).
35. *Uniate Church: Forcible Establishment, Natural Failure* (Kiev, 1983), p. 2.
36. Ibid., pp. 53-4.
37. Ibid., p. 139.
38. Ibid., p. 36.
39. Ibid., p. 39. Sheptyts'kyi did greet the Germans. That is a fact with which one cannot argue. It is the motivation for this welcome which is disputed.
40. Ibid., p. 101.
41. The book began as a serialized article entitled "Mytropolyche hnizdo" ("The Metropolitan's Nest") in the L'viv literary monthly *Zhovten'*, XVIII, 6 and 7 (L'viv, 1968), pp. 10-32, 77-83. The first installment appeared in the "Poetry and Prose" section in June 1968, while later chapters were accommodated in the so-called Iaroslav Halan section of the journal, which specializes in anti-nationalist and anti-religious propaganda. An expanded version was published in book form by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences publishing house, Naukova dumka, in 1970 and again in 1972 under the title *Dorohoiu han'by i zrady*, with the subtitle "istorychna khronika" (an historical chronicle). A re-edited translation was also published in

Russian in the Contemporary Religions series of Moscow's Publishing House for Political Literature (Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury) under the simple title *Uniaty* (Moscow, 1972).

42. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, p. 2.
43. Ibid., pp. 3, 5.
44. Ibid., p. 27.
45. Ibid., p. 35. In other Soviet publications, the Metropolitan has been accused of personally stealing some of the museum's display items. Cf. Mykola Virnyi, "Kinets' odniieï mistyfikatsiï," *Vitchyzna*, XXXII, 7 (Kiev, 1964), pp. 140-1.
46. Danylenko, *Dorohoiu han'by*, pp. 46-7.
47. Ibid., p. 87.
48. Ibid., p. 131.
49. Ibid., p. 108.
50. Ibid., p. 9.
51. Ibid., p. 8.
52. Ibid., p. 289.
53. Ibid., p. 118.
54. Beliaiev, *Ostannie sal'to*, p. 185.
55. Ibid., p. 27.
56. "Syla pravdy," *Mystetstvo*, VII, 1 (Kiev, 1960), p.27.
57. V. D. Tymchenko, *Vyvchennia tvorchosti Iaroslava Halana* (Kiev, 1979), p. 110.
58. Vladimir Beliaiev, "Vykryttia," *Novi knyhy Ukraïny*, III, 22 (Kharkiv, 1960), p. 30. The Soviet media campaign continues, and among the most recent significant publications in this genre is a fictionalized account of the patron-artist relationship between Sheptyts'kyi and the painter Oleksa Novakivs'kyi in V. P. Dobrychev, *Labiryntamy Uniï*, 2nd ed. (L'viv, 1986).

Chapter 21

Western Historiography and Future Research

Michael Hrynchyshyn

This essay will first examine the historiography about Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, excluding, however, the numerous tracts about him that have appeared in Poland and the Soviet Union which are discussed in Chapters 19 and 20 of this volume. The works discussed here will be grouped into four categories: (1) studies written during the Metropolitan's lifetime; (2) studies written after the Metropolitan's death; (3) writings by the Metropolitan; and (4) unpublished dissertations and theses. The second part of the essay will suggest specific areas in which future research might be conducted.

Studies Written During the Metropolitan's Lifetime

A number of important works were written about Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and most appeared during his lifetime. Among the earliest and most valuable, especially from the standpoint of gaining a rare insight into the psychological development of the future churchman, are the memoirs of his mother, Zofia Fredro-Szeptycka. Originally written at the end of the nineteenth century, these memoirs cover the years of Roman's (later Andrei's) life from his birth in 1865 until 1892, concluding in September when he said his first mass in his native village of Prylbychi.[1]

After Sheptyts'kyi was nominated bishop of Stanyslaviv (1899) and then metropolitan of L'viv-Halych (1900), several publications appeared, most of which were of a polemical nature. They expressed apprehensiveness over the appointment of a ''Polish nobleman'' as Greek Catholic bishop or skepticism about his Ukrainian views which were of particular concern to representatives of the Old Ruthenian and Russophile national orientations in Galicia.[2] With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, followed by the arrest and deportation of the Metropolitan to the Russian Empire, several works appeared that documented his difficult experiences during the years of "Russian exile" that lasted until 1917.[3]

By the 1920s, more analytical works about the Metropolitan began to appear. At the outset of the decade, the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky, a French priest ordained in the Byzantine rite, wrote a series of articles that were later collected and published as a book, which dealt with the pastoral, scholarly, and philanthropic aspects of the Metropolitan.[4] Then, in 1926, on the occasion of Sheptyts'kyi's silver jubilee as head of the Greek Catholic Church in western Ukraine, the journal of the Ukrainian Catholic Academy and the Ukrainian Theological Society, *Bohosloviia*, devoted a special double issue to the Metropolitan. Among the more than twenty contributing authors from Ukrainian lands and western Europe were Mykola Chubatyi, Dmytro Doroshenko, Vasyl' Laba, Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi, Michel d'Herbigny, S. J., Joseph Schrijvers, CSSR, and Iosyf Slipyi.[5] One of the contributions included a succinct yet comprehensive analysis by Iosyf Botsian of the Metropolitan's pastoral letters, even though not all were available to him.[6] Finally, a decade later, the Ukrainian writer and political activist, L'ongyn Tsehel's'kyi, wrote a brief biography tracing the Metropolitan's career until the eve of World War II.[7]

Studies Written After the Metropolitan's Death

Since 1944, a number of books and articles have been written about the Metropolitan, many by people who knew him personally. Such testimonies have particular value, since they are like pieces of a mosaic that contribute to the totality of the image. A mimeographed collection of articles and testimonies appeared on the first anniversary of Sheptyts'kyi's death.[8] This was followed two years later by a biography by Stepan Baran, a scholar and politician who had on-going contacts with the Metropolitan over the course of several decades. The book is based almost exclusively on personal reminiscences, is virtually without source materials, and is somewhat lacking in precision and detail.[9] Then, on the fifth anniversary of the Metropolitan's death, a well-written and didactically inspiring popular biography was produced by Ivan Bodnaruk.[10]

By the late 1950s, the Redemptorist Order in Canada became particularly active in publishing works about the Metropolitan through its journal and series of books, both entitled *Lohos*. In 1958, *Lohos* published the views of an Orthodox Ukrainian, Volodymyr Doroshenko, about the person he described as the *Magnus Metropolita*—the Great Metropolitan. This work was not a biography, but rather personal impressions based on several encounters with the Metropolitan.[11] In the course of the next three years, *Lohos* also released a collection of articles on Sheptyts'kyi by several distinguished Ukrainian scholars,[12] as well as a series of studies by Bohdan Kazymyra about the Metropolitan's efforts on behalf of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, Yugoslavia, and other countries. Kazymyra was particularly interested in Sheptyts'kyi's *Memorial* to the bishops of Canada and his relations with the Redemptorists.[13]

In the early 1960s, *Lohos* published two works by Joseph Krawcheniuk. The first is a bibliography of English-language publications about the Metropolitan, which lists forty-eight items, including eighteen *New York Times* articles dating from 1916 to the obituary of 28 November 1944.[14] Krawcheniuk's second work, with the colorful Ukrainian title *Veleten' zo Sviatoiurs'koï hory* (*The Giant of St. George's Hill*), is a biography that includes a bibliography of 280 works, mostly in western European languages.[15] Although only a small number of these are primary sources, Krawcheniuk's bibliography provides a valuable starting point for researchers. In the biographical section of his work, Krawcheniuk presented a chronological overview of the life and work of the Metropolitan. He emphasized Sheptyts'kyi's efforts to establish a Ukrainian university, as well as his participation in the Velehrad Conferences. He also devoted considerable space to the Metropolitan's travels in western Europe, including his participation in ecumenical conferences in Rome, Belgium, France, and Holland. The work concludes with the era of World War II, which coincides with the last years of the Metropolitan's life. In the context of those years, Krawcheniuk provided a summary description of Sheptyts'kyi's efforts to save Jews and his compassion and affection for that persecuted race. The book's appendices contain the texts of several of the Metropolitan's writings.

About the time that the Redemptorists in Canada began publishing works on Sheptyts'kyi, other valuable books about the Metropolitan were appearing in western Europe. Three deserve to be singled out. The first was a biography by Hryhorii Prokopchuk (Gregor Prokoptschuk) that appeared in 1955. It was the first serious effort to make the Metropolitan known to the non-Ukrainian world.[16] This was followed by a biography in Dutch by Ursula Maria Schuver, OSB. Schuver's 456-page popular, yet fairly complete, life of the Metropolitan underscores the fact that Sheptyts'kyi's apostolic zeal was not limited to Ukrainians, and in that regard much space is given to the Metropolitan's apostolate in Russia.[17]

However, it is the third of these western works, a monograph by the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky, which remains the most scholarly biography published about the Metropolitan to date.[18] Although the manuscript was completed in March 1957, the book was published in 1964, largely through the financial support of Cardinal Iosyf Slipyi. Korolevsky had known Sheptyts'kyi for almost forty years, during which time they had exchanged dozens of letters. In a sense, Korolevsky was the Metropolitan's unofficial representative in Rome. He was entrusted with many important and confidential matters, and a genuine rapport existed between the two churchmen. Although well documented, this biography is far from being complete, because his knowledge of the Metropolitan was limited to the occasional contacts the two men had in Rome and to their exchange of correspondence. Unfortunately, Korolevsky had read few of the Metropolitan's writings, and therefore was not familiar with his theological and ascetical thinking. Moreover, he did not have the opportunity to observe at first hand the Metropolitan's pastoral activity in his extensive archeparchy. While it is not complete, Korolevsky's biography does contain precise and detailed information.

Besides these more substantial works, numerous booklets and pamphlets have appeared in the four decades since the Metropolitan's death. Some are by authors who knew the Metropolitan personally and were rather close to him: Archbishop Ivan Buchko, Vasyl' Laba, Irenei Nazarko, OSBM, Josaphat Jean, OSBM, Mykhailo Ostroverkha, Mykola Chubatyi, Ilarion Holubovych, and Ivan Hryniokh.[19] Some are by Jews, such as Kurt Lewin and Leo Heiman, who survived the Holocaust because of the compassion and ingenuity of the Metropolitan.[20] Finally, some are by scholars who have done research on the life and work of the Metropolitan: Bohdan Kazymyra, Elie Borschak, George Perejda, CSSR, Mykhailo Marunchak, and Michael Hrynchyshyn, CSSR.[21]

Writings by the Metropolitan

In 1955, the Vatican approved the initiation of the process of beatification on behalf of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, and this led to a careful compilation of his writings. Because procedures for beatification are important to scholarship about the Metropolitan, it might be useful to say a few words about how the process has developed. It began in 1953, when leaflets were distributed in England with a brief biographical sketch and a prayer for the glorification of Metropolitan Andrei. Shortly thereafter, Archbishop Ivan Buchko initiated efforts in Rome to begin officially the beatification process. Then, in January 1955, the Congregation of Rites issued a decree permitting such action. The Reverend Piotr Kreuza was appointed postulator and the Reverend Michel de Lattre vice-postulator. Less than a year later, the Reverend Kreuza was released of his charge, and in December 1957, Archbishop Buchko appointed me as postulator.

In September 1958, I went to Rome and preparations were started for the official opening of the beatification process. Among other things, the *Articuli pro Causae Instructione* had to be drawn up and printed,[22] and a list of official witnesses had to be established. On 5 December 1958, a solemn opening session was held in the offices of the Vicariate of Rome, during which the

Articuli and a list of witnesses were submitted. However, the initial joy over this first step was short-lived, because almost immediately the Polish hierarchy took steps to suspend the beatification process. Within a year, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Primate of Poland, succeeded in obtaining a suspension of the process from the Vatican's Congregation of Rites.

Hence, when one of the official witnesses, Kurt Lewin, travelled to Rome at his own expense to testify, he was told upon his arrival that the beatification process had been suspended. However, Cardinal Eugène Tisserant used his influence with Pope John XXIII to have the suspension lifted, so that the process was soon resumed and Mr. Lewin's testimony was received by the beatification tribunal. However, Cardinal Wyszyński continued his efforts to shackle the cause, and in May 1962, he obtained a second suspension. Moreover, this time the suspension was issued by the Holy Office itself.

Through the efforts of Archbishop Iosyf Slipyi, the successor to Sheptyts'kyi who after eighteen years in Soviet prisons was released and sent to Rome in 1963, the suspension was again lifted. Finally, after a decade of interrupted work, including depositions made by about fifty witnesses, we were prepared to close the informative process. On 6 December 1968, a solemn closing session was held. Since that time, the second phase—the apostolic process—has been in progress. The present postulator is the Reverend Stephen Harvanko. Over the past decade and a half, the beatification process has made only minimal progress. This is largely the result of unsustained effort on the part of the postulation. For instance, the very important document, *positio super virtutuum*, has still not been submitted to the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints.

During the course of the informative process, the postulation was faced with the formidable task of collecting the writings of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. In the end, a total of twenty-two volumes in nine languages was compiled. At the closing session of the informative process, a copy of the collection was submitted to the tribunal, and after the closure, it was delivered to the Congregation of Rites. The collection included the following volumes:

1. *Epistolae et Relationes ad Sanctam Sedem lingua Gallica Exaratae, 1914-1943* (475 pages)
2. *Varie Epistolae et Relationes, 1901-1941* (Scripta in lingua gallica, germanica, ucraina, polonia, anglica, hebraica, 323 pages)
3. *Epistolae et Relationes ad Sanctam Sedem, necnon ad alias personas Linguis Latina et Italica Exaratae, 1899-1943* (358 pages)
4. *Epistolae Servi Dei ad: Constantinum Bohachevsky, Joannes Buczko, Vladimirum Ledochoski, SJ., et ad alias personas, 1900-1943* (Lingua ucraina, polonia, gallica, latina, 390 pages)
5. *Epistolae Servi Dei ad: Cyrillum Korolevsky, Patres CSSR, Petrum*

Wolkonsky, 1909-1944 (Lingua gallica, 302 pages)

6. *Opera Varia, 1901-1937* (Lingua ucraina, latina, germanica, gallica, 142 pages)
7. *Epistolae Pastorales*, Tomus Primus: *1899-1902* (Lingua ucraina, 272 pages)
8. *Epistolae Pastorales*, Tomus Secundus: *1902-1906* (Lingua ucraina, polonia, 262 pages)
9. *Epistolae Pastorales*, Tomus Tertius: *1906-1938* (Lingua ucraina, gallica, 245 pages)
10. *Epistolae Pastorales*, Tomus Quartus: *1904-1923* (Lingua ucraina, 205 pages)
11. *Informationes Archidiocesanae Leopoliensis, 1902-1933* (Lingua ucraina, 248 pages)
12. *Informationes Archidiocesanae Leopoliensis, 1934-1936* (Lingua ucraina, 329 pages)
13. *Perfectio Christiana*, Pars Prima: *1936* (Lingua ucraina, 278 pages)
14. *Informationes Archidiocesanae 1937-1939* (Lingua ucraina, 298 pages)
15. *Epistolae Pastorales Collectivae, 1905-1936* (Lingua ucraina, 147 pages)
16. *Tractatus et Opuscula, 1901-1913* (Lingua ucraina, 203 pages)
17. *Scripta Unionistica et Alia Opera, 1921-1939* (Lingua gallica, germanica, 153 pages)
18. *Ex Periodico "Nyva" et Opera Varia, 1908-1943* (Lingua ucraina, polonia, 247 pages)
19. *Informationes Archidiocesanae Leopoliensis, 1939-1944* (Lingua ucraina, 534 pages)
20. *Typicon* (Lingua gallica, 344 pages)
21. *Articuli Metr. Andrae in "Meta," "Ameryka," "Dilo," "Krakivski visti," 1923-1962* (Lingua ucraina, 94 pages)
22. *Epistolae Metr. Andrae ad Prof. B. Lepkyj, 1926-1938* (Lingua ucraina, 11 pages)

On the basis of these twenty-two volumes compiled for the beatification, six volumes of the Metropolitan's writings have now been published and made available to the scholarly world. These include two volumes of pastoral letters from the years 1939 to 1944,[23] the *Typicon,*[24] pastoral letters from the years 1898-1901,[25] ascetic-moral writings,[26] and pastoral writings from the years 1932-1939.[27] In addition there is a volume of Sheptyts'kyi's pastoral letters to the eparchy of Stanyslaviv that appeared in 1935 as part of a projected but never completed series.[28]

For researchers and analysts of the Metropolitan's thought, probably the most useful aid is the "Introduction" to the pastoral letters from the years 1899 to 1901 by Anatol' Maria Bazylevych.[29] This over 200-page study contains a comprehensive overview of virtually all of the Metropolitan's published writings, with the exception of his correspondence, letters, and reports. Of particular value is Bazylevych's classification of Sheptyts'kyi's writings into: (a) theological-pastoral and ascetical works; (b) canonical-constitutional works and monastic constitutions; (c) writings on the subject of church unity; (d) writings on ritual matters; (e) historical works; (f) writings on art; and (g) writings on social issues. In each section, Bazylevych listed the writings that come under that particular heading, and for each he provided a précis and a short analysis. Occasionally, he pointed out how a particular work is related to other writings of the Metropolitan. Bazylevych's introduction is clearly the best place to begin research on the Sheptyts'kyi writings.

Another aspect of the beatification process was an independent study by two theologians in order to screen Sheptyts'kyi's writings for any possible doctrinal deviation or for infringements of charity or other Christian virtues. The result was a published report entitled *Positio Super Scriptis.*[30] It begins with a brief biographical sketch of the Metropolitan followed by a detailed listing and description of his writings. The first report, submitted 15 July 1974, treated separately the different types of the Metropolitan's writings (pastoral letters, theological-ascetical writings, other letters) and evaluated Sheptyts'kyi's spiritual state, including his relationship with the Apostolic See, his liturgical principles and preoccupations, his appreciation of religious life, and his ardent ecumenical concerns. The second report, submitted 30 January 1980, begins with a historical overview of the Metropolitan See of Halych and a brief biographical sketch of Sheptyts'kyi. That is followed by a threefold categorization of the Metropolitan's writings into doctrinal-pastoral, ecumenical, and letters—personal and official.

Unpublished Dissertations and Theses

During the past three decades, several noteworthy attempts have been made to analyze and evaluate the writings as well as the actual achievements of the Metropolitan in certain areas. Unfortunately, most of these remain unpublished and are, therefore, not readily available to the public. The one exception is by the Reverend Ivan Hryniokh, who examined some of the Metropolitan's ideas and efforts on the ecumenical movement.[31] Hryniokh knew the Metropolitan personally since Sheptyts'kyi had sent him abroad to study. Upon completion of those studies, Sheptyts'kyi appointed Hryniokh professor at the L'viv Theological Academy. Thus Hryniokh was able to acquire an intimate knowledge of the Metropolitan. The first part of Hryniokh's study contains four short essays on various aspects of the Metropolitan's thought. The core of the book is a treatise, ''Blahovistnyk iednosty'' (The Harbinger of Unity), that focuses on Sheptyts'kyi's ecumenism. Hryniokh reminds us that the Metropolitan was an optimist and peacemaker who believed that reconciliation was possible and attainable.

Hryniokh was the first to attempt an in-depth analysis of the Metropolitan's work for church union. Since then, two other broader and more detailed studies have been made of the ecumenical aspect of his life. The first, by the Reverend Danylo Dzwonyk, attempted "to present systematically and chronologically the mission of the church as it was expressed in the unionistic apostolate of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi."[32] Dzwonyk argued that in order to fulfill the ecumenical mission, Sheptyts'kyi adhered strictly to the will of the Apostolic See, "without ever exceeding his authority or taking matters into his own hands."[33] Using an historical approach, Dzwonyk discussed and evaluated the various ecumenical plans and projects which the Metropolitan initiated or in which he was involved.

It is the Reverend Lubomyr Husar, however, who has provided the most extensive study of Sheptyts'kyi's ecumenical activity and, particularly, his ecumenical theology.[34] Husar's dissertation went beyond the merely historical. Instead, it is principally a theological analysis of the Metropolitan's thoughts, concepts, and projects. Husar synthesized the Metropolitan's extremely rich ecumenical legacy. Summing up the proscriptive value of his work, Husar stated: "Lasting unions are born of the desire for the Union of a moral totality of a people. And such desire in turn can arise only when the Orthodox have the right understanding of what the Union stands for. . . . To dispel [those] misconceptions, one has to generate a *movement of ideas* which will change their understanding of the Union and dispose them favorably to it. . . . "[35]

The Reverend Ivan Dacko has provided another theological study of the writings of the Metropolitan. Dacko stated his purpose in the following terms: "The Church of the Fathers is the common platform for the East and the West. By returning to the pristine tradition of the church in her structure and adapting her teaching to the present, Szeptyckyj saw the possibility of achieving true unity of the Universal Church of Christ. It is precisely from this point of view that we can speak of Szeptyckyj as a rediscoverer of traditional Eastern ecclesiology and hence ecumenism."[36] Unfortunately, the author's attempt to grasp the Metropolitan's understanding of the church and to develop a comprehensive synthesis of the Metropolitan's ecclesiology is not entirely successful. However, Dacko did point out a number of directions for future research into various aspects of the Metropolitan's ecclesiological thought.

Recently, a fine historical-canonical study was completed by the Reverend Vladimir Mudri. It deals with the five archieparchial synods held at L'viv under the leadership of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in 1905, 1940, 1941, 1942, and 1943. The circumstances and content of the synodal decisions and directives are discussed at length.[37] Mudri pointed out the particular importance of the synods of the early 1940s, which concentrated on the Decalogue as it applied to the faithful during the crucial years of World War II. Since each synod lasted about seven months, the resulting spiritual-psychological process served as an important unifying factor between bishops, priests, and the laity, and the synods were at the same time a most valuable means of spiritual renewal.

The Reverend Petro Kostiuk has devoted a master's thesis to the Metropolitan's study, *Dar P''iatdesiatnytsi*,[38] and a doctoral dissertation, now in its final stages, that focusses on two other of his works: *Bozha Mudrist'* and *Khrystiians'ka pravednist'*.[39] The first part of the doctoral dissertation provides a detailed analysis of Sheptyts'kyi's *Bozha Mudrist'* (Divine Wisdom). It shows the practical dimensions of the Metropolitan's theological and ascetical thinking, and how he was more concerned with the acquisition of wisdom than with answering the question: what is wisdom. The second part analyzes *Khrystiians'ka pravednist'*, in which the Metropolitan discusses the practical implications of wisdom for daily life. In a sense, this is a further application of his understanding of divine wisdom wherein the perfection of Christian living is achieved with the help of divine wisdom, which one asks for in humble and persevering prayer. By way of conclusion, Kostiuk's study points out the timeliness and universality of the Metropolitan's thought and the practicality of his writings in general.

Other areas of Sheptyts'kyi's thought have also been covered. Andrii Krawchuk is writing a doctoral dissertation on the social teachings and social action of the Metropolitan. He proposes to analyze Sheptyts'kyi's social thought and to show how it was shaped by political and social factors.[40] For his licentiate, the Reverend John Sianchuk, CSSR, concentrated on Sheptyts'kyi's writings about the immaculate conception, with emphasis on the Metropolitan's understanding and pastoral application of this Marian doctrine.[41] The theological and mystical content in several short writings of the Metropolitan is the subject of a master's thesis by the Reverend Andriy M. Freshyn-Chirovsky.[42] The same author is currently preparing a doctoral thesis on the mystical sophiology of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi.[43] Finally, the priestly ideal in the writings of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi is the subject of a licentiate thesis by a Basilian in Warsaw, Tymoteusz Fesz. His study presents the Metropolitan's understanding of the vertical and horizontal aspects of a priest's life, that is his relationship with God, and his rapport with the people he serves.[44]

Directions for Future Research

The studies mentioned above exemplify the kind of research that can be done on the life and work of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, whose inspirational and productive life was not unlike the lives of the ancient fathers of the church. His perceptive thoughts and spiritual insights, his theology, and his activity lend themselves to further research by students of history, theology, law, and other disciplines. More specifically, I would like to suggest twelve areas for further research and analysis.

(1) As a monk, the Metropolitan had a genuine appreciation for religious life. In the entire history of the Ukrainian church, perhaps no one did more to foster religious life. When he was appointed metropolitan in 1900, the Greek Catholic Church had only three religious communities; by the time of his death in 1944, there were ten or eleven. Some, like the Redemptorists, were Eastern-rite branches of Latin-rite religious institutes. Others, like the Studites, were particular to the realm of Eastern Christendom. By establishing male and female Studite communities, Sheptyts'kyi revived monasticism in its pristine form on Ukrainian lands. Over the years, as the Studite communities grew and developed, the Metropolitan prepared three versions of the *Typicon*. Sheptyts'kyi also drafted completely new rules and constitutions for the Sisters of St. Basil the Great and for the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate. The latter community had been established in 1892 on the basis of temporary and incomplete statutes that were only provisionally approved by then Metropolitan Syl'vester Sembratovych (1885-1898). Later, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi drew up new rules and constitutions for the sisters, which were adopted by a general chapter held in 1907. Therefore, the rich legacy of his writings on monasticism could be the object of much fruitful research and analysis.

(2) As spiritual leader of a large archeparchy and of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a whole, the Metropolitan exercised his pastoral responsibilities under five popes: Leo XIII (1878-1903), Pius X (1903-1914), Benedict XV (1914-1922), Pius XI (1922-1939), and Pius XII (1939-1958). A study could be made of his relationship to different popes and to the Apostolic See. A part of such a study could be an in-depth analysis of the seventeen documents which attest to the particular faculties he received from Pius X. Following the 1905 political changes in the Russian empire which granted greater religious freedom, both Pius X and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi hoped to develop ecumenical activity on that vast territory. In order to accomplish such a mission, the Metropolitan had to have the appropriate faculties. He, therefore, requested and received from the pope powers equal to those of the Maronite patriarch, the apostolic nuncios in both North and South America, and the faculties enjoyed by the Jesuit provincial of the Galician province. So, an important part of a proposed study of the Metropolitan's relations with the Vatican should be a detailed analysis of those seventeen documents which attest to the particular powers and faculties Sheptyts'kyi received from Pope Pius X.

(3) During the paschal season, the Metropolitan regularly issued pastoral letters reminding the faithful to perform their Easter duty. On the issue of conscience and moral responsibility, he wrote a more lengthy treatise, *Khto vynen*.[45] An analysis could be made of his theological as well as practical understanding of conscience, sin, penance, and reconciliation. To this could be added other moral issues that are raised in his writings, such as personal responsibility to God, to one's neighbor, and to society.

(4) The Metropolitan had a profound appreciation of the liturgy and its place in Christian living. He wrote pastoral letters and issued directives or decrees about it. He also wrote about prayer and, to priests in particular, about liturgical prayer. He himself composed several inspiring prayers. A study could be made of the Metropolitan as a liturgist, whether from the standpoint of liturgical spirituality or teachings on prayer. As a liturgical reformer, Sheptyts'kyi attempted to rid the Byzantine-Ukrainian liturgy of hybridisms and Latinizations, while still remaining loyal to the particular traditions of his church. These issues could be investigated in greater depth.

(5) The Metropolitan could be studied as a teacher and catechist. Among the specific topics in this area would be his concern for the religious education of children, and for the general well-being of the Christian family. He also was concerned with emigrants, who left his diocese to settle in the New World. He looked after them with pastoral letters, brochures, and personal visits.

(6) A follow-up to the Reverend Vladimir Mudri's canonical-historical study of the synods conducted by the Metropolitan could be an analysis of the theological and pastoral content of the decrees, decisions, and directives of the synods, especially the spiritual-psychological value of those held during the 1940s.

(7) Studies could be made of the Metropolitan as a spiritual and ascetical writer, with particular attention to his major writings: *Khrystiians'ka pravednist'*, *Bozha Mudrist'*, *Dar P''iatdesiatnytsi*, the Studite *Typicon*, and some of his pastoral letters addressed to priests and the faithful.

(8) The Metropolitan professed an abiding devotion to the Eucharist, and his spiritual life bore a very definite eucharistic imprint. He wrote several pastoral letters on that topic and he addressed special appeals to "those who did not receive Communion at Easter time." His understanding and appreciation of the sacrament could be the subject of theological reflection.

(9) A canonical-historical study could be made of the Metropolitan as an administrator of a vast archeparchy. His administrative activity included the establishment of a variety of institutions (schools, hospitals, a theological academy, and a printing house), as well as the convocation of retreats for his priests and synods for his hierarchy.

(10) The Metropolitan's rich personality, writings, letters, human contacts, and many achievements would make a rewarding subject for a scholar in the behavioral sciences. How he dealt with his priests and their needs, how he received the crowds of people who daily came to him to seek guidance and assistance, how he expressed his compassion for orphans and war victims—these are all topics for a potential pschyo-sociological study.

(11) The American specialist on Ukrainian affairs, Clarence A. Manning, once referred to Sheptyts'kyi as a great religious thinker and reformer in his native Galician-Ukrainian environment. The Metropolitan promoted the doctrine of social justice advocated by Pope Leo XIII; he encouraged the estab-

lishment of cooperatives and savings banks; he dealt with Russophile tendencies in national life; and he defended the rights of the Ukrainian people vis-à-vis the Austrian, Polish, Soviet, and German administrations that ruled the area. All these issues deserve to be examined in greater depth.

(12) The Metropolitan was an ardent promoter of art, which he considered important for the work of church union. In this respect, he placed art even before preaching and the sacraments, since he believed that many could be reached by art who were beyond reach of the preacher. Sheptyts'kyi's support of art and artists is an area of his life that merits study.

These are a few of the many possible suggestions for further research and analysis of the life and works of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi. Such research could be conducted on the basis of his collected and published writings as well as with material held in archives located in Rome and the Vatican, France, Canada, and the Soviet Union.[46]

Conclusion

The life and work of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi has aroused considerable interest among historians and other scholars. For the most part, however, research and studies on him have been rather haphazard. They have followed no sustained or overall plan. Also, virtually all of the dissertations and theological investigations about him remain unpublished. We still have no English-language biography of the Metropolitan, nor has there been any systematic effort to translate the Metropolitan's works into English or other western languages.

What is needed, perhaps, is for some scholarly institution or religious community to show leadership in this matter. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was a churchman of the magnitude of the early fathers of the church, and like them his enduring works merit sustained evaluation and exposure. This calls for a twofold approach: (1) the publication of his writings in a consistent and organized fashion; and (2) the orderly and planned pursuit of research and analysis of his thinking and insights. Another way to stimulate investigation and promote knowledge of the man would be to hold conferences or symposia that would focus on specific areas of his work and thought such as his many-faceted sacramental theology, his ecclesiology, his ascetical theology, and his ecumenical activity.

Ever since his early years, the Metropolitan was inspired by the words of Ecclesiastes (51:13-17):

> While I was still young, before I set out on my travels, I asked openly for wisdom in my prayers. In the forecourt of the sanctuary I laid claim to her, and I shall seek her out to the end. From the first blossom to the ripening of the grape she has been the delight of my heart. From my youth my steps have followed her without swerving. I had hardly begun to listen when I

> was rewarded, and I gained for myself much instruction. I made progress in my studies; all honor to him who gives me wisdom.

This principle, so apparent in the Metropolitan's thought, activity, and writings, should also be the principle that guides his spiritual heirs in pursuing the paths that he opened.

Notes

1. Unlike Zofia Fredro-Szeptycka's letter-memoirs (*Pisma*) published in two volumes in 1906, and another volume of memoirs (*Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych*) published in 1967, her biographical account of the young Roman/Andrei ("Młodość i powołanie Ojca Andrzeja Romana Szeptyckiego"), which was written in 1894, remained for long in manuscript. A French version was prepared by the Sheptyts'kyi family, and a copy of that manuscript held by the Reverend Cyril Korolevsky was donated to the Sheptyts'kyi beatification process, which had it translated into English. Excerpts from that translation were recently published in English translation as *Memoirs of a Mother: A Digest of the Memoirs of Countess Sheptycka on the Early Life of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky* (Winnipeg, 1982). Dam''ian Horniatkevych translated the original Polish text into Ukrainian, published as *Molodist' i poklykannia o. Romana Sheptyts'koho* (Toronto, 1965; 2nd ed., Rome, 1987).
2. See the collection of documents in *Mitropolit galitskii Andrei Sheptitskii i 'Galitsko-russkaia Matitsa'* (L'viv, 1905).
3. Among the earliest accounts of Sheptyts'kyi's fate was O. Sushko, *Za shcho halyts'kyi Mytropolyt A. Sheptyts'kyi muchyt'sia v moskovs'kii nevoli* (Winnipeg, 1914), followed by memoirs, *Spomyny z ternevoï dorohy preosviashchennoho mytr. Andreia Gr. Sheptyts'koho* (L'viv, 1917), and a detailed account in *Tsars'kyi viazen', 1914-1917* (L'viv, 1918).
4. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptickyj, son action pastorale, scientifique et philénotique* (Grottaferrata, 1920).
5. *Chvert' stolittia na mytropolychomu prestoli*, in *Bohosloviia*, IV, 1-4 (L'viv, 1926).
6. Iosyf Botsian, "Pastyrs'ki lysty Mytropolyta Andreia," in ibid., pp. 94-149.
7. Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: korotkyi zhyttiepys i ohliad ioho tserkovno-narodnoï diial'nosty* (Philadelphia, 1937).
8. *Mytropolytovi Kyr Andriievi Sheptyts'komu v pershi rokovyny smerty* ([Berlin], 1945).
9. Stepan Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Munich, 1947).
10. I. B. [Ivan Bodnaruk], *Velykyi chernets' i narodoliubets': u p''iati rokovyny smerty Mytropolyta A. Sheptyts'koho* (Prudentopolis, Brazil, 1949).
11. Volodymyr V. Doroshenko, *Velykyi Mytropolyt: pam''iati Mytr. A. Sheptyts'koho, spohady i narysy*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XVII (Yorkton, Sask., 1958).
12. *Pro Velykoho Mytropolyta Andreia*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXIII (Yorkton, Sask., 1961).
13. Bohdan Kazymyra, "Stanovyshche kanads'kykh ukraïntsiv v otsintsi Mytrop. A. Sheptyts'koho," *Lohos*, XI, 3 (Yorkton, Sask., 1960), pp. 216-21; "Mytropolyt Andrii i pytannia khrystiians'koï iednosty," ibid., XI, 4 (1960), pp. 292-302; "Mytropolyt Andrii i chentsi Redemptorysty," ibid., XII, 3 (1961), pp. 216-27.

    See also the letters and other documents compiled by Kazymyra, whether from the period of Sheptyts'kyi's exile: *Lohos*, VIII, 4 (Yorkton, Sask., 1957), pp. 295-300; or pertaining to the Metropolitan's communications with the faithful and hierarchy of the Greek Catholic Church and Latin-rite hierarchy in Canada: ibid., IX, 1, 2, 3, 4 (1958), pp. 60-6, 142-4, 217-24, 286-91; ibid., X, 1, 2, 3, 4 (1959), pp. 59-65, 143-7, 227-31, 298-306; ibid., XI, 1 and 2 (1960), pp. 60-6, 131-44; or to the Ukrainian and Bačka-Rusyn communities in Yugoslavia: ibid., XII, 1 and 2 (1961), pp. 69-75, 126-9.

14. Osyp Kravcheniuk, "Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi v anhlomovnykh publikatsiiakh," *Lohos*, XII, 3 (Yorkton, Sask., 1961), pp. 161-84 and separately in the series Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXVII (Yorkton, Sask., 1961).
15. Osyp Kravcheniuk, *Veleten' zo Sviatoiurs'koï hory: prychynky do biohrafiï sluhy Bozhoho Andreia Sheptyts'koho na pidstavi chuzhomovnykh dzherel*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1963).
16. Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion, Graf Andreas Scheptytzkyj* (Munich, 1955), 2nd ed., revised and expanded (Munich, 1967).
17. Ursula Maria Schuver, *De reus op de Sint-Jorisberg: flitsen uit het leven van de grote Metropoliet graaf Andreas Szeptyckyj van Galicië* (Rotterdam, 1959).
18. Cyrille Korolevskij, *Métropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865-1944*, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva, vol. XVI-XVII (Rome, 1964).
19. Giovanni Bučko, *Il Metropolita Andrea Szeptyckyj: grande figura della chiesa cattolica ucraina* (Rome, [1954]); Vasyl' Laba, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi ioho zhyttia i zasluhy*, Populiarni vydannia Bohoslovs'koho fakul'tetu Ukraïns'koho katolyts'koho universytetu, no. 1 (Rome, 1965)—in English translation as: *Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky: His Life and Acomplishments*, Popular Publications of the Department of Theology of St. Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University, no. 3 (Rome and Toronto, 1984); Irynei Nazarko, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, Apostol sv. z''iedynennia: u desiati rokovyny ioho smerty* (New York, 1955); Iosafat Zhan [Jean], *Velykyi Mytropolyt* (Edmonton, 1954); Mykhailo Ostroverkha, *Velykyi Vasyliianyn: Sluha Bozhyi Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (New York, 1960); Mykola Chubatyi, *Suspil'no-natsional'na rolia Uniï v zhytti ukraïns'koho narodu* (L'viv, 1934); Ilarion Holubowycz, *Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytskyj. . . Apostle of Unity* (London, 1961). On Ivan Hryniokh, see the discussion below under the heading unpublished dissertations and theses.
20. Kurt I. Lewin, "Archbishop Andreas Sheptytsky and the Jewish Community in Galicia During the Second World War," *Unitas*, XII, 2 (Garrison, N. Y., 1960), pp. 133-42; Leo Heiman, "They Saved Jews: Ukrainian Patriots Defied Nazis," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, XVII, 4 (New York, 1961), pp. 320-32.
21. Bohdan Kazymyra, "Mytropolyt Andrii Sheptyts'kyi ta kanadiis'ki ukraïntsi," in *Propam''iatna knyha oo. Vasyliian u Kanadi* (Toronto, 1953), pp. 97-149 and his *Achievements of Metropolitan A. Sheptyckyj for Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto, 1958), as well as the items mentioned above in note 13; Elie Borschak, *Un prélat ukrainien: le métropolite Cheptyckyj, 1865-1944* (Montreuil-sous-Bois, 1946); George J. Perejda, *Apostle of Church Unity: The Life of The Servant of God Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky* (Yorkton, Sask., 1960)—in French translation as *L'Apôtre de l'unité de l'église* (Yorkton, Sask., 1960); Mykhailo Marunchak, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi na zakhodi 1920-1923* (Winnipeg and Edmonton, 1981); Michael Hrynchyshyn, *The Ecumenical Mission of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky* (Yorkton, Sask., 1960).
22. Michael Hrynchyshyn, *Articuli pro Causae Instructione* (Rome, 1958), in Ukrainian translation as *Artykuly dlia zapochatkuvannia protsesu* (Rome, 1958).
23. *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia: z chasiv bol'shevyts'koï okupatsiï, 1939-*

1940, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXIV (Yorkton, Sask., 1961); *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV*, pt. 2: *z chasiv nimets'koï okupatsiï, 1941-1944*, Biblioteka Lohosu, vol. XXX (Yorkton, Sask., 1969). These two volumes, which contain material that appeared in *L'vivs'kiarkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti* (1939-1944) are listed as volume 19 in the works compiled for the beatification process.

24. Andrei and Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi, *Typicon/Typikon*, Nauchni i literaturni publikatsiï 'Studion' studyts'kykh monastyriv, pts. 1–2 (Rome, 1964). This is listed as volume 20 in the works compiled for the beatification process.
25. *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho tovarystva, vol. XV (Toronto, 1965). This is listed as volume 7 in the works compiled for the beatification process.
26. *Tvory: asketychno-moral'ni*, Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koho Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï, vol. XLV–XLVII (Rome, 1978). This volume represents volume 13 and parts of volumes 11 and 14 in the works compiled for the beatification process.
27. *Tvory: moral'no-pastoral'ni*, Vydannia Ukraïns'koho Katolyts'koho Universitetu im. sv. Klymenta Papy, vol. XLVIII (Rome, 1983).
28. *Tvory Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho: pastyrs'ki poslannia do dukhovenstva i virnykh stanyslavivs'koï ieparkiï (1899-1904)*, Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koï Bohoslovs'koï Akademiï, vol. XIV (L'viv, 1935). The first seven pastoral letters (1899-1901) are reprinted in *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, pp. 1-156.
29. Anatol' M. Bazylevych, "Vvedennia," in Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory: pastyrs'ki lysty*, vol. I, pp. B/9-B/237.
30. *Positio Super Scriptis: Beatificationis et cannonizationis Servi Dei Andreae Szeptyckyj, Archiepiscopi Leopolitan, Ucrainorum, O. Basilian (1865-1944)*, Sacra Congregatio Pro Causis Sanctorum, P.n. 792 (Rome, 1980).
31. Ivan Hryn'okh, *Sluha Bozhyi Andrei: blahovisnyk iednosty*, Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Naukovoho tovarystvo, vol. XIV (Rome, 1961).
32. Danylo Dzwonyk, "La mission de l'Église dans l'apostolat unioniste du métropolite Kyr André Szeptyckyj" (Unpublished manuscript), p.1.
33. Ibid.
34. Lubomyr Husar, "Andrej Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of Halych, 1901-1944: A Pioneer of Ecumenism" 2 vols. (Unpublished Pontifical Urbanian University D.Th. thesis, Rome, 1972).
35. Ibid., p. 855.
36. Ivan Dacko, "Metropolitan Andrej Szeptyckyj: Rediscoverer of Traditional Eastern Ecclesiology and Ecumenism" (Unpublished University of Innsbruck D.Th. thesis, Innsbruck, 1974), p. 6.
37. Vladimir Mudri, "Cinque Sinodi archieparchialni di Leopoldi, 1905-1943: studio storico-giuridico" (Unpublished Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies Dr JCOr thesis, Rome, 1983).
38. Petro Kostiuk, "Dono della Pentecoste: analisi dell'opera del Metropolita A. Szeptyckyj" (Unpublished Pontifical Urbanian University Master's Thesis, Rome, 1980).
39. Petro Kostiuk, "Die göttliche Weisheit in den Schriften *Bosha mudrist* and *Chrystianska pravednist* des Metropoliten Andrej Scheptyckyj" (Unpublished Pontifical Urbanian University Dr Th Thesis, Rome, in process).
40. Andrii Krawchuk, "Social Theory and Christian Praxis in the Writings of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, 1900-1944" (Unpublished St. Paul University Ph.D. thesis, Ottawa, in process).
41. John Sianchuk, CSSR, "The Writings of Metropolitan Andrej on the Immaculate Conception" (Unpublished Pontifical Institute for Oriental Studies Licentiate thesis, Rome, 1981).

42. Andriy M. Freishyn-Chirovsky, "True and False Mysticism in the Writings of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky" (Unpublished University of St. Michael's College M.A. thesis, Toronto, 1981).
43. Andriy M. Freishyn-Chirovsky, "The Mystical Sophiology of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and Its Patristic Foundations" (Unpublished University of St. Mary of the Lake STD thesis, Mundelein, Illinois, in process).
44. Tymoteusz Fesz, OSBM, "Moral'nyi ideal sviashchenyka v pys'makh Mytropolita Andreia Sheptyts'koho" (Unpublished Licentiate thesis, Warsaw, in process).
45. "Khto vynen," *L'vivs'ki arkhieparkhiial'ni vidomosti*, XLVII, 3-7 (L'viv, 1934), pp. 45-50, 108-15, 131-41, 157-65.
46. The materials related to the beatification process are located in three places in Rome: Postulatione, Piazza Madonna dei Monti 3; Collegio San Giosafat, Passeggiata del Gianicolo 7; and Università San Clemente Papa, Via Boccea 478.

    There is also material on Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in three other Roman and Vatican repositories: the Archivio della Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, Via della Conciliazone 34, 00193 Roma; the Archivio de Propaganda Fide, Via de Propaganda 1-c, 00187 Roma; and Archivio del Segretaria di Stato, Palazzo Apotolico, Vatican City.

    In Canada, three repositories hold useful material: Archives of the Winnipeg Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy, 235 Scotia Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba; the Anatol Bazylewycz Collection (MG 31 D149), in the Manuscript Division, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0N3; and the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, 1030 Base Line Road, Ottawa, Ontario. In France, there are materials at the Exarchat apostolique ukrainien, 27 avenue Foch, 94300 Vincennes.

    The most comprehensive archival materials are from the former archive of the Greek Catholic Archeparchy of L'viv, now part of the Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv URSR, pl. Vozziednannia 3a, 290004, L'viv, Soviet Union. The most important collections are in Fond 201, which contains the papers of the Greek Catholic metropolitan consistory of L'viv (1332–1945), and Fond 408, which contains the records of the Greek Catholic metropolitan archeparchial administration.

    Finally, surviving members of the Sheptyts'kyi family have valuable material related to the Metropolitan. The richest holdings are in the possession of the senior member of the family: Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, ul. Marii Dąbrowskiej 19 m. 79, 10-903 Warszawa, Poland.

Appendix I

Szeptycki/Sheptyts'kyi Genealogy

Andrzej A. Zięba

The following three genealogical tables are intended to show the family background of the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. Table 1 attempts to depict the relationship of the Metropolitan with previous bishops from the Sheptyts'kyi family, both Greek and Latin-rite Catholic, who are so often mentioned in studies about Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. The compilation of this table was difficult, because even though genealogical work on the Sheptyts'kyi family had its first beginnings in the nineteenth century, no comprehensive study has yet appeared. The promising work during the 1930s by Ivan Shpytkovs'kyi was interrupted by World War II, so that all we are left with is his discussion of the heraldic aspects of the problem. Moreover, Shpytkovs'kyi's introductory remarks contain several mistakes regarding Sheptyts'kyi family genealogical data.[1] Unfortunately, in the otherwise valuable and factually reliable genealogical study of Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, there is no table for the Sheptyts'kyis.[2]

As for older Polish coats of arms, the information about the Sheptyts'kyi family in the early nineteenth-century work by Kasper Niesiecki is problematic,[3] or, as Julian Bartoszewicz said: "it is impossible to distinguish between Niesiecki's own legends and the family documents which he published."[4] The addendum to Niesiecki's work in the tenth volume of its Leipzig edition by Jan Nepomucen Bobrowski is also untrustworthy, as is the information in an article about the Sheptyts'kyi family by A.A. Kosiński.[5]

Because the family archives in Prylbychi (together with Jan Kanty Szeptycki's collection of the originals and copies of several historical documents) were destroyed during World War II, and because the material on Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in L'viv's archives is still inaccessible, it is difficult if not impossible to draw on primary sources. Until future archival research is undertaken, all we can do is rely on the articles about the Szeptycki coat of arms by Teodor Żychlinski, even though this study, too, is far from being perfect.[6]

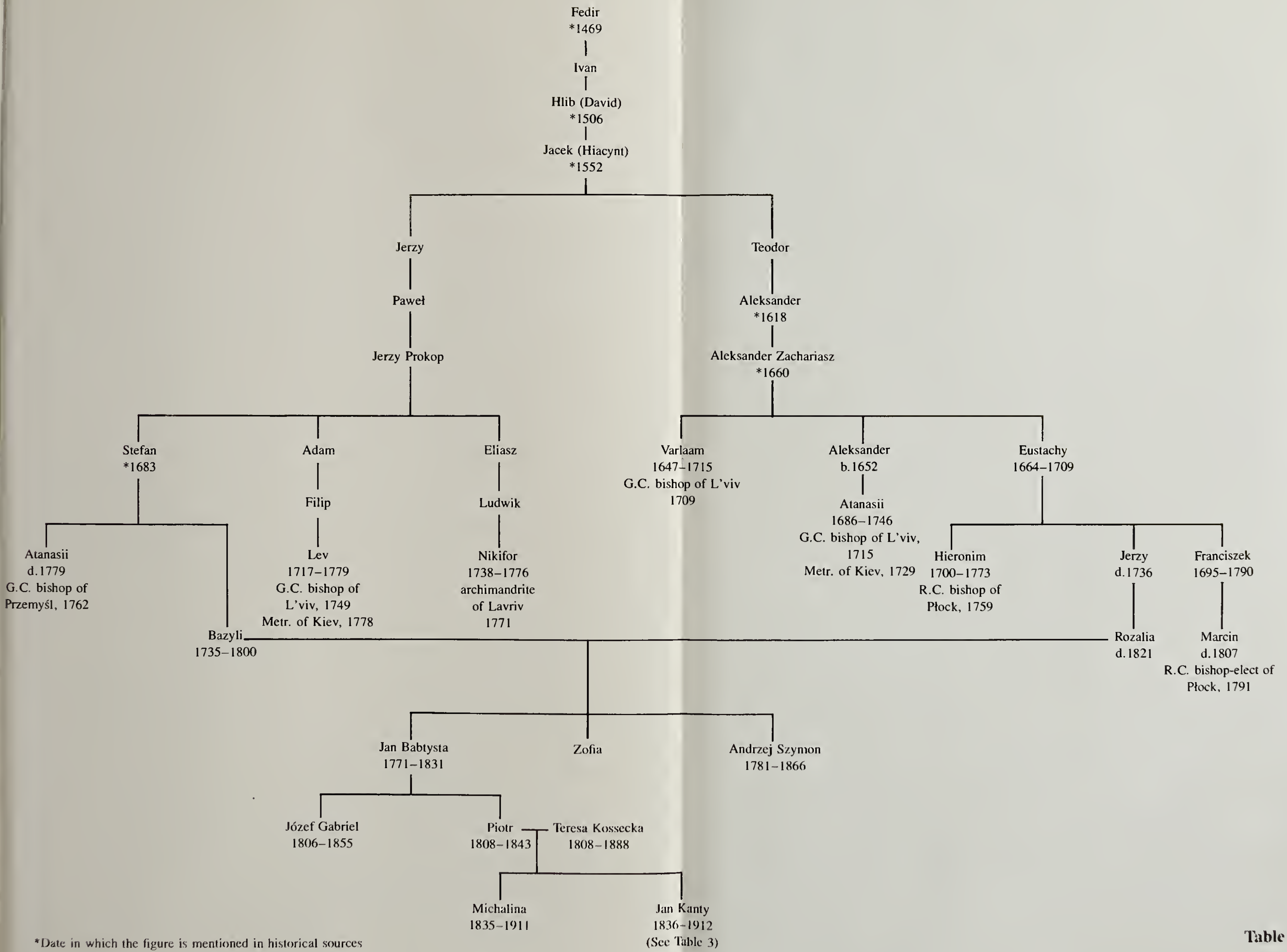
In compiling Table 1, I followed the advice of the Metropolitan's nephew, Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki of Warsaw, and was able to use an unpublished manuscript on the Szeptycki family held in the former L'viv provincial archive. This manuscript was prepared in 1882 as an annex to the certificate of nobility and was signed by the marshal of Galician diet, Jan Tarnowski, and other officials of the Galician provincial government.[7] However, it should be noted that the first part of the manuscript was previously criticized by Antin S. Petrushevych as containing "significant anachronisms."[8] Petrushevych did not provide any concrete corrections, which is unfortunate because of the lack of dates in the manuscript. As a result, Table 1 as it appears here does not always have precise dates of the birth or death for certain figures. Therefore, I have had to draw on Żychlinski's work and other sources for supplemental information.[9] Table 1 ends with Jan Kanty Szeptycki, the Metropolitan's father.

Table 2 concerns the family of the Metropolitan's mother—the Fredros and Szembeks. Some persons from those families were close to Andrei Sheptyts'kyi and they usually are mentioned in most biographies about him, such as his maternal grandfather, Aleksander Fredro, the famous Polish writer; his sister-in-law, Jadwiga Szembek; and her sister, Zofia (Maria Krysta), the author of extensive memoirs about the Metropolitan. This table is based primarily on individual biographical works and the Polish genealogical almanach by Jerzy Dunin-Borkowski.[10]

Table 3 shows the descendants of Jan Kanty Szeptycki down to the present (early 1988). This is the first such study to appear and is based above all on information from Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, as well as an article by Edward Borowski,[11] and information from descendants Edward Potworowski of Mount Royal, Québec, Christophe Potworowski from Toronto, Ontario, and a few other minor sources.[12]

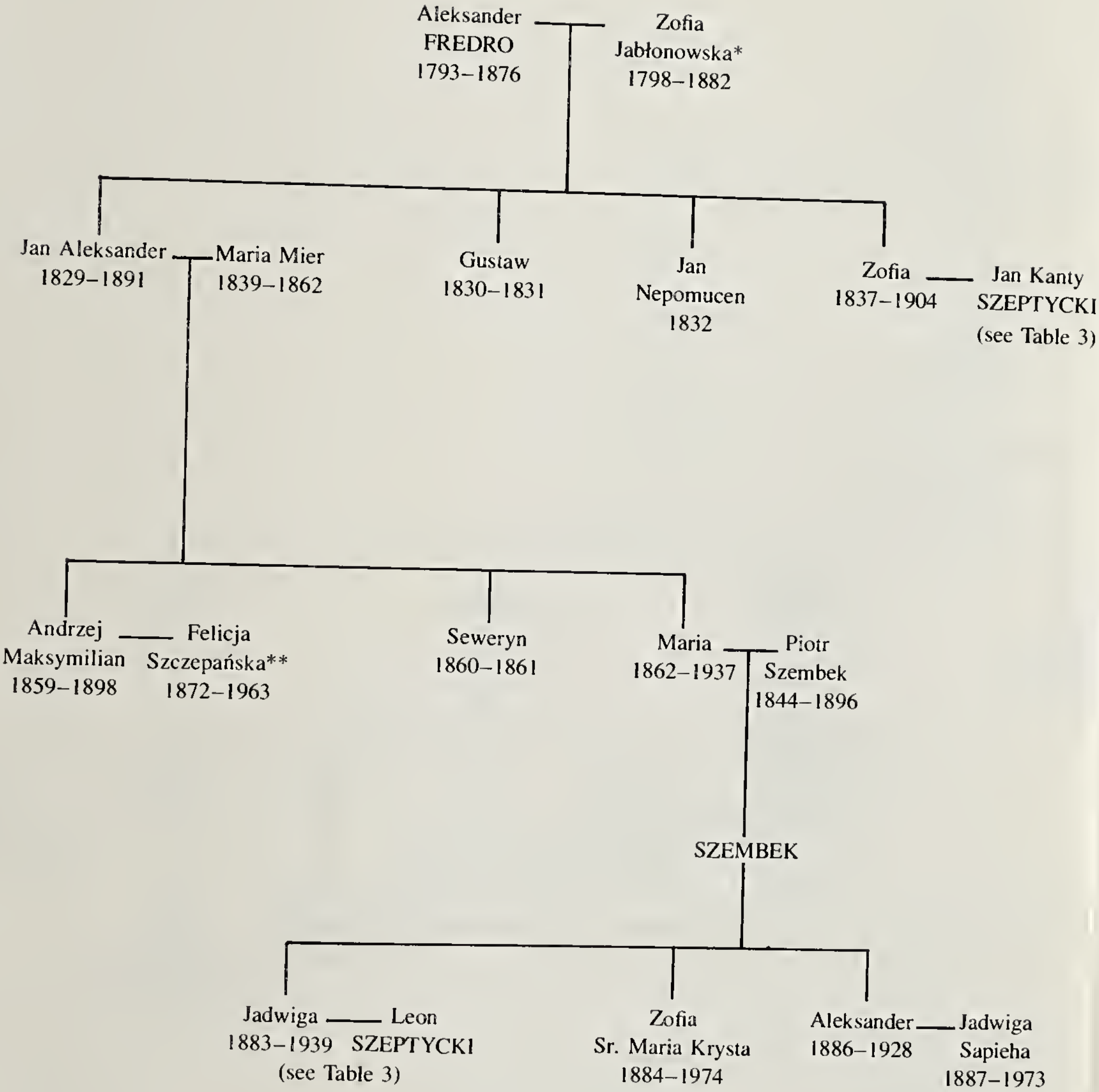
Notes

1. Ivan Shpytkovs'kyi, "Rid i herb Sheptyts'kykh," *Bohosloviia*, XI (L'viv, 1933), pp. 97–110 and 186–217; XII (1934), pp. 27–44, 162–179 and 262–273; XIII (1935), pp. 134–160 and 213–221; XIV (1936), pp. 121–242 and 237–250; XV (1937), pp. 45–61, 152–174 and 253–263.
2. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Genealogia* (Warsaw, 1959).
3. *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nep. Bobrowicza*,


Fedir
*1469
Ivan
Hlib (David)
*1506
Jacek (Hiacynt)
*1552
Jerzy
Paweł
Jerzy Prokop
Teodor
Aleksander
*1618
Aleksander Zachariasz
*1660
Stefan
*1683
Adam
Filip
Lev
1717–1779
G.C. bishop of
L'viv, 1749
Metr. of Kiev, 1778
Eliasz
Ludwik
Nikifor
1738–1776
archimandrite
of Lavriv
1771
Atanasii
d.1779
G.C. bishop of
Przemyśl, 1762
Bazyli
1735–1800
Varlaam
1647–1715
G.C. bishop of L'viv
1709
Aleksander
b.1652
Atanasii
1686–1746
G.C. bishop of L'viv,
1715
Metr. of Kiev, 1729
Eustachy
1664–1709
Hieronim
1700–1773
R.C. bishop of
Płock, 1759
Jerzy
d.1736
Rozalia
d.1821
Franciszek
1695–1790
Marcin
d.1807
R.C. bishop-elect of
Płock, 1791
Jan Babtysta
1771–1831
Zofia
Andrzej Szymon
1781–1866
Józef Gabriel
1806–1855
Piotr
1808–1843
Teresa Kossecka
1808–1888
Michalina
1835–1911
Jan Kanty
1836–1912
(See Table 3)

*Date in which the figure is mentioned in historical sources

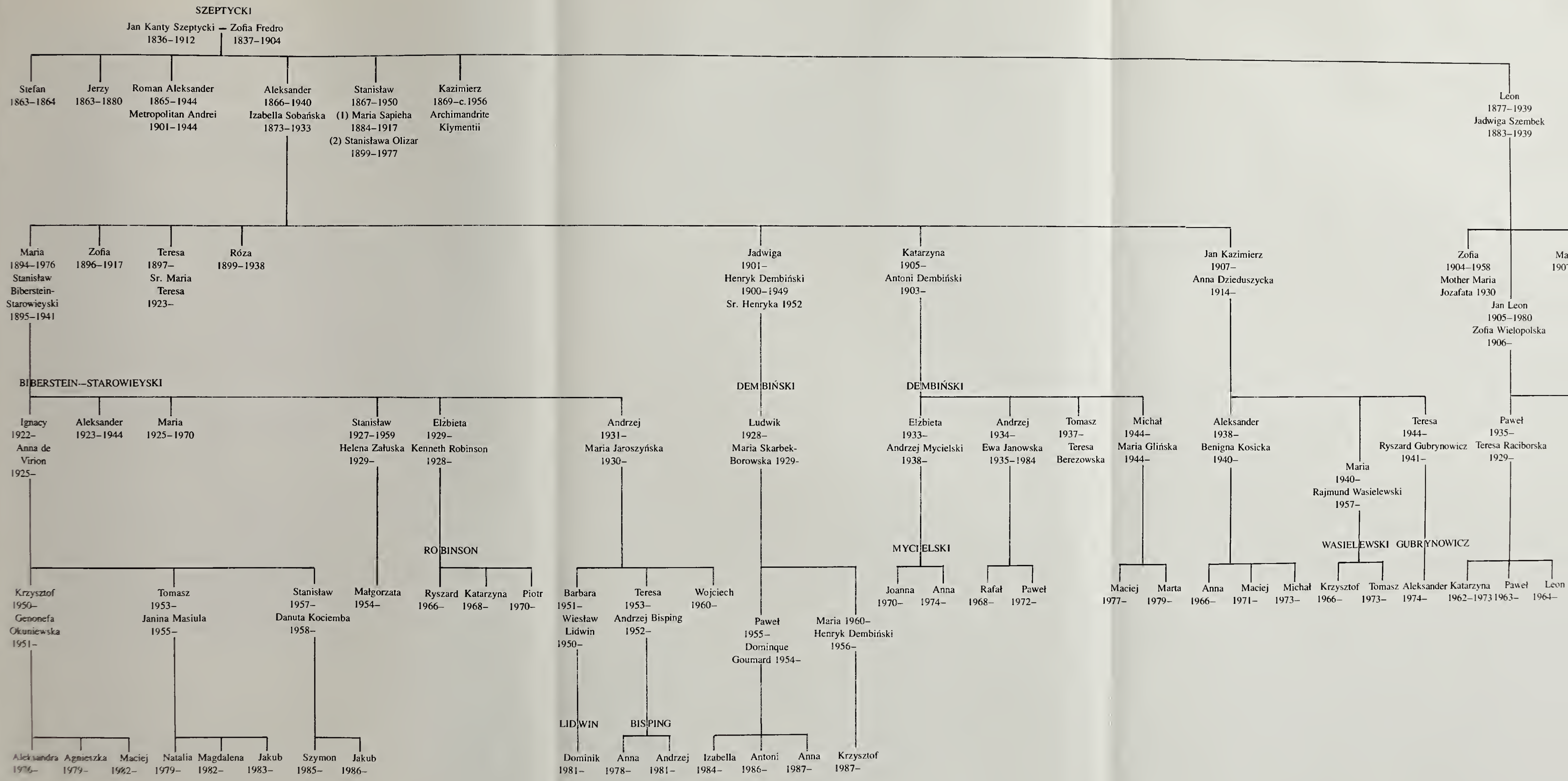
Table 1


Aleksander FREDRO 1793–1876
Zofia Jabłonowska* 1798–1882
Jan Aleksander 1829–1891
Maria Mier 1839–1862
Gustaw 1830–1831
Jan Nepomucen 1832
Zofia 1837–1904
Jan Kanty SZEPTYCKI (see Table 3)
Andrzej Maksymilian 1859–1898
Felicja Szczepańska** 1872–1963
Seweryn 1860–1861
Maria 1862–1937
Piotr Szembek 1844–1896
SZEMBEK
Jadwiga 1883–1939
Leon SZEPTYCKI (see Table 3)
Zofia Sr. Maria Krysta 1884–1974
Aleksander 1886–1928
Jadwiga Sapieha 1887–1973

*Zofia Jabłonowska was first married in 1814 to Stanisław Skarbek, from whom she was divorced in 1828, the same year she married Aleksander Fredro.

**After the death of Andrzej Maksimilian Fredro, Felicja Szczepańska remarried in 1901 to Aleksander Skarbek.

Table 2


SZEPTYCKI
Jan Kanty Szeptycki 1836–1912 — Zofia Fredro 1837–1904
Stefan 1863–1864
Jerzy 1863–1880
Roman Aleksander 1865–1944 Metropolitan Andrei 1901–1944
Aleksander 1866–1940 Izabella Sobańska 1873–1933
Stanisław 1867–1950 (1) Maria Sapieha 1884–1917 (2) Stanisława Olizar 1899–1977
Kazimierz 1869–c.1956 Archimandrite Klymentii
Leon 1877–1939 Jadwiga Szembek 1883–1939
Maria 1894–1976 Stanisław Biberstein-Starowieyski 1895–1941
Zofia 1896–1917
Teresa 1897– Sr. Maria Teresa 1923–
Róża 1899–1938
Jadwiga 1901– Henryk Dembiński 1900–1949 Sr. Henryka 1952
Katarzyna 1905– Antoni Dembiński 1903–
Jan Kazimierz 1907– Anna Dzieduszycka 1914–
Zofia 1904–1958 Mother Maria Jozafata 1930
Jan Leon 1905–1980 Zofia Wielopolska 1906–
Ma
190
BIBERSTEIN–STAROWIEYSKI
Ignacy 1922– Anna de Virion 1925–
Aleksander 1923–1944
Maria 1925–1970
Stanisław 1927–1959 Helena Załuska 1929–
Elżbieta 1929– Kenneth Robinson 1928–
Andrzej 1931– Maria Jaroszyńska 1930–
DEMBIŃSKI
Ludwik 1928– Maria Skarbek-Borowska 1929–
DEMBIŃSKI
Elżbieta 1933– Andrzej Mycielski 1938–
Andrzej 1934– Ewa Janowska 1935–1984
Tomasz 1937– Teresa Berezowska
Michał 1944– Maria Glińska 1944–
Aleksander 1938– Benigna Kosicka 1940–
Maria 1940– Rajmund Wasielewski 1957–
Teresa 1944– Ryszard Gubrynowicz 1941–
Paweł 1935– Teresa Raciborska 1929–
Krzysztof 1950– Genonefa Okuniewska 1951–
Tomasz 1953– Janina Masiula 1955–
Stanisław 1957– Danuta Kociemba 1958–
Małgorzata 1954–
ROBINSON
Ryszard 1966–
Katarzyna 1968–
Piotr 1970–
Barbara 1951– Wiesław Lidwin 1950–
Teresa 1953– Andrzej Bisping 1952–
Wojciech 1960–
Paweł 1955– Dominque Goumard 1954–
Maria 1960– Henryk Dembiński 1956–
MYCIELSKI
Joanna 1970–
Anna 1974–
Rafał 1968–
Paweł 1972–
Maciej 1977–
Marta 1979–
Anna 1966–
Maciej 1971–
Michał 1973–
WASIELEWSKI
Krzysztof 1966–
Tomasz 1973–
GUBRYNOWICZ
Aleksander 1974–
Katarzyna 1962–1973
Paweł 1963–
Leon 1964–
Aleksandra 1976–
Agnieszka 1979–
Maciej 1982–
Natalia 1979–
Magdalena 1982–
Jakub 1983–
Szymon 1985–
Jakub 1986–
LIDWIN
Dominik 1981–
BISPING
Anna 1978–
Andrzej 1981–
Izabella 1984–
Antoni 1986–
Anna 1987–
Krzysztof 1987–

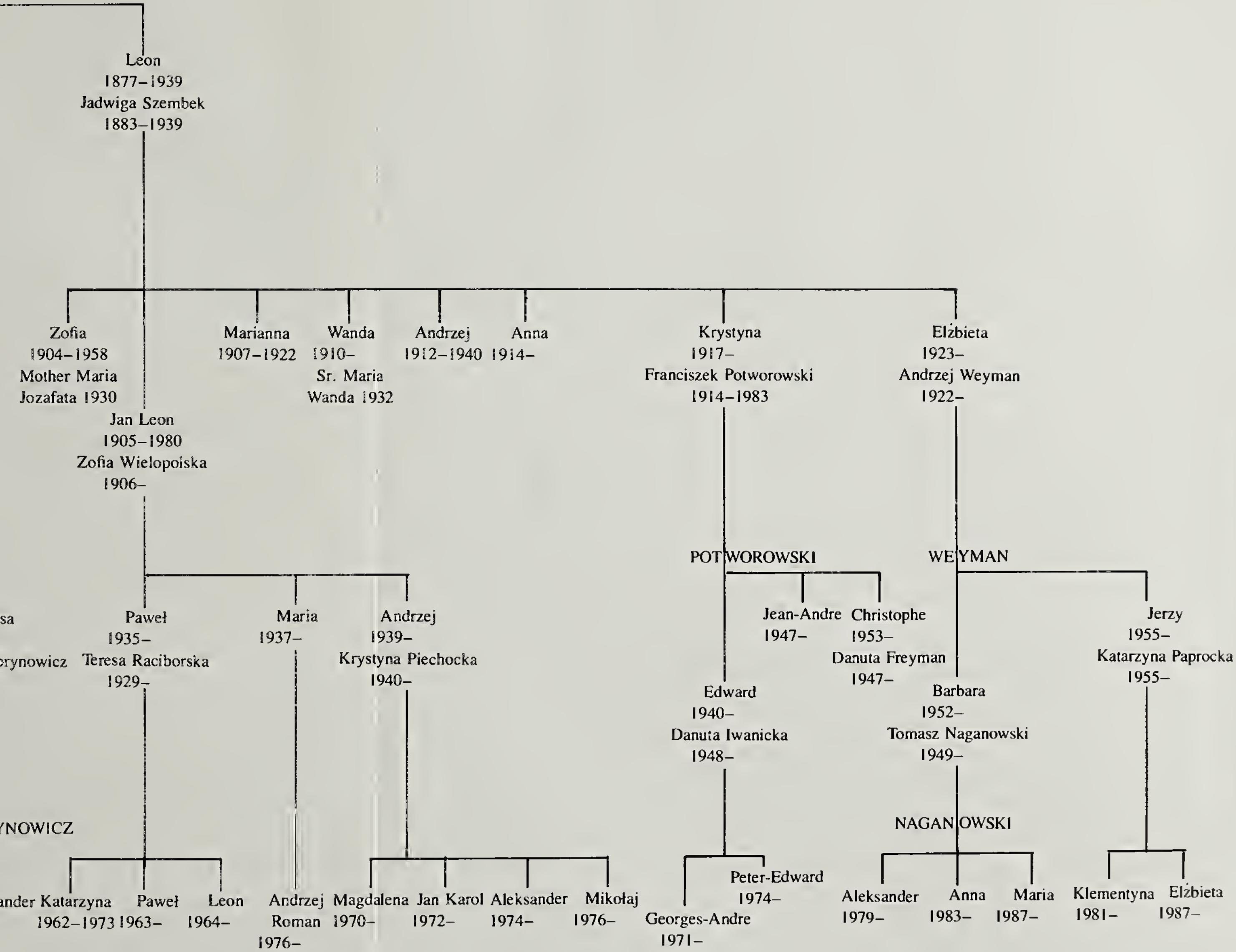

Leon
1877–1939
Jadwiga Szembek
1883–1939
Zofia
1904–1958
Mother Maria
Jozafata 1930
Jan Leon
1905–1980
Zofia Wielopolska
1906–
Marianna
1907–1922
Wanda
1910–
Sr. Maria
Wanda 1932
Andrzej
1912–1940
Anna
1914–
Krystyna
1917–
Franciszek Potworowski
1914–1983
Elżbieta
1923–
Andrzej Weyman
1922–
POTWOROWSKI
WEYMAN
sa
rynowicz
Paweł
1935–
Teresa Raciborska
1929–
Maria
1937–
Andrzej
1939–
Krystyna Piechocka
1940–
Jean-Andre
1947–
Christophe
1953–
Danuta Freyman
1947–
Edward
1940–
Danuta Iwanicka
1948–
Barbara
1952–
Tomasz Naganowski
1949–
Jerzy
1955–
Katarzyna Paprocka
1955–
YNOWICZ
NAGANOWSKI
ander Katarzyna
1962–1973
Paweł
1963–
Leon
1964–
Andrzej
Roman
1976–
Magdalena
1970–
Jan Karol
1972–
Aleksander
1974–
Mikołaj
1976–
Peter-Edward
1974–
Georges-Andre
1971–
Aleksander
1979–
Anna
1983–
Maria
1987–
Klementyna
1981–
Elżbieta
1987–

Table 3

Vol. VIII (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 620–621.

4. Jul[ian] B[artoszewicz], "Szeptycki Atanazy," *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Vol. XXIV (Warsaw, 1867), p. 621.
5. A.A. Kosiński, *Przewodnik heraldyczny* (Cracow and Warsaw 1877–85).
6. Teodor Żychlinski, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, Vol. 1 (Poznań 1879), pp. 305–316.
7. "Drzewo rodu Szeptyckich z Szeptyc i Uherzyc, herb własnego, ułożone według akt ziemskich i grodzkich oraz metryk stanowych, znajdujących się przy Wydziale Krajowym we Lwowie, metryki koronnej w Warszawie i dokumentów autentycznych," manuscript in the Szeptycki family archives of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Warsaw.
8. A.S. Petrushevych, *Dopolnennia ko Svodnoi halytsko-russkoi lîtopysy s 1600 po 1700 hod* (L'viv, 1891), p. 203.
9. *Polska Encyklopedia Szlachecka*, Vol. XI (Warsaw, 1938), pp. 264–265; Hipolit Stupnicki, *Herbarz polski i imionospis zasłużonych w Polsce ludzi wszystkich stanów i czasów*, Vol. III (L'viv, 1862), p. 120; M. Andrusiak, "Szeptyccy," *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński*, XVI, 41 (Warsaw, 1938), pp. 3–6; Wiesław Müller, "Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów," *Studia Płockie*, III (Płock, 1975) p. 215; Władysław Smoleński, *Mazowiecka szlachta w poddaństwie proboszczów płockich* (Warsaw, 1951), pp. 82–83; Athanasius G. Welykyj, *Epistole metropolitarum Kioviensium catholicorum: Leonis Kiska, Athanasii Szeptyckyj, Floriani Hrebnyckyj (1714–1762), Analecta OSBM*, Seria II, Sectio III, Vol. IV (Rome, 1959), pp. 155–156; A. Welykyj, ed., *Epistole Leonis Ludovici Szeptyckyj metropolitae kioviensis catholici* (1778–1779), in *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio III, Vol. VII (Rome, 1970), pp. xi–xiii; Ivan Rudovych, "Epyskopy Varlaam i Atanasii Sheptyts'ki," *Bohoslovs'kyi vîsnyk*, II (L'viv, 1903); Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, "Genealogia rodziny Szeptyckich," Archive of the Basilian Monastery, Warsaw, manuscript; letter of Jan Kanty Szeptycki to the Reverend Mikołaj Kulaszyński, 13 July 1900, in Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Cracow, Korespondencja z Archiwum Zamoyskich, manuscript 240, pp. 128–129; also information from Vasyl Lencyk of Stamford, Connecticut.
10. Kazimierz Wyka, "Fredro Aleksander," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. VII (Cracow, 1948–1958), pp. 105–113; Wyka, "Fredro Jan Aleksander," *ibid.*, pp. 119–121; Witold Ziembicki, "Fredro Andrzej Maksymilian," *ibid.*, p. 117; Jerzy Pietrzak, "Fredrowska krew w Wielkopolsce," *Kierunki*, IX, 24 and 26–29 (Warsaw, 1974); Jerzy Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach błękitny: genealogia żyjących rodów polskich* (L'viv, 1901), pp. 362–367 and 903–813.
11. Edward Borowski, "Genealogie niektórych polskich rodzin utytułowanych," *Materiały do Biografii, Genealogii i Heraldyki Polskiej*, V (Buenos Aires and Paris, 1971), pp. 250–252, and VII–VIII (1987), p. 565.
12. Jerzy Sewer Dunin-Borkowski, *Rocznik szlachty polskiej* (L'viv, 1883), pp. 322–323; Anna Szeptycka, "Szeptycki Jan and Szeptycka Jadwiga," manuscripts in the Archive of the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, Cracow.

Appendix II

Toronto Conference on Andrei Sheptyts'kyi

On November 22-24, 1984, the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto sponsored a scholarly conference entitled, "Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: His Life and Work." The conference, held on the 40th anniversary of the death of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, included six sessions and twenty-three papers by twenty-four scholars from seven countries. Besides the scholarly papers, five talks were delivered during the opening session, the conference itself, or the evening banquet gatherings. Excerpts from four of these talks appear in this appendix.

In conjunction with the conference, a month-long exhibit of publications by and about Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi together with a brochure was prepared by Joyce Chyrski and held in the University of Toronto's John Robarts Library. Following the scholarly sessions on day three, an ecumenical service was held in the University of Toronto's Trinity College Anglican Chapel. It was presided over by the host, Bishop Isidore Borecky of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Bishop Henry Hill of the Anglican Church, and Archbishop Joseph Raya of the (Greek) Melchite Church; the homily was delivered by Archimandrite Lubomyr Husar, Studion Monastery, Castelgandolfo, Italy. A specially-printed prayer service (*moleben*) was prepared for the occasion by Archpriest Serge Keleher of the Ukrainian Eparchy of Toronto and published by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies under the title: *An Ecumenical Service of Praise and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Life and Work of His Servant Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, Metropolitan of Kiev, Halych, and All Rus'*.

The conference attracted extensive attention worldwide. Each of the six scholarly sessions had a capacity attendance of 250 persons. There was wide coverage in the press, including the following extensive reports:

Benedykt Heydenkorn, "Polityczna działalność Metropolity Szeptyckiego," *Zeszyty Historyczne*, No. 72 (Paris, 1985), pp. 99-114.

Oksana Pisets'ka Struk, "Khronika ukraïns'koho Toronto (III)," *Suchasnist'*, XXV, 5 (Munich, 1985), pp. 115-117.

Petro I. Potichnyi, "Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: zhyttia i pratsia," *Vidnova*, No. 3 (Munich, 1985), pp. 236-246.

M. Poroniuk, "Velychave vidznachennia 40-richchia smerty Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho," *Nasha meta* (Toronto), November 28-December 5, 1984, pp. 1 and 4; December 12, 1984, p. 4.

Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: His Life and Work—Opening Remarks

I value the honor of being invited to give the opening remarks for this conference. The magic of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's name, the power of his personality, and the genius of his spirit drew me, strongly, especially as I personally recognize the existence of a Supreme Being and because I believe, with Emerson, that "there is properly no history, only biographies." I also deem it an honour because to serve God is a most noble vocation, and because Count Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was a nobleman who chose a religious vocation.

Scholarly inquiry into the past is very important, even when documentary sources are limited or unavailable, as is the case with the subject of this conference. But from the program it is easy to see that this is going to be a most impressive effort to fill the gap between sheer speculation and hard facts about a most unique historical personality. It is fitting that scholars gathered at a university should discuss the life and work of this outstanding churchman, for he was an ardent believer in the value of universities. "Universities," Sheptyts'kyi told the Austrian House of Lords in 1910, "have become the greatest and most important centers of cultural and national life." He spoke these words to justify the need to establish a Ukrainian university in L'viv, his archepiscopal seat.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was a man of many dimensions, with an intense sense of truth and a personality crucial to the understanding of the great Eastern churches. His belief that prayer guided and helped individuals was an important element of the religion that he impressed upon his followers, thus giving their ideals and aspirations form. As their pastor, he taught the faithful to pray, to be truthful and virtuous, and to love one another. He took an active part in the life of his community, believing that bringing the faithful closer to God would bring them closer to each other.

The Metropolitan was also mindful of his flock's worldly needs. He exemplified well Jefferson's saying, that "God, who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And although there was a lot of distrust and even outright hatred for him in his immediate environment, he nonetheless tried to lay the basis for the freedom of all nations and for a future reconciliation between Ukraine and Poland. While his impact was often beneficial, more often his well-intentioned plans were misinterpreted, undermined, and destroyed. Personally an object of discrimination, even persecution, he used his influence to protect his flock, to instill in them a sense of national purpose and common identity. There is little doubt that he gave Ukrainians a sense of destiny and a confidence that the Ukrainian Catholic Church has a place in the apostolic sea of churches.

His true greatness was manifested in his simplicity. He could understand his people like nobody else. "Kindness is the golden chain by which society is bound together," said Goethe, and Sheptyts'kyi certainly showed much kindness to his people. Did he succeed? Did he fail? These are difficult questions. But one thing is certain: Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi led a very busy, selfless life. He crossed the Atlantic and at one point spent over two years in prison in virtual exile. To him, Providence had a great purpose for the Ukrainian church, and that gave him a lot of strength. His idealism, in turn, carried over to his faithful adherents and flock. It is characteristic that the men he chose and consecrated as bishops, *all* had the strength and idealism to stand firm for their faith, unto death, in the face of persecution more sophisticated and practiced than even that of Diocletian.

In Europe, the efforts to eliminate inequality and brutal discrimination on the grounds of nationality and religion reached their high point just before the outbreak of World War II. Unfortunately, all those efforts failed. In Poland, tense relations demanded dramatic change which the Poles, also unfortunately, were incapable of making. Instead of giving Ukrainians a chance to chart their own destiny, instead of hanging together (so to speak), so as not to hang separately, instead of eliminating old injustices, instead of helping the Ukrainians in their period of transition from peoplehood to nationhood, the Poles regrettably did not use the opportunity to improve the relationship between the two peoples. The democratic political system was weak not only in Poland but in most of Europe during the interwar years. Poland, so Catholic and Christian, proved paradoxically to be "intolerant" even of Greek Catholics.

In the circumstances, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi became a lonely heroic figure, between two titanic forces of evil, Hitler and Stalin, on an island called Poland that imagined that its minorities were somehow inferior. Instead of encouraging a partnership in democracy and helping in the awakening of Ukrainian cultural and religious life, the Polish ruling classes used all kinds of means to stop the renaissance of the Ukrainian nation. In the end, no one was spared the terrible suffering that followed. Interestingly, Sheptyts'kyi was one of the very few high-ranking Catholic clergymen in Europe to condemn the Holocaust of the Jews while it was taking place.

For those who truly seek to understand Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the course undoubtedly lies through the study of the whole Polish system at the time. How could a cardinal's hat be denied such a distinguished, great religious leader of millions of Ukrainian Catholics? He was on a mission of ecumenism long before ecumenism became generally recognized. Nothing better exemplifies the follies of Polish-Ukrainian relations than the experiences of Sheptyts'kyi. Therefore, both Poles and Ukrainians have a legitimate interest in the actions, deeds, and aspirations of the unique subject of this conference. It is certainly a troubled past and it takes a lot of courage to look into it objectively, but the sooner it is done, the better, and I am personally pleased that you picked up the challenge. Both Poles and Ukrainians must study their common past, and especially examine the careers of those individuals who tried to build bridges of understanding between them, lest they repeat the tragic occurrences of that past.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi certainly left his permanent imprint on the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and even on the whole Catholic Church, for we are all *interdependent,* even in faith. It is easy to see that the Catholic Church has many shining lights, and Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi is certainly one of the brightest. To me, Sheptyts'kyi is a symbol of service to God and to the Ukrainian people. As one of the greatest makers of Ukrainian history, he certainly deserves a scholarly analysis and an evaluation of his significance for the whole Catholic Church, for two bitter foes, and for a world gone mad with war.

It was Jesus of Nazareth who said that we should measure life not by what we receive but by what we give. From that point of view, Sheptyts'kyi's life was a triumph of human spirit. Such a spirit deserves the honour this conference bestows upon it, and it gives me great pleasure indeed to wish you success.

Peter Savaryn
Chancellor, University of Alberta

The Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei
A Tribute on the Fortieth Anniversary of His Death

It is not a lack of material about Andrei Sheptyts'kyi that makes it difficult for one to speak of the great Metropolitan, but rather the multitude of thoughts and feelings that his extraordinarily rich personality calls forth. His sensibilities and his interests were truly universal and his pastoral action left no field of Christian, or, indeed, human life untouched. He cannot be fitted into a tight and narrow framework. There is yet another reason why it is difficult to speak of this hierarch, who from his see at St. George's in L'viv was a beacon and pillar of faith for his people and luminary of the Universal Church. I refer here to a particular aspect or facet of his personality, a quality of mysterious silence that hung around and enveloped him and that was impenetrable. It was impossible for the unpracticed to discover and follow the direction of his deep thought. This trait inevitably exposed him to speculation by others, not always intelligent or benevolent, about the motives of his far-reaching pastoral action.

Motives have been attributed to the Metropolitan that were utterly foreign to him, not only as a human, but also as a priest, monk, and bishop. Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was not a politician, nor was he a dictator or an autocrat. He was the archbishop-metropolitan of Halych, the father and pastor of his people. The people venerated, admired, and loved him; but his own fellow-countrymen, divided as everywhere in the world by parties, ideologies, and diverse tendencies, did not always heed his teachings and admonitions. It was at such a crucial moment that he issued his pastoral letter on fratricide and cried out with all his might: "Do not kill!"

It was not only his native reserve and discretion, but also the fact that he maintained relations with the most widely different people—from Hutsul highlanders to distinguished personalities of the imperial court in Vienna, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, poor country folk, the faithful of his own ecclesiastical province, Catholics of St. Petersburg, his own people's leaders, and those of neighboring Slavic countries—that gave rise in certain quarters to the strange suspicion that his pastoral action was inspired by ulterior political motives. One can only hope for the day when historical research, favored by free access to existing archives, will be in a position to offer an incontrovertible and complete vindication of the pure Christian inspiration of the Metropolitan's pastoral policy, and to situate it in its true perspective in the history of the church and the nation. Characteristically, he never replied to criticism and attacks, since he considered them his daily bread, but he desired, for the church's sake, that his life and work might be seen in their true light.

Roman Aleksander Maria Sheptyts'kyi, from his early years desired only to be a monk and a priest, to return to the rite of his forefathers and his ancestral ethnic community, and to live with God and serve his people in the best possible way. Less is known of his intimate experiences in the period of his maturity. One who for long years had been a close colleague of the Metropolitan and who had the opportunity to watch him both at the altar and at his pastoral tasks, declared that the holy man had become a legend chiefly because of the silence he preserved about himself. He belonged to that category of men who ascribe all their own merits to others and keep for themselves the toil, the hardships, and the pain. The Metropolitan once told a friend: ''I do that, and that only, which I consider to be to the good and advantage of my flock, my eparchy.'' It was his constant desire to lay down his life for the faith, for the sake of the church, for the sake of the pope, for the unity of the church. Only a martyr's death, he believed, would be profitable and bring forth lasting fruits. This desire for martyrdom never left him.

Among his characteristics was one which will certainly appeal to historians. He was in the habit of depositing in his archives every document, letter, and even scrap of paper that had the slightest value during all the forty-five years of his episcopate. There were literally tons of such items in sealed packets, although reports suggest that the greater part of these perished in the last war. This habit was not a pointless idiosyncrasy. The Metropolitan had ceased to belong to himself, he belonged to history. He knew, too, that the church's history, her self-awareness and self-understanding, and a people's history and its sense of identity is also based on these often humble but indispensable memorials.

The Metropolitan's cultural activity had nothing ''academic'' or discursive about it, but was part of a perfectly coherent, realistic, and far-seeing pastoral policy directed at the renewal of his church by a return to its authentic spiritual sources and traditions, and at the promotion ''of all men and of the whole man.'' As such, he anticipated by several decades the guidelines offered by the Second Vatican Council. With this end in view, he set about establishing educational and social institutions, the most important of which was the Theological Academy of L'viv.

Special mention must be made of his work as promoter of the religious and, in particular, the monastic life. There is no doubt that he is one of the greatest monastic reformers of modern times. He revived Studite monasticism in Ukraine with the help of his brother Casimir, better known under his monastic name of Father Hegumen Klymentii. Furthermore, it is thanks to the Metropolitan that a number of Latin-rite religious orders opened branches of the Oriental rite in Ukraine and elsewhere. Among these the Congregation of the Redemptorist Fathers is noteworthy, particularly for its work among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.

If the Metropolitan's efforts towards the renewal of the religious and monastic life in his particular church met with consoling success (although the events following World War II prevented this success from attaining a full flowering), this was also due to his own person as an exemplary Christian witness and to his charisma which stimulated and attracted generous souls. He was a true ascetic. The martyrdom he longed for all his life was for him an ever-present reality, anticipated in his hidden, deeply mortified life. To be a monk, in other words to be a "perfect" Christian, meant for him to conform to the crucified Savior. It is significant that he often prostrated himself, his hands outstretched as on a cross. He was an authentic contemplative enriched by many mystical graces and a passionate lover of Sacred Scripture and of the works of the Fathers of the church. He practiced uninterrupted prayer. His inner life was centered on the Christ present in the mystery of the Eucharist, so that he often repeated: "I cannot live without the Holy Eucharist!" He began no important work without first praying intensely.

The great Metropolitan's pastoral achievements were countless. From Pope Leo XIII, he derived a concern for social justice, and connected with this, for national rights, liberties, and responsibilities. It was thanks to him that Ukrainian Catholics who had settled in North America were provided with a hierarchy of their own rite. Among all his efforts and achievements for his people's good, there was one area of pastoral concern which was preeminent. This was the concern for church unity, understood in the way it was later defined at the Second Vatican Council. This goal was the life of his life, the soul of his soul. In that regard, Pope Pius X accorded him exceptionally wide faculties or powers, in virtue of which he was vested with episcopal jurisdiction over Europe's eastern regions and Asia up to Vladivostok. It was from the Metropolitan's mouth that Pope Pius XI gathered the important principle, which Pope John XXIII was to take up again: "In the Christian Orient one must stress that which unites all and not that which divides."

His last illness came unexpectedly. The paralysis spread, his heart was weakened by coronary attacks, his condition became critical. On 31 October 1944, towards midnight, he ceased all speaking, although he was perfectly lucid. It was a time of great silence. No one knows what then transpired between his soul and God. Then he spoke once more. He wished to leave his spiritual testament. First, he foretold the complete destruction of the Catholic Church among the Ukrainian people, then its resurrection and its great new flourishing. He ended with these words: "And now you will no longer hear my voice until the day of judgment." He died on 1 November 1944, at 3:30 p.m., having lived seventy-nine years, three months, and seven days.

On several occasions and in public speeches Pope Pius XII referred to the Metropolitan: "His name shall remain perennially blessed in the church of God, which shall remember his ardent zeal for the souls entrusted to his care and his staunch courage in the defence of his people." May these words of Pope Pius XII bring to a conclusion my humble tribute to a great bishop and church father of the Second Millennium. His greatness and his glory will be manifested and exalted in the third millennium which is at the doors.

Archbishop Miroslav S. Marusyn, Secretary
Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Rome

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi During the Years 1942-1944: Recollections of an Eyewitness

A personal friendship developed in the prewar years between Metropolitan Andrei and my father, Dr. Ezekiel Lewin, the last rabbi of the Jewish community in L'viv. This friendship contributed to saving many lives in the tragic days of the German occupation of the city, and was responsible for my own and my brother's survival. We were sheltered, among many others, by the Studite Fathers, thanks to the Metropolitan and his brother, Hegumen Klymentii. Thus, I became a witness to events on St. George's Hill which took place between September 1942 and September 1944.

I lived in Studite communities, primarily in L'viv. I wore a Studite monk's garb, and as I speak Ukrainian fluently, and am familiar with Ukrainian customs, my movements were not restricted. I worked in the Studion library, attached to the monastery of St. Josaphat, where some of the archives of the Metropolitan were located. My work brought me into daily contact with him and with Hegumen Klymentii, the Superior of the Studite Fathers. The monastery of St. Josaphat served as a guest house for out-of-town visitors who travelled to L'viv to see the Metropolitan. My comments are based on personal observations and contacts with those visitors. I listened to conversations in the refectory since canonic silence was suspended in those days.

The political situation in western Ukraine was very complex. The population greeted the arriving German troops with flowers, since they were pleased to be freed from the Soviet yoke. However, the brutality of the Germans and the atrocities committed swiftly brought disillusion and fear. The German authorities, after a brief flirtation with Ukrainian politicians, ignored them. The Ukrainisches Hilfskomitee [Ukrainian Central Committee] was deprived of any real power and its task was primarily to assist in controlling an increasingly restless population confronted with forced recruitment of young people for the war industry in Germany, and systematic confiscation of grain and livestock. The Ukrainische Hilfspolizei was actively used in the destruction of the Jewish community.[1] Its other duties were rather limited. The occasional member of this notorious force who visited the Metropolitan told of unspeakable atrocities committed. Some of them tried to protect the Greek Catholic Church and occasionally warned about existing danger, or about a forthcoming search for members of the underground, or for Jews sheltered in monasteries or convents.

Hardship, apprehension about the future, and the struggle for daily necessities in a poverty-stricken land devastated by war were foremost in people's minds. The proliferation of various partisan units provoked a swift and brutal retribution, usually against innocents. The experiences of those who were directly involved with the Germans hardly served to encourage closer contact. The Ukrainian population, having escaped the yoke of the Soviets, found itself under a new and equally threatening one. The Greek Catholic Church led by the Metropolitan, with the support of the Hegumen Klymentii, remained a beacon of light and served as a guide in those confused circumstances. Its priests and religious made an effort to calm, to warn of the consequences of crimes committed against other communities, and to prepare the population for the eventual return of the Soviets to western Ukraine.

The Polish population was watched by the Germans, and individuals suspected of underground activities were either shot or deported to concentration camps. Prominent Poles, who had the misfortune to be in L'viv in July 1941, were summarily shot by a special unit of the SS and Polizei which followed German troops. That unit had prepared lists of leading citizens. Former prime minister of Poland, Professor Kazimierz Bartel and the writer Tadeusz Boy-Zeleński, were among its many victims. The antagonism between the Polish and the Ukrainian communities, which had previously exploded in the battle for L'viv in the years 1918-1919, remained ever ready to erupt at any moment in a renewed outburst of hatred and violence.

The systematic destruction of the Jewish community commenced with the entry of the German army. The horror in the Metropolitan's reports, which found their way to Rome, refers to the atrocities committed against the Jews. These reports clearly described the situation in L'viv and expressed a deep concern for the consequences of the atrocities perpetrated by the Germans, at least initially, against the Jews. The surveillance of all travellers, and in particular individuals in contact with the Metropolitan, dictated extraordinary caution, therefore the language of the reports is guarded. These reports were delivered to the Curia in Rome by courageous individuals at the risk of their lives.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was first and foremost the spiritual leader of a community caught in a historic whirlpool. He guarded the union of his church with Rome, because it represented to him a vital link in the spiritual life of his people and a guarantee of their cultural and national survival. This explains his aloof attitude to the controversial political activity of extremists, an attitude that was criticized by younger priests and monks who lacked the experience and the perspective of the Metropolitan.

Ukrainian politicians were divided, and some of them, after being used in the preparations for entry into Soviet Ukraine in 1941, were subsequently imprisoned by the Germans. The followers of Bandera considered the Metropolitan a pacifist who was not sufficiently devoted to the cause of Ukrainian nationalism. His relations with the followers of Mel'nyk were somewhat more positive, since that movement tried to adhere to Christian principles. That should not, however, be construed as an expression of active support for its policies. The Metropolitan was deeply suspicious of any extreme nationalistic groups, since one could not know who was behind them. For example, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Bandera branch of that movement had long-standing and intimate ties with the German intelligence service, which are well documented in archives discovered after the defeat of the Third Reich. This attitude frequently invited criticism and even hostility in those quarters which expected the Metropolitan to play a more active part in the unfolding "historic" events. The Metropolitan understood the terrible reality facing western Ukraine and devoted himself primarily to guiding his flock through the Scylla of the Germans and the Charybdis of the Soviet Union. Therefore, he maintained an aloof and correct attitude toward the politicians and made every effort to protect the Greek Catholic Church from repeated attempts to politicize it.

In those days, the Metropolitan was relatively isolated. News received through the German-controlled press or radio distorted the real state of affairs. Telephone contact was limited and mail service was at best erratic. The Metropolitan and the Curia had to rely on information brought to him by the unending procession of visitors to his residence. Therefore, his reactions were at times slow and guarded, as the information provided had to be verified and evaluated. The difficulties encountered in maintaining contact with the community were great.

Printing paper and ink were hard to obtain and publishing without a permit was punishable by death or prison. The Studite monks, with the assistance of Father Johannes Peters, a German member of that community, managed to obtain a press which was used secretly to print pastoral letters, the official periodical of the diocese, and religious books. Lay employees made this facility available to the Ukrainian underground for the printing of anti-German leaflets. The Gestapo traced their origin, confiscated the printing presses, and arrested the monks and priests in charge. The many precious documents that have been left to us from those days were created at extraordinary risks, including sometimes the supreme sacrifice.

The Metropolitan's voice was heard throughout the country, despite the difficulties providing guidance and solace. However, a number of statements, some startling indeed, were made in the name of Metropolitan Andrei during those turbulent days. Some reflected a crude and cynical effort to use his name and the influence he represented. Some were the product of political naiveté and ignorance on the part of self-appointed spokesmen. A number of Greek Catholic priests active in Cracow, Berlin, and Vienna were skillfully manipulated by the Abwehr, the German intelligence service headed by Admiral Canaris.[1] They were restricted to only infrequent and carefully watched contact with the Curia in L'viv. The controversy surrounding the Metropolitan's political activities stems from these unfortunate statements which were made without his approval or knowledge.

Metropolitan Andrei was a spiritual leader of his people. He was devoted to their welfare, and his vast experience gave him a clarity of vision and a unique perspective. His ideas and activities are reflected in writings, pastoral letters, and correspondence covering over half a century which have been painstakingly assembled by the postulation for the process of beatification. These archives are an accurate reflection of the man, his beliefs, and his ideas, and not doubtful documents of a rather uncertain authorship and debatable origin.[1]

The authorities in L'viv reflected the well-documented power struggle and rivalry ever present within Nazi Germany. The German military, or Wehrmacht, used the city as a major supply and transportation depot to support troops fighting in Soviet Ukraine; therefore, it was only peripherally interested in local affairs. The brutal and corrupt civilian regime, headed by Dr. Hans Frank, was primarily preoccupied with looting Jewish property and with the complex administration of the deportation of the Jews to the death camps. The police, controlled by the Reichssicherheitshauptampt, a state within a state, was frequently engaged in a feud with the Wehrmacht and the civilian authorities.

The Metropolitan's contact with officials was usually through intermediaries. He was left alone, as it was clear to the Germans that if harm befell the Metropolitan it would enrage the Ukrainian population and trigger far-reaching consequences. Monks and priests were, nevertheless, arrested and deported to concentration camps, even from his immediate entourage. He was generally ignored by the authorities until 1943, when the decision was made in Berlin to form the SS Division Galizien. His active support for this venture was first invited and subsequently demanded by representatives of German authorities. They were assisted in their effort by a notorious German agent, Colonel A. Bisanz, who had resided in L'viv since before the war.

Threats were made on a number of occasions by senior SS officers when the Metropolitan refused to issue a proclamation in support of this belated German experiment. The critical conditions prevailing on the eastern front prompted the Germans to resurrect a Ukrainian connection, forcing them to overcome their traditional prejudice against the Slavs. Thus, the SS Division Galizien, an integral part of the Waffen SS, was formed in 1943, consisting of volunteers from western Ukraine. A number of such divisions was formed from other non-German volunteers recruited among collaborators in Norway, Holland, and Belgium. While refusing to issue a proclamation in support of this experiment, the Metropolitan did delegate a number of priests to act as chaplains to young people whose tragic destiny he clearly foresaw.

The approach of the Red Army in pursuit of the retreating Germans made living conditions even more difficult during the severe winter of 1944. The city was cut off from the outside world and was systematically bombed by the Soviet air force. The end of the bloody rule of the Germans was near. Bands of marauders were armed and incited to atrocities to divert attention from the retreating and vulnerable Wehrmacht units. Ukrainians were indiscriminately killed by Poles, and Poles were killed by Ukrainians. Whole villages were wiped out.

The circle around the Metropolitan was getting smaller and smaller, as it became difficult and dangerous to travel through a countryside full of armed bands, partisans, and deserters. The Metropolitan was in those days supported by his brother, Hegumen Klymentii, and small groups of devoted monks, nuns, and lay priests who remained at their posts. His health had visibly deteriorated. Even though the dying giant was witnessing the destruction of his life's work, he did not despair and remained to the very end a beacon of strength and inspiration to all.

On the eve of my departure from L'viv, I was led by Hegumen Klymentii into the private chamber of the ailing Metropolitan. He was lifted by Atanasii, the Studite brother who attended him. He could hardly speak but had still the strength to bless me for the long and dangerous journey I was about to embark on. A month later the news reached me that Metropolitan Andrei had died. Today I have the privilege to share with you the memory of this spiritual giant whom I was fortunate to encounter in my youth.

Kurt I. Lewin
New York, New York

Notes

1. This statement is based on evidence presented at the Nuremberg war crimes trials in the case against Dr. Hans Frank, and in the case of the United States against Volodymyr Osidach, Federal District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1979–1981.
2. These priests, serving Ukrainians residing in territories beyond Soviet control in 1939–1941, were supervised by a special department, the Amt für Kirchliche Angelegenheiten, created in 1939 by the Generalgouvernement in Cracow for liaison with the Greek Catholic Church.
3. I refer here to statements made in the name of the Metropolitan after the entry of the German army into L'viv in July 1941, when the illusion was entertained that the Germans would permit the formation of a Ukrainian government to administer the "liberated" territories. Sheptyts'kyi's name was added to other signatories of a proclamation made at this time by Ukrainian politicians entertaining this idea.

The Significance of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi for Modern Ecumenism

I wish to express my thanks for your kind invitation to participate in this splendid conference and to extend the prayerful support and Christian love of your sister churches of the Anglican communion. For we also knew Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the beloved friend of our own Lord Halifax, who for many decades was head of the English church union. We find much in Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's life and work which speaks directly to our hearts.

I wish to begin by recalling an amusing event which happened when Pope John Paul II came to consecrate the Slovak Byzantine Cathedral of the Holy Transfiguration in Markham, Ontario, on September 15, 1984. Bishop Arthur Brown, one of the regional bishops of the Diocese of Toronto (Anglican), who knew my close association with the Eastern churches, suggested that an Anglican presence would be ecumenically meaningful.

Having been given a clergy ticket through the kindness of the cathedral's benefactor, Stephen B. Roman, I presented myself to be taken by limousine with eight or nine Slovak Catholic bishops to a VIP tent on the Cathedral site. After mingling for an hour or so with bishops, papal knights, and other such types, I followed several bishops to the cathedral. They passed the barrier, but I was stopped by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (the RCMP). At that very moment, Bishop Isidore Borecky (Ukrainian Catholic) appeared and insisted that I be let in!

Still in ignorance, I stood on the cathedral platform looking at the sights until an RCMP officer took me aside and asked: "Who invited you?" I said, "I am representing the Anglican Church," and quoted all the important people I knew, but it was of no use! I was escorted back to the tent, where I poured myself a large glass of tomato juice.

Within four minutes, Bishop Michael Rusnak (Slovak Catholic) rushed into the tent exclaiming: "This is an impossible situation! It is an insult! You must come back!" I was unwillingly led back to the barrier where the RCMP shook my hand and said: "Congratulations!"

When the Pope arrived, sixteen of us were lined up on either side of the red carpet. I was nearest the papal throne. His Holiness looked at me in a strange manner. I said that I was representing the Anglican Church, although I am told that when the camera was on us the CBC announcer commented that the Pope was speaking to another Slovak bishop. The Pope moved a few feet away and conversed with Bishops Isidore and Michael for several minutes. Then coming back, he shook my hand, and said: "I hear you are interested in the Byzantine and Catholic Churches?" I avowed that I was—and the Orthodox as well—in my capacity as co-chairman of the Anglican-Orthodox dialogue. We had a brief conversation, during which I brought greetings from our Primate Archbishop Scott and the Canadian bishops. Later, as we moved in two files toward the altar which the Pope was to consecrate, I looked to my left only to see that he was walking at my side.

When the Pope was leaving, the bishops gathered around to kiss his ring. I think I was the only one who stood aside; but reaching over three or four people and taking both my hands in his own, he said, "Thank you very much." On leaving the platform, a number of people crowded to express their pleasure at the presence of a visitor from another church. I think Anglican stock was quite high among Slovak Catholics on that day. Bishop Michael wrote later that it added further to the visibility of the Body of Christ.

It seems to me that it is important for we Christians to cross the political, religious, and social barriers which have been allowed to separate us for so long. This is precisely what Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi did in a grand way over and over again during his long life.

As a nobleman of the Austrian Empire, he had chosen to become a priest of the Byzantine Rite, in order to work on behalf of the Ukrainian people. Both church and government circles in Austria considered this a distinctly inferior choice. In search of reconciliation for the Eastern and Western churches, he restored the full life of Orthodox monasticism to the Studite order of monks and nuns. The Metropolitan never regarded social or political status as important for service in the churches and for work toward unity. As a protector of the oppressed and a prophet of things to come, his witness among the Jewish people was remarkable. Father Lev Gillet loved to recount how when Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi made pastoral visits to his communities (and at a time when relations between the Jews and Slavs were often severely strained) he would invite the Rabbi and elders of the synagogue to bring out the scrolls of the Torah and they would greet him in the village square. When they met, the Metropolitan would first venerate the Torah and then formally salute the Jewish leaders.

This dramatic gesture of peace and reconciliation from Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, who by virtue of his position was among the highest officials in the Austrian Empire, foretold his later heroic witness during World War II, when he was one of the very few spiritual leaders and political leaders under the German occupation who dared to protest the calculated and cold blooded mass murder of the Jews.

Of course, the Anglican communion will always remember Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi because of his initiatives and inspiration in bringing about the famous Malines Conversations some sixty years ago at which Dom Lambert Beauduin presented a report he had written in collaboration with the Metropolitan entitled: "L'Église Anglicane, unie mais non absorbée!" This was the first time that Roman Catholicism had recognized the great principle that we can be "sister Churches" and that it is possible to be authentically Anglican *and* authentically Catholic.

I should like to conclude with a quotation from Father Lev Gillet, who wrote this description of the Metropolitan only a few months before he fell asleep in the Lord:

"Only he who has seen the Metropolitan living among his people in L'viv can clearly picture the life of the great Eastern bishops of the fourth century. The people surround him with their veneration; they press forward to kiss his hands or his robe. He orders his diocese less by methods of administration than by long and intimate conversations: *cor ad cor loquitur*. His is a great heart, full of generosity and nobility. He is a man of prayer and of faith, without a trace of sentimentality but with the strength, goodness, and realism of a patriarch. Young men from Holland, France, and England have sought from him formulations and spiritual direction. It may have happened that in certain cases the circumstances of life have painfully severed the external link, but the interior bond with the 'Father Metropolitan' (as he liked to be called) and the affection and impression he has left us remain unchanged."

We must ask Metropolitan Andrei to pray for us.

Bishop Henry Hill
Anglican Church of Canada
Representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Eastern Churches

Index

Abitibi district, 330, 339-43
Abrikosov, Reverend Vladimir, 326n38
Aehrenthal, Aloys Lexa von, 27n15
Aeterni Patris (encyclical of Leo XIII), 4, 166
Agrarian strike (1902), 250, 267n35
Agricultural Mortgage Bank, 280
AK, *see* Polish Home Army
Albert, Brother, *see* Chmielewski, Brother Albert
Aleksei (Gromadskii), Archbishop, 136
Alexandria, 6, 10
Alexandrian theology, 170
All-Ukrainian National Council, xxiv, 65
All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, *see* Ukrainian Orthodox Church
Alphonse, Dom, *illus. 34*
Amarant, Oded, *illus. 33*
America, *see* United States
American Relief Administration, 355
Amerikanskii russkii viestnik, 368, 370n5, 372nn14, 22, 23, 24, 26
Ameryka, 357
Andriienko, Mykhailo, 303nn25, 30
Anglican Church, 190, 227, 242n28, 243n3, 441, 455-56; in Russia, 313
Antioch, 6, 10; Patriarchate of, 230
Antiochan theology, 170
Antonovych Volodymyr, 304n34, 314
ANUM (Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists), 293
Arab-Israeli Six-Day War, 146
Archipenko, Oleksander, 303nn25, 30
Ardan, John, 353
Argentina: Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 84, 344
Armenian rite, 383
Armenians, 190, 379
Armia Krajowa (AK), *see* Polish Home Army
Articuli pro Causae Instructione (in beatification process), 424-25
Arts, the: Sheptyts'kyi as patron of, 280, 289-300, 307-10, 380, 420n58, 432
Association for the Preservation of Monuments of Ukrainian Antiquity, 290
Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists (ANUM), 293
Athanasius, Saint, 173
Athenagoras, Patriarch (of Constantinople), 239nl
Augsburg Confession, 6

Augustine of Hippo, Saint, 2, 5, 10
Austrian Uhlan Battalion, xix
Austro-Hungarian monarchy, 292; end of, xxi, 26, 45n42, 50; feast of Corpus Christi in, 208; Galicia under, *see* Galicia; and Greek Catholic Church, 32, 38, (in Canada) 330, 332, 333, 334-35, (and Chełm region) 23-25, (sociopolitical environment) 30, 38, 254-62 *passim*, (in U.S.) 351, 352, 353, 366; "May Laws" of, 259-60, 261; opposes Ukrainian religious unity, 25; vs. Russia, 20-21, 22, 25, 48, 211, 365; and Sheptyts'kyi, 15-26, (as cavalry officer) xix, 17, 361n54, 415, (decorated with Grand Cross) 22, (visit to Canada) 331; Sheptyts'kyi in House of Lords of, xx, xxi, 26, 58, 69n19, 278, (speaks on Brest-Litovsk Treaty) 22, 50, 80, 383, (speaks on Ukrainian university) 18, 38, 274; and Ukrainian National/People's Republic, 23, 50; Ukrainian population in, 15-17; and Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, 281, 413; Ukrainians in parliament of, 16-17 (*see also* Sheptyts'kyi in House of Lords of, *above*); Vatican Concordat with, 268n37; in World War I, 80 (*see also* Central Powers), *See also* Habsburg, House of; Hungary Authier, Hector, 342

Babii, Ivan, xxiii, 56, 71n58
Bachyn'skyi, Volodymyr, 341, 342
Badeni, Count Casimir, 76
Balabin, Evgenii, 314
Balashov, Vladimir, 326n38
Balfour, David, 234
Baltic states, 114
Bandera, Stepan, 61, 71n58, 450
Banderites, 141n11; declare Ukrainian statehood, xxiii, 409; and German *Abwehr*, 127, 129; Polish action against, 88; post-war condemnation of, 146, 411, 412
Baran, Stepan, 46n56, 422
Barbareum (Vienna, 1774), 16
Barda, Franciszek, 152
Bartel, Kazimierz, 450
Bartoszewicz, Julian, 437
Barvins'kyi, Oleksander, 274
Barvins'kyi, Volodymyr, 301n9
Basel, Council of (1431-1449), 7
Basil the Great, Saint, 5, 32, 167, 173, 180n4, 205, 210, 216
Basilian Order, 112, 231, 290, 429, 430; in Canada, 331, 333, 335, 336, 344, 351; and Latin rites, 205, 216, 220, 223nn15, 19; reform of, 30-31, 32, 263n4, 394n3; rivalry within, 16; Sheptyts'kyi aids, 272, 273, 276; Sheptyts'kyi with, xix, xx, 17, 31-32, 33, 36, 39, 210, 224n25, 314
Bat'kivshchyna, 31
Bauer, Yehuda, 147
Bazylevych, Anatol' Maria, 426-27
Beard as priestly symbol, 39. *See also* Symbolism
Beatification process, 234, 325n7, 424-27, 436n46; opposition to, 393, 425
Beauduin Dom Lambert, 191, 232, 236, 238, 241-42nn24, 28, 456, *illus. 34*
Beck, Józef, 55
Belgian Redemptorists, *see* Redemptorist Order
Belgium: Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 84, 286n38
Beliaiev, Vladimir, 114, 416-17, 419n26, 420n58
Belorussia, xxii, 382, 397n39; Belorussians in Poland, 96n11, 120n21, 121n53, 217; and church union/*Uniia*, 186, 194, 313; exarchate of, xxiii, 108, 129; Latinization of liturgy in, 209; missionary activity in, 82; Soviet annexation of, 114
Belorussian language, 284n26
Benedict XIV (pope), 205
Benedic XV (pope), 49, 121n51, 319, 343, 348n55, 430
Benedictine Order, 232, 233, 235, 236
Berdiaev, Nikolai, 181n20, 233
Berthélemy Mission, 51
Bessarabia, 114
Bezbozhnik, 107
Biblos printshop, 118n11
Bilczewski, Archbishop Józef, 287n54, 380, 381, 398nn47, 53
Bilets'kyi, Leonid, 280
Biliak, Stepan, 115
Bisanz, Colonel Alfred, 137, 452
Bismarck, Otto von, 191
Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński, 388, 401n91
Blum, Léon, 57

Bobers'kyi, Ivan, 340
Bobrowski, Jan Nepomucen, 437
Bobrzyński, Michał, 78, 379, 381
Bocheński, Adolf, 90, 387, 389
Bodnaruk, Ivan, 422
Boels, Reverend Henrich, 338, 339, *illus. 46*
Bogočelovečestvo, 9
Bohachevs'kyi, Bishop Constantine, 218, 220, 358, 362n62, 370, *illus. 35*
Bohosloviia, xxii, 279, 422
Boichuk, Mykhailo, 289, 293-94, 297, 303n30
Boikos, 305n43
Bolsheviks, *see* Communist party and Communism
Bonn, Reverend Frants, 327n45
Borderland Guard (Poland), 80
Borecky, Bishop Isidore, 441, 455, *illus. 53*
Borowski, Edward, 438
Borschak, Elie, 424
Bosnia, 31, 283n12, 340, 347n47. *See also* Yugoslavia
Botsian, Bishop Iosyf, 21, 23, 301n9, 326nn24, 38, 422; secretly ordained, 105, 120n21, 318
Boy-Żeleński, Tadeusz, 450
Bozha Mudrist', 172, 429, 431
Brandes, Count, 30
Brazil, 333; Sheptyts'kyi criticized in, 384; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 84, 344
Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of (1918), 23, 72n67; Sheptyts'kyi supports, xxi, 22, 50, 80, 383
Brest (Litovsk), Union (*Uniia*) of (1595/1596), 7, 190, 194, 198n3, 205, 214, 219, 222n5, 313; and liturgical reform, 204, 206; Orthodox view of, 197
Britain, 70n27; Orthodox population in, 236; and self-determination, 51; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 53, 84; Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate in, 234
Brody, battle of, 65
Brown, Bishop Arthur, 455
Bruchési, Archbishop Paul, 345n5
Brusilov, General Aleksei, 316
Brygidki prison, 140n11
Brystygierowa, J., *see* Prejs, Julia
Buchko, Arhbishop Ivan, 142n42, 424, *illus. 35*
Budka, Bishop Nykyta, 104, 116, 334-40 *passim, illus. 47*
Budzynovs'kyi, Viacheslav, 35
Bukovina, 49; emigrants from, 341; folk art in, 292; Old Believers in, *see* Old Believers; Soviet annexation of, 114; Ukrainians in, 15, 16, 17, (in diet) 16, 20, 22, 50, 69n19, (nationalist claims of) 21
Bulgakov, Sergei, 181n20, 233
Bulgaria, 39, 216, 230, 314
Bunt Młodych, 387, 391
Burián von Rajecz, Stephen, 28n49
Burik, Reverend Emmanuel, 371n6
Butovych, Mykola, 301n4
Bychenko, Professor 123n92
Byzantine form (visual arts), 289, 290, 293, 295, 296
Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Church, 355, 358n1. *See also* Ruthenian Catholic Church in America
Byzantine-Slav liturgy and rites, 205, 218, 232, 422; and art, *see* Byzantine form (visual arts); and "Byzantinism," 8, 217, 221, 228; Latinization and, 3, 112, 202, 431; opposition to, 227-28, 293. *See also* Eastern rites; Liturgical reform; Orthodoxy; Slavonic liturgy and texts

Calendar reform, 27n7
Calvinists, 313
Cambon, Jules, 53
Canada: archival material on Sheptyts'kyi in, 436n46; immigration restrictions of, 340-41, 342; Orthodox among troops from (World War II), 236; Redemptorist Order in, 336, 339, 422-23; Sheptyts'kyi and Ukrainians in, 329-45, 423, (pastoral letters to) 334; Sheptyts'kyi criticzed in, 384; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxi, xxii, 70n28, 84, 334-38, 343-45, 354, 355, 368, (radical treatment of) 37, (visit postponed) 332; Ukrainian population in (1902, 1906), 333, 335
Canadian-Ukrainian Prosvita Institute, 344
Canaris, Admiral, 451
Canevin, Bishop J.F. Regis, 353
Canissianum, 284n24
Car, Stanisław, 55
Carmelite Order, 380

Carpathian region, 370n2. *See also* Carpatho-Ukraine
Carpatho-Rusyn/Carpatho-Ruthenian immigrants in U.S., 351, 353, 354, 355, 358n1; and autonomous church, 368-70; separation of, from Galician Ukrainians, 365, 366, 370; Sheptyts'kyi and, 363-70. *See also* Ukrainian immigrants in U.S.
Carpatho-Ukraine (Subcarpathian Rus'), 64-65, 70n27, 370n2; autonomy of, 59, 91, 389; Hungary occupies, 59, 91
Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (Philadelphia), 354, *illus. 48*
Catherine II, empress of Russia, 205
Catholic Church: German statement on, 130; Polish subsidies paid to, 119n15; reunification of, with Eastern churches, *see* Ecumenism. *See also* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; Roman Catholicism; Ruthenian Catholic Church in America; Ukrainian Catholic Church; "Universal" Catholic Church
Catholic Front for Rebirth of Poland, 93
Catholic News, The, 354
Catholic Register, 337, 348n55
Censorship, 136, 402n115. *See also* Pastoral letters (confiscated)
Central Committee, *see* Ukrainian Central Committee (Cracow)
Central Office for the Security of the Reich, 130
Central Powers, 22, 23, 50, 68n4. *See also* Austro-Hungarian monarchy; Germany
Central Rada (Kiev), 48, 49, 50, 324
Chalcedon, Council of (451), 9, 240n1
Chameides, Rabbi Kalman, 162n57
Chameides, Leon, *illus. 33*
Charles Borromeo, Saint, 182n26
Charnets'kyi, Bishop Mykola, 86, 97n26, 104, 108, 120n21, 217
Charon, François, *see* Korolevsky, Reverend Cyril
Chekhivsk'kyi, Volodymyr, 49
Chełm region, xxiii, 62, 80, 90, 119n21; Orthodox churches destroyed, xxiii, 58, 389, 400n85; Sheptyts'kyi's concern with, xxi, 22-24, 26, 50, 91, 383; Uniate (Greek Catholic) eparchies abolished, 206, 211
Children's Care Society, 279
Chmielewski, Brother Albert, 77, 88, 96n2, 97n31, 380, 391
Chojnowski, Andrzej, 70n41
Chołoniewski, Antoni, 381-82
Chornii, R., 300n2
Chotkowski, Reverend Władysław, 383
Christianity: Bolshevik view of, 116; and hostility toward Jews, 157; language and, 2; and nationalism, 34-38; Ukrainian reception of, 203. *See also* Ecumenism; Roman Catholicism; Orthodoxy; Protestantism; Trinitarianism
Christliche Osten, Der, 189, 190
Chtenniia o Bogochelovechestve, 7
Chubatyi, Mykola, 422, 424
Church Slavonic, *see* Slavonic liturgy and texts
Church-state relationship, 208. *See also* Politics
Church union, *see* Ecumenism
Churchill, Winston, 11n4
Chwila, 71n55, 149
Chyrski, Joyce, 441
Ciasca, Augustine, 223n23
Cieplak, Archbishop Jan, 119n19, 321, 326n38
Cieszyński, Reverend Nikodem, 383, 385, 400n78
Ciszek, Walter, 121n65
Clement of Alexandria, 180n4
Codification of Eastern Canon Law, Special Commission for, 174
Collective responsibility, 59
Collectivism, 151, 191
Communist party and Communism, 54, 299; Canadian fears of, 340; and Greek Catholic Church (anti-religious campaign), 102-8, 111-14, 408, 409; Jews and, 139, 147, 151; in Poland, 102, 147, 391; Sheptyts'kyi discredited by, 407; Sheptyts'kyi's letters against, 104, 129, 132, (pastoral) xxiii, 57, 93, 409, 418n11; Sheptyts'kyi's view of, 57, 107, 138-39, 151, 409, (accused of sympathy with) 384, 410, (Germany vs.) 154-55. *See also* Soviet Union
Conference(s): of Ambassadors (Paris, 1920), 69n25; of Malines (1927), 191, 242n28; of the Ruthenian Clergy in America (1890), 364
Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, *see* Sacred Congregation for the

Propagation of the Faith
Congregation of Myrrh-Bearing Women (Myronosytsi), 276, 285n31
Congregation of Rites, *see* Vatican
Congregation of Servants of Mary, *see* Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate
Congress of the Uhro-Rusyn Parishes in America, 368
Congress of Vienna, 206
Conservative party (Poland), 379, 387, 389
Constantinople, 5; conquests of, 2, 7, 10; Latinization of, 3
Coolidge, Calvin, 358
Cooperatives, 250, 264n14, 432
Coordinating Secretariat of Polish Social Organizations, 89
Corpus Christi, feast of, 207, 208
Cortesi, Mgr. Felipe, 59, 401n92
Council(s): of Ambassadors, *see* Entente; of Basel, 7; of Chalcedon, 9, 240n1; Ecumenical, 174; of Ephesus, 9; of Florence, 6-7; of Lyons, 190; of Nicaea, *see* Nicene Creed; of Seniors, *see* Ukrainian National Council; of Trent, 173
Counselling Center for Mothers, 279
Counter-Reformation, 223n16
Coutourier, Abbé, 192
Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, 289, 300n1
Credit unions, 250
Croatia, 216
Croix, La, 199n10
Crooked Letters, 391
Crusades, the, 2-3
Cum Episcopo decree, 369
Cunard Steamship Lines, 340
Cybulski, Stanisław, 326n38
Cyril, Saint, 3
Cyril VIII, Patriarch (of Antioch), 229, 230
Cyrillic alphabet and manuscripts, 16, 290; Old Cyrillic publications in National Museum, 303n21
Czacki, Cardinal Włodzimierez, 395n6
Czartoryska, Sister Maria Xavera, 380
Czas, 96n1, 304n34, (Winnipeg) 384
Czas publishing house, 266n18
Czechoslovakia, 70n27, 216, 230; and Carpatho-Ukraine, 59, 389; and federation with Galicia, 52; German occupation of, 91; Sheptyts'kyi visits (1928), xxii
Czernin, Ottokar, 21
Czerwiński, Sławomir, 55, 276
Czosnowski family, 380

Dacko, Reverend Ivan, 428
Danylenko, Serhii, 31, 407, 414-16
Dar P''iatdesiatnytsi, 191, 199n28, 429, 431
Darowska, Mother Marcelina, 380
Dębicka, Elżbieta, 77, 97n31
Dębicki, Stanisław, and Dębicki family, 380
Decamps, Reverend N., 339, *illus. 46*
Deibner, Reverend Ivan, 326n38, 327n39
Delaere, Reverend Achilles, 335, 336, 338, 339, *illus. 46*
de Lattre, Reverend Michel, 424
del Val, Raphael Cardinal, 359n12
Demography, 15-17, 101, 105, 114, 115, 285n32; Ukrainian immigrants in North America, 333, 363 (*see also* Canada; United States)
Denmark, 49
Detsykevych, Volodymyr, 80
d'Herbigny, Mgr. Michel, 121n53, 286n43, 422
Diadyniuk, Vasyl', 293, 301n4, 302n17
Diet of Augsburg (1530), 6
Dilo, 35, 37, 55, 98n38, 393n23; forbidden to clergy, 36; and Sheptyts'kyi, 19, 31-34 *passim*, 40, 41, 66, 217
Diocletian (emperor), 1, 443
Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, 180n4
Divine Wisdom, The, see Bozha Mudrist'
Division Galizien, *see* SS Division Galizien
Dmytriv, Reverend Nestor, 345n4
Dmytruk, Klym, 413
Dnieper (eastern) Ukraine, 23, 25, 47, 49, 50
Dnister bank, 118n11
Dobretsova, Violli, 412-13, 414, 416
Dobromyl': monastery, xix 30, 31, 42n4, 224n25 Dominican Order, 380
Dontsov, Dmytro, 35, 37
Dorohoiu han'by i zrady, 408, 414-15, 419n41
Doroshenko, Dmytro, 286n42, 287nn52, 54, 422
Doroshenko, Volodymyr, 29, 31, 46n56,

284n18, 422
Dougherty, Cardinal Dennis, 355
Drahomanov, Mykhailo, 34
Droga do nikąd, 392
Duggan, David M., 344
Duhamel, Archbishop Thomas, 345n5
Dunaievs'kyi, D., 300n2
Dunin-Borkowski, Jerzy, 438
Dvornik, Francis, 3
Dworzaczek, Włodzimierz, 437
Dzerovych, Reverend Iuliian, 133, 282n5
Dziennik Poznański, 382
Dziennik Zwiazkowy, 384, 399n61
Dzubay, Reverend Alexander, 363
Dzvony, 278
Dzwonyk, Reverend Danylo, 428

Ea Semper decree, 367, 369
East Galicia: army coup in (1918), 50-51; Austrian control of, 80; in buffer state, 70n27; church conflict in, 57-58 (*see also* Polish-Ukrainian relations); electoral slates in (1885), 30; Entente and, xxii, 53, 81, 84, 85; Germans occupy, incorporate into Generalgouvernement, *see* Germany; Jews in, 149; papal aid to, 343; Polish control of, *see* Poland; Polish-Ukrainian relations); Polish population in, 389, 390; religious environment in, 209-10, (anti-religious campaign) 102-3, 105, 107, 112, 113; self-determination for, 51, 59, 85; Sheptyts'kyi's efforts for, xxi, xxii, xxiii, 51, 52; Soviet occupation of, *see* Soviet Union (in Ukrainian lands); Ukrainian nationalism in, 21, 212; Ukrainian population in, 15-16, 20, 25; in Ukrainian S.S.R., xxiii; in World War I, 79-80, (tsarist Russian occupation of) 316, 321, 327n45; in World War II, *see* Soviet Union. *See also* Galicia
Eastern Churches Quarterly, 236
Eastern Churches Review, 243n33
Eastern Little Poland, 89
Eastern rites, 67, 195; conference of Slavic bishops (L'viv, 1929), xxii; and liturgical symbolism, 203; missionary work among churchgoers of, 86, 284n24; and reunification, 185, 186, 189, 197 (*see also* Ecumenism); and Russian Catholic Church, 322; St. Petersburg synod (1917) on, 323 (*see also* Synod[s]). *See also* Byzantine-Slav liturgy and rites; Orthodoxy
Eastern Ukraine, *see* Dnieper (eastern) Ukraine
Ecclesiastic Mission, 281
Ecclesiastical Archeological Committee, 279
Ecumenical Congresses, *see* Velehrad Ecumenical Congresses
Ecumenical Councils, 174
Ecumenical movement, 190-91
Ecumenism: compromise and concord and, 5-11; *filioque* controversy and, 5-6, 177, 207, 217; Latinization and, 3; Orthodox misunderstanding of, 185, 188, 193, 197; papal primacy and, 322-23; Polish Catholic Church and, 386; Pope Urban and, 350; and reunification by conquest, 2-5; Rome vs., 233; Sheptyts'kyi and, xxi, xxiii, 4, 22, 26, 185-98, 232, 313, 320, 386, (analytical studies of) 428, (and Austro-Hungarian government) 21, 23, 25-26, (and jurisdiction in Russian Empire) xx, 214, 315-16, 321, (and liturgical reform, 212-13, *see also* Liturgical reform), (and missionary activity) 82, 105, 108, (political aspect of) 80, (and restoration of Eastern identity) 4, 39, (and special powers) 430, (during World War I) 47, 50, (during World War II) 107-8, 109, 111, 130; Solov'ëv and, 8-10; "spiritual," 192; Union of Florence and, 7; Vatican II and, 10. *See also* Brest-Litovsk, Union (*Uniia*) of (1595/1596)
Education: bilingual (*Lex Grabski*), 85; of clergy, 17, 208-10; Latinization of, 16; literacy/illiteracy, 17; Polonized, 16, 273, 275; reading clubs, 35, 40, 41, (forbidden) 36, (Sheptyts'kyi encourages) 43n16; and religion, 35, (atheist indoctrination in schools) 113, 152, 409, (Soviet prohibition of) 102-3, 105, 107, 112; scholarships, 275, 280, 285n28; Sheptyts'kyi and, 17-18, 105-6, 107, 269-70; and student movements, 18, 34, 35, 276; Ukrainian, in Austria and Hungary, 17; Ukrainian university sought, 18-19,

20, 26, 34, 273-75, 423, (Sheptyts'kyi urges in Austrian House of Lords) 18, 38, 274, 442
Elections: Galicia (1885), 30, 32; Soviet (1940s), clergy and, 103
Electoral reform, *see* Galicia
Emigrant, 340
Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, 147
England, *see* Britain
Entente, 22, 84-85; Council of Ambassadors meeting (1923), xxii, 53, 69n25, 81, 85
Ephesus, Council of (431), 9
Epistles (Horace), 2
Equidem Verba, 233
Eucharist, the, 4, 192-93, 207, 208, 431; controversy over, 10
Eucharistic Congresses: *1910*, xxi, 334, 335, 352, 353, 360n23, 368; *1930*, xxii, 88
Eucharistic or Divine Liturgy, 202, 205. *See also* Liturgical reform
Euchologion, 205
Eugènie, empress of the French, 232
Evlogii Georgievskii, Metropolitan, 233, 234, 236, 242n29, 243n33, 316, 321, 326n19
Explanation, An, of Rites During the Consecration of a Church, 174
Expressionism, 306n63

Falconio, Mgr. Diomede, 345n5, 350
Farnborough Abbey (England), 232
Fascism, 57, 414, 417
February Revolution, *see* Russian Revolution
Federici, Tommaso, 268n43
Fëdorov, Bishop Leonid, xxi, 108, 121n56, 214, 224n27 241n13, 321-22, 325n14, 326n38, 327n39, 45; arrested (1923), 119n19, 324
Fedorowicz, Tadeusz, 395n17
Fellowship of Saints Alban and Sergius, 234, 236, 243n33
Fesz, Tymoteusz, 429
Filaret (Russian theologian), 9
Filioque controversy, *see* Ecumenism
Firtsak, Bishop Iulii, 372n24, 373n28
Florence, Council and Union of (1439), 3, 6-7
Florenskii, Pavel, 8, 181n20
Florovsky, Georges V., 7, 233
Folys, Reverend Iosyf, 278
Forster, Baron Paul, 353
Fortescue, Adrian, 4
Fourth Crusade (1204), 2-3
France, 49, 84; and East Galicia, xxii, 51; Galician workers in, 339; and Poland, 57; Russian Orthodox Church in, 233, 234; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 53, 84
Frank, Hans, 126-33 *passim*, 136-37, 410, 452, 453n1
Franko, Ivan, 33, 34, 35, 267n29, 301n7; critical review by, of pastoral letters, 251-53, 254, 255, 257, 260, 261, 262, 265n17, 266nn18, 19
Franz Joseph, Emperor, 18, 20
Frédéric, Dr. Vsevolod, 138, 144n75, 155
Fredro, Count Aleksander, 75, 304-5n39, 438, *illus. 50*
Fredro family, 438
Fredro, Zofia, *see* Szeptycka, Countess Zofia Fredro
Freemasonry, 91
Freitag, Major General Fritz, 73n103
Frere, Bishop Walter, 243n33
Freshyn-Chirovsky, Reverend Andriy M., 429
Freylinghuysen, Joseph S., 355, 357
Friedman, Philip, 147
From Dyad to Triad, 236
From Florence to Brest, 7
Fulman, Bishop Marian, 86
Futurism, 306n63
Fylypiv, Reverend Atansii, 347n41

Gagarin, Ivan, 314
Galicia, artists and art in, 389-300; Austrian, 47, 212, 247, 275, 356, (emigrants from, in U.S.) 355, 358n1, (Hitler and) 128, (incorporation into, 1772) 210, ("old," policy in) 132, (reforms refused) 78, (Uniate eparchies in) 206; as birthplace of Sheptyts'kyi, xix; -Czechoslovakia federation suggested, 52; diet of: (Polish language used in) 16, (Sheptyts'kyi in) xx, 18-19, 22, 26, 34, 38, 50, 69n19, 248, 274, 284n25, (Ukrainians in) 16; economic and social problems in, 249, 262; elections in (1885), 30, 32; electoral reform in, 19, 26, 34, 248, 274, 381; German takeover of, *see* Germany; and "Greater Ukraine," 85;

Greek Catholic Church in, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; immigrants from: (bishop) 367, (Carpatho-Ruthenian separation from) 365, 366, 370, (missionary work among) 363-64, ("radical priests") 349-50, 365, (Sheptyts'kyi's interest in/efforts on behalf of) 339-43, 352, (Vatican approves church division for) 355, 358n1; independence proclaimed (1918), xxi; Metropolitan authority in, 217; monarchist movement in, 54; new Orthodox eparchy established for, 114; Orthodox brethren in, 59; partition demanded, 80; as "Piedmont" of the Ukraine, 91, 108, 415; Polish control of, *see* Poland; Polish landowners/nobility in, 16, 37, 78; Polish-Ukrainian relations; and political reform, 78; Redemptorists established in, 339; religious conflict in, 35; vs. Russia, 20; Russian occupation of (1914), xxi, 39, 42, 48, 80, 303n20, 316 (*see also* Soviet Union); Russophilism in, 38-39; Sheptyts'kyi as spokesman for/"ethnarch" of, 54, 55, 66; Ukrainian nationalism in, 212; Ukrainian population in, 15-17, 18, 33, 37, 38, 47, 55, 58, 202, (war orphans) 277; U.S. aid to (post-World War I), 355; and war with Russian (1914), 20; in World War II, 62-65. *See also* East Galicia; Lemko region; L'viv; SS Division Galizien

Galician-Volhynian kingdom, 23, 50. *See also* Volhynia

Gawlina, Bishop Józef, 388

Gebei, Bishop Petro, 374n47

Generalgouvernement, *see* Germany (Galicia/East Galicia taken by)

Georgiadis, Helle, 234

German Immigration Society of St. Raphael, 340. *See also* St. Raphael Society

German language, 16, 285n32

Germany: anti-Catholic laws of, 134; collaboration with, 137, (Sheptyts'kyi and) 138, 146, 260, 391, 411, 414; cooperative movement in, 264n14; and Czechoslovakia, 91; Expressionism in, 306n63; Galicia/East Galicia taken by (World War II), xxiii, 65, 67, 93, 95, 126-27, 131, 136, 409, 453n3 (and deportations) 130, 132, 154, (incorporated into General-gouvernement) xxiv, 61-62, 101, 128-29, (and retreat from) 64, (vs. Soviet regime) 153-56; Galician workers in, 339; occupies Ukraine (World War I), 25, 50, 432; and Poland, *see* Poland (in World War II); Sheptyts'kyi protest to (1942), xxiv, 61, 94, 260; Sheptyts'kyi visits, studies in, xx, xxi, 17, 49, 340; and Soviet Union, *see* Soviet Union

Giant of St. George's Hill, The, 423

Gibbon, Edward, 1, 3

Giertych, Jędrzej, 388

"Gift of Pentecost, The," *see Dar P''iatdesiatnytsi*

Gillet, Archimandrite Lev, 228, 232-35, 236, 238, 239, 240n11, 243n34, 456, *illus. 34*

Głos Narodu, 32, 383

Głuchowski, Brigadier-General, 89

Goebbels, Joseph, 410

Goidych, Bishop Pavlo, *illus. 35*

Gołuchowski, Count Adam, 274

Gotti, Jerome Cardinal, 339, 359n12

Grabski, Stanisław, 85

Graf, Anton, 173, 183n26

Grandin, Bishop Vital-Justin, 332

Great Moravian state, 3

"Great Ukrainian state," 126, 130, 131

"Greater Ukraine," 65, 86; exarchate of, xxiii, 108, 119n21

Greek Catholic Apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region, 101, 224n34

Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church: anticlericalism and, 34, 35-36, 51, 212; anti-Communism of, 57, 102, 104 (*see also* Communist party and Communism); Austria and, *see* Austro-Hungarian monarchy; bishops meet (L'viv, 1927), xxii; in Bukovina, 27n5; in Canada, 82, 329-45; and "Contact" Committee, 57; conversion to, 21, 227; education of priests for, 16 (*see also* Greek Catholic [L'viv] Theological Seminary); founded (as Uniate Church, 1596), 38; in Galicia, 16, 38, 57, 108, 206, 394n2, (and Chełm question) 24, (exarchates created) 324, (Jesuits as viewed by) 31, (and Polish national interest) 30, 379, (Sheptyts'kyi's view

of) 54; Latinization of, *see* Latinization; liturgical singing in, 304n37; missionary work of, 105, 108, 109-10, 331-32, 381, (among immigrants) 363-64, (restricted) 82, 86; name changed from Uniate Ruthenian Chuch (1774), 210; name changed to Ukrainian Catholic Church, 53, 67; "national" sought, 114; and Orthodoxy, 21, 239n1, 394n2, (churches closed or expropriated) 90, 388, (reunification sought with West) 108, 110, 111-12 (*see also* Ecumenism), ("reunion" with Russian Orthodox Churches sought) 38-39, 114-15, 116, Russophilism and, 38-39, 41; in Poland, xxii, 52, 58; Poles in, 396n29, 400n85; Polish control of, 16, 30-31, 32, 38, 82, 86, 211, (and autonomy) 54; Polish view of, 67, 209-10, (Sheptyts'kyi seen as pro-Polish/anti-Polish) 32, 51, 57-58, 77, 379, 381; priests imprisoned, 52; property confiscated, 58, 102-3, 104, 106-7, 110, 112, 118n11; and property rights, 24, 388; and Roman Catholic Church, 38, (conflict between) 1-2, 381, (and conversion) 25, ("reconciliation" with) 24, 227-28, 386, (rite declared equal to) 16, (subordination to Roman Catholic bishop) 23-24, (Vatican refuses to sanction activity) 109; in Russia (*see* Russian Empire; Soviet Union); Russophilism in, 30, 38-39; Ruthenians and, 66, 67; Sheptyts'kyi joins, 30, 31, 75, 213, 228, 378, (as head of) 18, 26, 76, 430; social issues facing 247-48; -state relationship (*see* Austro-Hungarian monarchy); and Ukrainian national movement (*see* Nationalism, Ukrainian); "Ukrainianization" of, 57; and Uniate canon law, 233; in U.S. (*see* United States); post-World War I, 82; in World War II, 63-64, 92, 101-17. *See also* Basilian Order; Melkites, Greek Catholic Church; Ruthenian Catholic Church in America; Ukrainian Catholic Church
Greek Catholic Patriarchal College (Damascus), 229
Greek Catholic Seminary (L'viv), 34, 271, 272, 275, 401n92
Greek Catholic (L'viv) Theological Academy, 104, 225n43, 281, 304n38, 427; established (1928), xxii, 165, 275; iconostasis at, 290; monument to Sheptyts'kyi at, 300; Soviet Union seizes buildings of, 102
Greek Catholic Union, 364, 366, 367, 368
Greek language, 2
Gregory Nazianzus, Saint, 5, 167, 173
Gregory of Nyassa, Saint, 5, 173
Gritchenko, *see* Hryshchenko, Oleksander
Grocholski, Ludgard, 397n39
Grods'kyi, Iosyf, 359n16, 373n37
Grot-Rowecki, General S., *see* Rowecki, General Stefan Grot-

Habsburg, Archduke Wilhelm von, *see* Wilhelm von Habsburg, Archduke
Habsburg, House of, 48, 387, 414; Emperor Karl abdicates, xxi; fall of, 50, 274, 283n12; Sheptyts'kyi's loyalty to, 22, 26, 47, 49, 80. *See also* Austro-Hungarian monarchy
Hadik, Count Maximilian, 21
Halan, Iaroslav, 146, 408, 409, 410-12, 417, 419nn28, 41
Halifax, Lord, 238,
Halych, Eparchy of, 427; Church of Kiev-Halych, 4, 230, 231, 238; Sheptyts'kyi as Metropolitan of, xx, 4, 18, 20, 32-33, 36, 37, 48, 173, (jurisdiction challenged) 114
Hamill, James A., 360n31
Hanchin, Michael J., 368
Hanusiak, Michael, 146
Harding, Warren G., 344, 355
Hartl, Albert, 139n5
Harvanko, Reverend Stephen, 425
Hatherly, Stephen, 227
Havryliuk, V., 300n2
Hayes, Archbishop Patrick J., 356, 357
Hebrew language, 148, 149
Heiman, Leo, 424
Hermaniuk, Metropolitan Maxim, *illus. 53*
Hetman, office of, 20, 48, 50, 68n4, 70n43
Hilberg, Raul, 147
Hill, Bishop Henry, 441, *illus. 53*
Himmler, Heinrich, 126, 132, 142n39; Sheptyts'kyi protest to, xxiv, 62, 73n89, 94, 131, 135, 142n28, 143n47, 154

History of the Crusades, 3
Hitler, Adolf, 62, 130, 390, 410, 443; Sheptyts'kyi communicates with, 62, 128; Sheptyts'kyi's view of, 125, 129, 132-33, 137, 139; Stalin and, 116, 126 (*see also* Soviet Union); and Ukrainian state, 127, 128, 136, 146. *See also* Germany: Nazis and Nazism
Hlond, Cardinal August, 390
Hlushchenko, Mykola, 303n25
Hodobay, Reverend Andrii, 366-67, 372nn20, 24, 373n28
Holocaust, the, 3, 147, 157, 443; survivors of, 148, 424
Holovets'kyi, Dionysii, 220
Holubovych, Ilarion, 424
Holy Communion, 228
Holy Eucharist, *see* Eucharist, the
Holy Land, 6; Latinization and conquest of Jerusalem, 3, 10; Sheptyts'kyi makes pilgrimages to (1905, 1906), xx, 148. *See also* Zionism
Holy See, *see* Vatican
Holy Trinity, *see* Trinitarianism
Home Army, *see* Polish Home Army
Hoover, Herbert, 366-56
Horace, 2
Hordyns'kyi, Sviatoslav, 300n2, 303nn25, 30
Hossu, Metropolitan Julius, 241
Hotra, Irynei, *illus. 44*
Hoyos, Count Alexander, 19
Hrebeniak, Volodymyr, 302n13
Hromnyts'kyi, Reverend Volodymyr, 327n45
Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo, 35, 49, 302n11, 323-24
Hrushka, Reverend Gregory, 364, 371n12
Hryhoriil, V., *illus. 51*
Hrynchynshyn, Bishop Michael, 243n34, 424, *illus. 53*
Hryniokh, Reverend Ivan, 126, 127, 424, 427
Hryshchenko, Oleksander, 303n25, 30, 305n52
Hudal, Bishop Alois, 142n42
Hudeček, Reverend Jan, 218
Hughes, Charles Evans, 355, 356, 357, 358
Hungarian language, 16
Hungary: immigrants from, in U.S., 351-55 *passim*, 358n1, 363, 365-67, 369; Jews escape to, 156; magyarization by, 16, 17, 365, 368, 370; occupies Subcarpathian Rus', 59, 91; Ukrainian population in, 15, 16, 17, 370n2. *See also* Austro-Hungarian monarchy
Husar, Reverend Lubomyr, 428, 441
Hussarek, Max, 68n6
Hutsuls, 265n18, 283n11, 292, 445
Huyn, Karl, 22

Iaremko, Reverend Dmytro, 318, 326n24
Iaroslav the Wise, 313
Iavorskyi, Reverend Ivan, 265n16
Iconography, 289-90, 292, 296, 297, 298
Ilarion, Metropolitan (of Kiev), 62, 280, 300
Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny, 385
Immigrants, *see* Carpatho-Rusyn/Carpatho-Ruthenian immigrants in U.S.; Ukrainian immigrants in U.S.
Imperial Ministerial Council (Vienna), xx
Independent Greek Church, 329, 338
Innocent, Bishop, 239n1
Innsbruck University, 275
Instituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI), 136
Inter-Allied (Berthélemy) Mission, 51
Internat Ruski (L'viv), 394n3
International Anti-White Slave Traffic Conference (1930), 71n49
Interparty Council (L'viv), 52
Iosyfa, Mother, *see* Viter, Mother Iosyfa (Olena)
Ireland, Bishop John, 364
Irénikon, 231
Irmoloi, 304n37
"Iron Curtain," 11n4
Isakowicz, Archbishop Izaak M., 378
Islam, 5, 119n15
Italy: Futurism in, 306n63
Ivan IV the Terrible, tsar, 295
Ivaniuk, V., 300n2
Ivanna, 416-17
Izdovs'kyi, V., 298
Izydor of Kiev, Metropolitan, 219, 225n39

Jackowski, Reverend Henryk, 213
Jałbrzykowski, Bishop Romuald, 86
Jan, Reverend Alphonse, 332
Jean, Reverend Josaphat, 52, 340, 341-43, 347n47, 424
Jędrzejewicz, Janusz, 90

Jędrzejewicz, Klemens, 394
Jermy, Reverend Karlo, 346n27
Jerusalem, *see* Holy Land; Zionism
Jesuits (Society of Jesus), 215, 223n16, 266n18, 430; Basilian Order reform by, 30-31, 32, 263n4, 394n3; Eastern Rite, 120n21, 121nn53, 65, 326n28; Polish support of, 378; in Russia, 314, 318-19; Sheptyts'kyi connected with, supported by, xix, xx, 31, 34, 380, 386, 389
Jews: in Galicia and East Galicia, 76, 128, 133, 149, 153; mass executions of, 62, 126, 128, 131, 138, 140n11, 146, 153, 154, 155, 412; in Poland, 62, 90, 119n15, 151; Sheptyts'kyi and, during World War II, 93, 139, 145-58, 158n9, 414, 423, 443, 456, (letter to Himmler regarding) *see* Himmler, Heinrich; Ukrainian relations with, 76, 140n11, 145-46, 147, 151-52, 153-54, 156
John Chrysostom, Saint, 173, 180n4, 230
John VII Palaeologus, emperor, 6
John XXIII (pope), 230, 242n24, 404n129, 425, 447
John Paul II (pope), 455
Joseph, Patriarch (of Constantinople), 6
Josephinism, 38. *See also* Austro-Hungarian monarchy
Josephites, 276
Jourdan de la Passardière, Bishop F. J. X., 224n25
Journal de Genève, 22
Józewski, Henryk, 90

Kachkovs'kyi Society, 223n18
Kahane, Rabbi David, 146, 147, 154-57 *passim*, 161n47, 414
Kamianets'-Podil's'kyi, Eparchy of, 52, 114, 130, 230, 240n12, 324, 380; Sheptyts'kyi as bishop of, xx, 18, 315
Kanaan, Haviv, *see* Krumholz, Lieber
Karalevskiy, Cyrille, *see* Korolevsky, Reverend Cyril
Karaszewicz-Tokarzewski, General Michał, 388
Karatnyts'kyi, Modest, 286n35
Karl, emperor, xxi, 21, 22, 49
Kasprzycki, General Tadeusz, 89
Katzmann, Friedrich, 132
KAUM (Katolyts'ka Aktsiia Ukraïns'koï Molodi), 414
Kazymyra, Bohdan, 423, 424
Kearns, William J., 355
Keleher, Archpriest Serge, 441
Kerenskii, Aleksander, 320, 321
Kharko family, 24, 25
Kholm, *see* Chełm region
Kholodnyi, Petro, 289-90, 300, 301n5, 303n30
Khomyshyn, Bishop Hryhorii, 70n41, 87, 271, 286n33, 387, *illus. 35*; forbids clubs and societies, 36; and liturgical reform, 217, 218, 220-21, 225n44, 382; Soviet pressure on (1941), 114, 115
Khrushchev Nikita, 112, 409, 412
Khrystiians'ka pravednist', 429, 431
Khrystos nasha syla, 118n7, 278
Khto vynen, 430
Kieniewicz, Stefan, 403n121
Kiev, old Metropolitan See of, 207, 219, 300, 318
Kievan Rus' state, 23, 50, 203
Kladochnyi, Reverend Iosyf, 104, 108, 142n26
Koch, Erich, 128
Koch, Professor Hans, 126, 127, 128, 130
Kokorudz, Illia and Ivanna, 283n11
Kolbenko, Atanazy, *illus. 24*
Kolessa, Filaret, 301n7
Kolf, 133
Kolpenskii, Reverend Diodor, 326n38
Komsomol, 113, 409
Komunist, 102
Kondakov, N. P., 302n19
Konovalets', Ievhen, 71n54
Korchyns'kyi, Mykhailo, 280
Korolevsky, Reverend Cyril, 224nn31, 34, 225n44, 228-32, 236, 238, 240nn8, 11, 241nn13, 14, 21, 279, 302n19, 433n1; *illus. 37*; and liturgical reform, 215, 219, 221, 230-31; as Sheptyts'kyi biographer, 40, 201, 228-29, 231, 422, 423-24
Korotnicky, Reverend Ivan, 372n20
Korytowski, Witold, 274, 283n10
Koshyts, Oleksander, 298
Kosiński, A. A., 437
Kostel'nyk, Reverend Havriïl, 114, 116, 129, 133, 236
Kostiuk, Reverend Petro, 429
Kotsylovs'kyi, Bishop Iosafat, 216, 217, 218, 220, *illus. 35*
Kovalyts'kyi, Reverend Victor, 370

Koverko, Andrii, 300
Kovzhun, Pavlo, 301n4, 303n25
Kozak, Eduard, 300n2
Kozakevych-Diadyniuk, O., 300n2
Kozłowski, Metropolitan Szymon, 325n7
Kozłowski, Włodzimierz, 381, 396n29
Krasiński, Wincenty, 395n17
Krawcheniuk, Joseph, 423
Krawchuk, Andrii, 429
Kreuza, Reverend Piotr, 391, 424
Krevets'kyi, Ivan, 301n9
Krumholz, Lieber, 160n26
Krychevs'kyi, Vasyl', 301n4
Krylach, Sava, 280
Krypiakevych, Ivan, 287n44
Krysta, Sister, *see* Szembek, Sister Krysta
Kryzhanivs'kyi V., 301n4
Krzysztofowicz, Mikołaj, 395n17
Krzywe litery, 391
Kubiiovych, Volodymyr, 73n102, 98n41, 126, 127
Kuïlovs'kyi, Metropolitan Iuliian Sas-, 32, 36
Kultura, 391, 402n105
Kuntsevych, Iosafat, 211
Kurylas, Osyp, 289, 300n1
Kuz'movyhch, Volodymyr, 70-71n45
Kwiatkowski, Reverend, *illus. 44*

Laba, Reverend Vasyl', 64, 137, 422, 424
Lacombe, Reverend Albert, 330, 331, 332
Laetentur caeli (papal bull, 1439), 6, 7
Lakota, Bishop Hryhorii, 118n3, *illus. 35*
Land Bank, 280
Land Credit Society, 283n10
Land reform, 89
Langevin, Archbishop Louis-Philippe-Adélard, 331-38 *passim*, 359n11
Language, 15, 16, 266n18, 285n32. *See also* Latinization; Ukrainian language
Lapointe, Ernest, 341
Lasch, Karl, 132
Lasovs'kyi, Volodymyr, 300n2
Lateran Council IV (1215), 208
Latin language, 2, 16; theology classes taught in, 223n16, 273, 275
Latin rites, *see* Roman Catholicism
Latinization, 327n39; of Byzantine-Slav rites, 202, 431; by Crusades, 3; and East-West division, 3-4; education of clergy and, 208-10; of elementary schools, 16; fears of, 4, 32; and liturgical reform, 112, 211-13, 217-18, 220 (*see also* Liturgical reform); Russian Empire and, 206; of Russian Orthodox theology, 9; Sheptyts'kyi accused of, 351; Sheptyts'kyi cites instances of, 206-7; Sheptyts'kyi opposes, 382, 431; Soviet strategy and, 116; Vatican policies toward, 4, 114, 204, 205, 214-15, 218, 220
Lavelle, Mgr. Michael J., 356
Lavryshyn, Reverend Cornelius, 366, 367, 368, 371n5
League of Nations, 70n27
League of the Militant Godless, 107, 113
Lectures on Godmanhood, 7
Ledóchowski, Cardinal Mieczysław Halka-, 332, 350, 359n11, 395n6
Legal, Bishop Émile, 332, 335, 337
Lemberg, *see* L'viv
Lemieux, Reverend A., 339
Lemko region (West Galicia), 38, 86, 101, 216. *See also* Galicia; Greek Catholic Apostolic Administration for the Lemko Region
Lenin, Vladimir I., 299, 413
Leo XIII (pope), xx, 18, 261, 263n1, 430, 431, 447; encyclicals of, 4, 166, 190, 247, 258; Lacombe's audience with, 331; Sheptyts'kyi receives dispensation from, 228
Leopold II, emperor, 16
Levyns'kyi, Ivan, 301n9
Levyts'kyi, Ievhen, 35
Levyts'kyi, Kost', 19, 21, 32, 52, 263n5, 274, 285n33
Lewin, Rabbi Ezekiel, 140n11, 147, 149, 154, 156, 414, 449
Lewin, Kurt I. (Isaac), 140n11, 142n38, 156, 424, 425
Lewin, Nathan, 156
Lex Grabski, 85, 284n26
Liatyshevs'kyi, Bishop Ivan, 114, *illus. 35*
Liberalism, 358-59
Lisiewicz, Tomasz, 380
Lisovs'kyi, Archbishop Heraklii, 205
Lisovs'kyi, Robert, 301n4
Lithuania, xxii, 96n11, 206, 313
Lithuanian language, 284n26
Liturgical reform, 201-21, 231, 431. *See also* Latinization
Liturgical singing, chant-book of, 304n37
Liturgical texts published (1940-1950),

219
Liturgikon(s), 206, 207, 217, 218, 223n23, 332; Old Slavonic, 322; Sheptyts'kyi publishes, xxii
Liturgy: use of term, 4
Liubchyk, Vasyilii, 303n30
Liudkevych, Stanislav, 301n7
Livyts'kyi, Andrii, 73n88
Łobodowski, Józef, 391
Logos printshop (L'viv), 287n52
Lohos, 422-23
Łoś, Jan Stanisław, 387
Losacker, Ludwig, 131-32, 142n39, 143n70
Łoziński, Canon Zsigmunt, 326n38
Lozyns'kyi, Mykhailo, 35, 41
Łubieński, Reverend Bernard, 380, 397n45
Lubomirski family, 380
Lud, 384
Lukiianovych, Denys, 265n17
Lutherans, 7, 313
Lutsyk, S., 300n2
L'viv: as artistic center, 289; NKVD activity in, 115; Polish troops in, 51; pro-Union Congress in, xxiii; Ukrainian student congress in (1909), 35; University of, *see* University of L'viv; "Youth for Christ" festival held in (1935), 56. *See also* Galicia; L'viv, Archeparchy of
L'viv, Archeparchy of, 16, 27n5, 101, 114-16, 315; Sheptyts'kyi as archbishop of, xx, 18, 196, 272, 330, 366, 378, 421; Slipyi as archbishop of, 104; Soviet seizure of property of, 102, 103. *See also* Halych, eparchy of; St. George's Cathedral
L'viv Museum of Ukrainian Art (Ukrainian National Museum), 280, 281, 290-94, 297, 300, 301nn5, 10, 302n11, 307n, 309n, *illus. 41*; established (1905), xx, 37-38, 290, 415; open to public (1913), 290-91, 292; Soviet criticism of, 299
L'viv Synods, *see* Synod(s)
L'viv Theological Academy, *see* Greek Catholic (L'viv) Theological Academy
L'vivs'ki arkhieparchiial'ni vidomosti, 269
L'vov, Prince Georgii, 49, 323
L'vovskaia pravda, 146
Lyons, Councils of (1245, 1274), 190
Lyps'kyi, Bohdan, 225n43
Lypyns'kyi, Viacheslav, 397n39, 422
Lysenko, Mykola, 298, 306n60
Lytsyniak, Reverend Vasyl', 281, 282n5, 286n37
Lytvynenko, Serhii, 300

McDevitt, Bishop Philip R., 356
McNeil, Archbishop Neil, 336, 344
Madajczyk, Czesław, 131
Madeyski, Major Bolesław Poray-, 96n17
Maglione, Aloisius Cardinal, 108, 136, 142n58, 200n37
Magyarization, *see* Hungary
Makarii, 9
Malabars, 190
Malczewski, Jacek, 380
Malines Conversations, 242n28, 456
Maliutsa, A., 300n2
"Maltese Church" (St. Petersburg), 322
Malvezzi, Count, 136
Mańkowski, Archbishop Piotr, 380, 386-87, 400n76
Manning, Clarence A., 431
Markiewicz, Bronisław, 380
Maronites and Maronite Patriarch, 190, 430
Martel, René, 144n75
Martyak, Reverend Gabriel, 369, *illus. 49*
Marunchak, Mykhailo, 424
Marx, Karl, 191, 413
Marynov, Ivan, 314
Masiutyn, Vasyl', 303n25
Maximian, Emperor, 1
Maximilian, Prince, 396n34, 397n44
Maximos V, Patriarch (of Antioch), 239n1
Maximus Confessor, 180n4
"May Laws," *see* Austro-Hungarian monarchy
Mele, Bishop John, 241n13
Melkites, 190, 241n21; Greek Catholic Church of, 239n1, 441
Mel'nyk, Colonel Andrii, 55, 61, 73n88, 127, 132; followers of, 126, 450
Mensbrugghe, Alexis van der, *see* van der Mensbrugghe, Archbishop Alexis
Mercier, Desiré Joseph Cardinal, 235, 238, 242n28, 344, *illus. 34*
Merezhkovskii, Dmitrii, 298
Meta, 278
Methodist Church (Canada), 329
Methodius, Saint, 3; *Life* of, 6
Metropolitan Rescue Committee, 397n46

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi Orphan Defense Fund, 277
Michael Cerularius, 3
Michalite Congregation, 380
Miciński, Tadeusz, 381
Mickiewicz, Adam, 33
Miłkowski, Zygmunt, 379
Minor Seminary (L'viv), 275-76
Miodoński, Reverend Antoni, 400n85
Misionar', xx, 36, 264n7, 278
Mohyla, Metropolitan Petro, 206, 223n16, 300
Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement, 151. *See also* Soviet Union (German alliance with)
Monumenta Ucrainae historica, 279
Moravia, xx, 3; Ecumenical Congresses held in, *see* Velehrad Ecumenical Congresses
Moroz, Mykhailo, 300, *illus. 43*
Moroziuk, Russel P., 222n5
Mortalium Animos (encyclical of Pius XI), 233, 242n24
Mościcki, Ignacy, 55
Moscow, Holy Synod of, *see* Russian Holy Synod
Moscow Patriarchate, *see* Russian Orthodox Church
Mudri, Reverend Vladimir, 428, 431
Mudryi, Vasyl', 60, 98n41
Mukachevo, Eparchy of, 16, 230, 366, 367; bishop of, 371n6, 372n24, 373n28
Music, 298, 304n37. *See also* Arts, the
Muslims, *see* Islam
Muzyka, Yaroslava, 294, 303n25
Mycielski family, 380
Myronosytsi, *see* Congregation of Myrrh-Bearing Women
Myshuga, Luke, 361n56
Mystetstvo, 417

Napoleonic wars, 206
Naprzód 385
Narbut, Hryhorii, 303n30
Narodna Lichnytsia (People's Clinic, L'viv), xx, xxiii, 37, 149, 279, 281
Narodna Torhovlia cooperative, 118n11
Narutowicz, Gabriel, 384
Nash pryiatel', 278
Nasha vira, 173, 176
Nasza Przyszlość, 387
National Council, *see* All-Ukrainian National Council; Ukrainian National Council
National-Democratic party, *see* Polish National-Demoratic party; Ukrainian National-Democratic party
National Home Museum (L'viv), 302n11
National Museum, *see* L'viv Museum of Ukrainian Art
Nationalism, Polish, *see* Poland
Nationalism, Ukrainian, 21, 76, 136, 212; Christianity and, 34-38; Germany and, 91; Greek Catholic Church and, 30-36 *passim*, 49, 50, 66-67, 92, 102, 116, 117, 394n2; Old Ruthenian and Russophile, 422 (*see also* Russophiles); Polish clash with/fears of, 78, 93, 388; Sheptyts'kyi and, 26, 29-42, 47-67, 77, 90, 95, 194, (accusations of) 385-86; Soviet view of, 102, 114, 116, 413; in World War II, 92-93, 95. *See also* Organizations of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)
Natsionalizm i relihiia na sluzhbi antykomunizmu, 412, 414
Naukovyi Instytut, 272
Naumovych, Reverend Ivan, 39, 223n18, 263n4, 412, 419n25
Nazarko, Reverend Irynei, 30, 31, 424
Nazaruk, Osyp, 35
Nazis and Nazism, 62, 65, 91, 131, 157; Sheptyts'kyi's view of, 63, 93, 94, 138, 146, 151, 155, 260, 409, 414; Ukrainophobia spread by, 389. *See also* Germany
Nemantsevich, Bishop Anton, 108
Neoplatonism, 170
Neo-Thomism, *see* Thomism
Neo-Union action, 86, 97n26
Netherlands: Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 84, (Holland) 286n38
Neumann, Heinz Georg, 132
New York Times, 352, 361n40, 423
Newman, John Henry, 190
Niaradii, Bishop Dionysii, *illus. 35*
Nicene Creed, 5, 6, 9
Nicholas II, Tsar, xxi, 230
Niemiński, Bishop J., *illus. 53*
Niemojewski family, 380
Niesiecki, Kasper, 437
Niezabitowski, Stanisław, 397n42
Nikon, Patriarch, 222n3
Nikonian reforms, 203, 207

Nishchyns'kyi, Petro, 298
Nissiotis, Nikos, 243n39
NKVD, *see* Soviet Union
Norris, Tobias C., 344
North Africa, and Christianity, 2
North America, *see* Canada; United States
Norway, 360n31, 452
Novak, Bishop Stefan, 369
Novakivs'kyi, Oleksa, 289, 295, 300n1, 301n3, 306n69, 420n58, *illus. 42*
Novikov, Reverend, 121n65
Nuber, Alexander, 372n17
Nykyforchuk, Iurko, 408

Oblates, 331
October Revolution, *see* Russian Revolution
Octobrists, 409
Ogniem probówane, 392
Ohiienko, Ivan, *see* Ilarion, Metropolitan
Okhrymovych, Volodymyr, 35
Old Believers, 222n3, 330, 239n1, 318, 320; liturgy of, 322; Sheptyts'kyi visits Bukovina community (1891), xix, 213
Old Cyrillic publication, 303n21. *See also* Cyrillic alphabet and manuscripts
Old Ritualists, *see* Old Believers
Old Ruthenians: clergy, 54, 58; nationalism, 67, 422
Old Slavonic *Liturgikon*, 322. *See also* *Liturgikon*(s); Slavonic liturgy and texts
Omelianovych-Pavlenko, General Mykhailo M., 73n88
Onyshkevych, Reverend Stefan, 265n16, 278
Order of the Resurrection, 378, 394n3
Ordo Celebrationis, 202, 220
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), 63, 87, 91-92, 115, 132, 137, 386; assasinations/terrorism by, xxiii, 55-56, 86, 88; established (1929), xxii; and German intelligence, 126-27, 129, 450; split within, 61, 64 (*see also* Banderites; Mel'nyk, Colonel Andrii); student activities in, 276
Oriens, 389
Orientales omnes (encyclical of Pius XII), 165
Orientalium dignitas ecclesiarum (encyclical of Leo XIII), 4
Origen, 180n4
Original sin, doctrine of, 191-92
Orly, 277
Orphan Defense Fund, 277. *See also* Philanthropy
Orsenigo, Mons., 118n3, 131
Orthodox Church: absorption of, by Roman Catholicism, 315; administration of sacraments to believers of, 110; in America, 237; and armed forces in World War II, 236; in Bukovina, 16; and church union, 193, 194, 197 (*see also* Ecumenism); Galician eparchy established (1940), 114; Greek Catholic Church and, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; history of, 266n24; liturgical books of, 214; and "Orthodox" as term, 239-40n1; in Poland, 58-59, 119n15, 120n21, 121n53, 300; post-1917, 324; Sheptyts'kyi's defense/view of, 58-59, 82, 188, 197; of Ukraine, 130. *See also* Eastern rites; Old Believers; Orthodoxy; Russian Orthodox Church; Ukrainian Orthodox Church
Orthodox Church in America, 237
Orthodox Theological Institute (Paris), 237, 242n29
Orthodoxy: acceptance of, by synod, 322; churches destroyed, xxiii, 58, 90, 389, 400n85; conversion to, 39, 211, 223n18, 227-28, 263n4, 326n19, 351, 368; Greek Catholic Church and, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; Hungarian view of, 365; in Poland, 394n2; Roman Catholic division from, 1-2, 3, 10, 90; Russian, 23, 38-39, 41, 50, 317; Sheptyts'kyi's critique of, 39, 266n22; Solov'ëv's view of, 8; Soviet Union and, 410; and support for Sheptyts'kyi, 58; in U.S., 237, 349, 351, 364-68 *passim*; in Volhynia, 53, 58. *See also* Eastern rites; Russian Orthodox Church; Ukrainian Orthodox Church
Ortynsky, Bishop Soter, 265n16, 335, 351-54, 360nn23, 31 362n59, 365, 367-69 371n5, 372nn16, 27, 373nn28, 30, 33, 38, 374nn41, 42
Orzeł Biały, 390
Osidach, Volodymyr, 453n1
Osinchuk, Mykhailo, 303n25
Ostroverkha, Mykhailo, 424
Osuský, Štefan, 52

OUN, *see* Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
Our Monastic Customs, 174
Overbeck, Joseph, 227
Oxford Movement, 190

"Pacification" campaign, *see* Polish-Ukrainian relations
Paderewski, Jan Ignacy, 398n47
Palestine, 283n12
Palmieri, Reverend Aurelius, 283n11
Paneiko, Vasyl', 35
Pan'kivs'kyi, Kost', 62, 65, 73n89, 153
Pan-Slavism, 364, 365, 373n28
Papal Ukrainian Seminary of St. Josaphat, 220
Papée, Kazimierz, 133
Papp, Bishop Antonii, 369
Parashchuk, Mykhailo, 289
Pascal, Bishop, 335
Pasternak, Iaroslav, 298
Pastoral letters, 40, 172-73, 199n27, 426; on agnosticism, 36; against Communism, xxiii, 57, 93, 409, 418n11; confiscated, 62, 86, 72n68, 91, 135, 217, 267n33; on destruction of Orthodox churches, xxiii; on education, 43n16, 269-70; on the Eucharist, 431; "Fidelity to Tradition," 224n35; on independent state, 127; innovative qualities of, 251; intrusions into Ukrainian rite cited by, 206-7; on Jews, 149-50, 155; Lenten, 59, 430; on opposition to occupying forces, 93, 260; on "pacification" (1930), xxiii, 86; on persecution of Orthodox Church in Poland, 58-59, 267n33, 268n35; on political and racial crimes, 61, 93-94, 95, 411; on Potocki's assassination, xxi, 37; "On the Church Brotherhood," 174; "On the Rites," 174; "On the Social Question," 247-63 *passim*; quoted, 20, 60-64 *passim*, 77, 78, 91, 103, 135-36, 150, 256-70 *passim*; against "radical" priests, 350; during Soviet occupation, 64, 105; "Thou Shalt Not Kill," xxiv, 63, 94, 98n43, 135, 155; "To the Clergy," 122n68; "To the People About Atheism," 107; "To the Ukrainian People," 153; "To the Ukrainians... in Canada," 334; translated into Polish and French, 266n18, 267n33
PAT (Polish Telegraphic Agency), 71n55, 390
Pavel, Bishop, 319
Pavliak, Reverend Oleksander, 290
Pavlyk, Mykhailo, 266n18
Peasant party, 88, 393, 395n18. *See also* Radical party
Pedagogical Society (L'viv), 273
Pelagius, 10
Pelczar, Bishop Józef S., 80, 383
Pełczyńska, Wanda, 98n35, 389, 401n91
Pelikan, Jaroslav, 261
People's Assembly of Western Ukraine, 103, 106
People's Clinic, *see* Narodna Lichnytsia
Perehyns'ko forests, 280
Perejda, Reverend George, 424
Peremyshl', *see* Przemyśl, Eparchy of
Perfectio Christiana, 426
Perfets'kyi, Leonid, 300n2
Peshchans'kyi, Volodymyr, 294, 301n5
Peters, Archimandrite Johannes, 131, 142n38, 451
Petliura, Symon, 52, 54, 69n25, 82, 153, 416
"Petliurist" émigrés, 280
Petrov, Mykola, 304n34
Petrushevych, Antin S., 302n11, 438
Petrushevych, Ievhen, 52, 53, 69n27, 82, 84, 416
Philanthropy, 18, 369-81; aid to Jews, 149, 150; clinic at L'viv, *see* Narodna Lichnytsia; National Museum, *see* L'viv Museum of Ukrainian Art; orphans, 149, 272, 273, 277-78, 280, 343, 356-57, 358; seminary and library at Stanyslaviv, 17, 271; Theological Society in L'viv, xxii. *See also* Arts, the; Education
"Photian schism," 3
Piarists, 223n16
Pidhir'ia, 292
Piechowska, Władysława, 92
"Piedmont," *see* Galicia
Pieracki, Bronisław, xxiii, 56
Piłsudski, Marshal Józef, 52, 88-91 *passim*, 96n11, 384; and "Prometheans," 387-88, 389; Sheptyts'kyi attempts meeting, xxiii, 51, 55, 87
Pirling, Pavel, 314

Pishchans'kyi, Volodymyr, 280
Pius IX (pope), 211
Pius X (pope), xx, 214, 241n13, 316, 318; grants Sheptyts'kyi special powers, 82, 104, 108, 197, 242n30, 430, 447; and Ukrainian Catholics in North America, 338, 351, 359n12, 373n32
Pius XI (pope), xxiii, 108, 215, 219, 233, 240n8, 357, 430, 447; Sheptyts'kyi visits, 358, *illus. 35*
Pius XII (pope), 60, 430; and Jewish issue, 157; quoted on Sheptyts'kyi, 165; Sheptyts'kyi's letters to, *see* Vatican; and Sheptyts'kyi's special powers, 104, 108-9, 130, 197; "Stalin letter" to, 130
Plast, 146, 277, 414
Platonic philosophy, 170, 305n48
Podlachia (Podlasie), 80, 119n21, 213, 283n11, 378, 383; exarchate of, xxiii, 108, 397n45
Podolia, 130, 292, 315
Podolians (Podolacy), 76, 78, 396n29; Sheptyts'kyi as viewed by, 77, 379
Pokuttia, 292
Poland: boundaries of, xix, 59, 80, 91, 92, 93, 108, 383 (*see also* Chełm region); "Committee of the Three" in, 87; Congress Kingdom of, 78, 80; Conservative party in, 379, 387, 389; Corpus Christi celebration in, 208; dismemberment of, 206; France and, 57; and Galicia/East Galicia, 76-91, (colonization of) 82, 83, (control of) xxi, xxii, 51-60 *passim*, 131, 274-75, 355, (deputies in diet) 19, 38, (land ownership of) 16, 25, 76, 77, (misrule of) 37, (Ukrainian view of) 82, 221, (in World War II) 63-64; Germany and, *see* in World War II, *below*; and Greek Catholic Church, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; Hungarian frontier with, 59; inflation rate in (post-World War I), 285n27; insurrection in (1863), 32; Jews in, *see* Jews; nationalism in, 76-89 *passim*, 384, 387; "New Era" in, 32; Orthodox Church in, *see* Orthodox Church; partitions of, 58, 205; press of, *see* Press, the; religious subsidies paid by, 119n15; Roman Catholic Church of, 313, 380; Russian Empire and, 52, 205, (Polish uprising against) 211; "Sanacja" regime in, 87; Second Republic of, 76, 185; and Sheptyts'kyi: (as "agent") 32, 33, 34, 414, 432, (arrested, imprisoned) xxii, 51, 53, 85-86, 133, 358, (beatification opposed) 425, (criticizes government actions) 221, (declares loyalty) 60, (denounced in Sejm) xxiii, 58, 388-89, (and Polish society) 75-96, 381, 387-88, (public opinion of) 88, 377-94, (studies in) xix, xx, 17, (visits, 1923, 1930) xxii; Sheptyts'kyi quoted on, 81; Soviet Union and: (Treaty of Riga, 1920) and, 92, 119n21, (in World War II, *see* in World War II, *below*), (war with) 52; survival doubted, 82; Ukrainian immigrants from, 340, 341, 342, 343; and Ukrainian independence, 151; Ukrainian minority in, 56-60 *passim*, 89, 90, 93, 120n21, 121n53; and Ukrainian schools, 285n29 (*see also* Education); and University of L'viv, 16, 273; Vatican and, *see* Vatican; in World War I, 79-80; in World War II, 88, (Germany and) xxiii, 60, 62, 82, 101, 125-26, 151, 389, (resistance movement in) 92-93, 95, 137 (*see also* Polish Home Army [Armia Krajowa—AK]), (Soviet Union and) xxiii, 60, 82, 92, 119n19, 125-26, 151, 389
Poliana, 292
Poliankova, K., *illus. 51*
Polikarp, Metropolitan, 139, 144n79
Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa—AK), 92, 93, 98n39, 137, 390
Polish language, 16, 266n18
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 58, 89, 205, 223n16
Polish National-Democratic party, 86, 378-93 *passim*, *illus. 50*
Polish National Guard, 32
Polish-Soviet war, *see* Russo-Polish war (1919-1920)
Polish-Ukrainian relations: bilingual education (*Lex Grabski*) and, 85; "civil war" (1943), 138; clergy and, 51; colonization and, 82, 83, 86; collective responsibility protested, 59; Entente and, 81; German interest in, 133; historiography on, 75; nationalism and, 78, 81, 89, 90; "normalization" policy (1935), 57, 89, 92; OUN and, 88 (*see*

also Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists); "pacification" campaign, xxii-xxiii, 55, 86, 151, 388, 416; Polish society and, 76-78; postwar research on, 392-93; and Potocki's assassination, 78-79 (*see also* Potocki, Count Andrzej); and Russian Orthodoxy, move toward, 38-39; Sheptyts'kyi and, xxii, 32-34, 38, 51, 75-96, 377-94; Sheptyts'kyi's policy criticized, 32, 57-58, 88, 380-83, 385; and Sheptyts'kyi's visit to Canada, 359n11; turning points in, 57-58, 86; Vatican and, 83-84, 217; Western Ukrainian People's Republic and, 80-81, 82, 83; during World War II, 59-60, 64, 91-95, 125, 136, 137, 161n52, 389

Polish-Ukrainian war (1918-1919), xxi, 51-53, 80-81; struggle for L'viv, 383-85

Polish Victory Service, 98n39. *See also* Union for Armed Struggle

Polissia, 70n27, 119n21, 283n11; exarchate of, xxiii, 108, 217

Politics: Galician, need for reform in, 78 (*see also* Galicia, electoral reform in) and religion, close connection between, 41, 66, 210; Sheptyts'kyi and, 66-67, (Austria-Hungary) 18-23, 26, 48, 274, (England and U.S.) 84, (Poland) 53, 54-67, (quoted on) 40, 77, 103, 125, (supports Brest-Litovsk Treaty, 1918) xxi, 22, 50, 80, 383, (during World War II) 60-65, 103, 107, 137; Ukrainians in, 16-17 *See also* Nationalism, Ukrainian

Polityka, 90, 387, 389, 391

Polivka, Reverend Damaskyn, 345n4

Poniatyshyn, Reverend Peter, 352, 355, 356, 357, 360n31, 369, *illus. 49*

Pontifical Institute for Oriental Ecclesiastical Studies, 215, 240n8

Popiel, Paweł, 304n34

Popov, Andrei N., 6

Population, *see* Demography

Portal, Fernand, *illus. 34*

Positio Super Scriptis, 427

Postup, 278

Potocki, Count Andrzej, 78; Sheptyts'kyi condemns assassination of, xxi, 19, 36-37, 41, 54, 79; Sheptyts'kyi's "responsibility" for, 381

Potworowski, Christophe, 438

Potworowski, Edward, 438

Pravoslavie, see Orthodoxy

Prawda, 93

Prejs, Julia [J. Brystygierowa], 391

Presbyterian Church of Canada, 329, 335

Prešov, Eparchy of, 230, 364, 366, 367; bishop of, 16, 371n6, 373n28; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii

Press, the, 30; Canadian, 344, 384; Polish, 33, 51, 59, (on Sheptyts'kyi) 32, 53, 59, 93, 147, 381-89, (underground and émigré) 389, 391; "radical," 365; Soviet, 65, 102, 317, 409; Ukrainian (in Galicia), 53, 59, 66; U.S., 352, 369, 384. *See also Dilo*

Primary Chronicle, 203

Prokopchuk, Hryhorii (Gregor Prokoptschuk), 147, 423

Prokopovich, Feofan, 9

Pro Memoria, 213

"Prometheans," 387-88, 389

Proposition Concerning the Reform of Eastern Canon Law, 174

Prosvita Society, 36, 276, 280, 281, 285n33

Protestant Reformation, *see* Reformation

Protestantism: Polish subsidies paid to organizations, 119n15; Roman Catholic victory over (in Poland), 313; Solov'ëv's view of, 7; and Ukrainians in Canada, 329, 335, 336, 337, 338

Protsiuk, Reverend, 142n26

Pro-Union Congress, xxiii. *See also* Ecumenism

Prus, Edward, 141n12, 158n9, 391, 392

Prystay, Reverend Alexander, 362n60

Przegląd Kościelny, 378

Przegląd Krajowy, 397n39

Przegląd Powszechny, 380

Przemyśl, Eparchy of, 21, 27n5, 101, 152, 216; bishop of, 30, 80; NKVD activity in, 115; Sheptyts'kyi ordained at, 228; Soviet seizure of property of, 102

Przeździecki, Bishop Henryk, 86

Public Ledger, 352, 354

Puzyna, Jan Cardinal, 380, 395n6

Puzyna family, 380

Quigley, Archbishop James Edward, 353

Radicalism, 35, 37, 57, 89, 329, 353, 379; and "radical priests" (in U.S.), 349-50, 365
Radical party (Ruthenian-Ukrainian), 34-35, 57
Radio L'viv, 127
Radio Vatican, 122n83, 138
Radonski, Bishop, 143n58
Raya, Archbishop Joseph, 441, *illus. 53*
Reading clubs, *see* Education
Recensio Vulgata, Recensio Ruthena, 219
Red Cross, 52, 117, 410
Redemptorist Order, 112, 218, 335, 380, 430; in Canada, 336, 338, 339, 422-23; Sheptyts'kyi invites to Galicia, 272-73, 285n31, 446
Redkevych, Reverend Amvrozii, 265n15
Reformation, 7; and Counter-Reformation, 223n16
Reichspost, 21
Reinhardt, Alfredo, *see* Wächter, Otto Gustav Freiherr von
Repatriation Commission, 126
Rerum Novarum (encyclical of Leo XIII), 247, 258, 268n44
Reunification, *see* Ecumenism
Revai, Iuliian, 65
Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 73n86, 151
Ridna mova, 280
Ridna Shkola, 280, 283n14, 285n29
Riga, Treaty of (1920), 92, 119n21
Road of Shame and Treason, The, 408
Roczniki Katolickie, 383
Rodakowski, Henryk, 304n39
Roman Catholicism: in Canada, *see* and Ukrainians in Canada, *below*; conversion to, 25, 90; and conversion to Orthodoxy, 39, 227, 228; Eastern-rite branches of, 430; and ecumenism, 189 (*see also* Ecumenism); and Greek Catholic Church, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; and Hitler, 409-10; and Index of Forbidden Books, 215; and Inquisition, 6; and Latinization, *see* Latinization; Liturgical Movement of, 191; in Poland and Russia, 97n26, 119n19, 313, 378-83, 390; schism between Orthodoxy and, 1-2, 3, 10, (Orthodox churches "reconciled" to) 24, 58-59, 90, 315; Sheptyts'kyi changes from, 31, 75; Sheptyts'kyi maintains ties with, 380; Solov'ëv's view of, 7-8; in Soviet Union (1939), 119n19; and Ukrainian liturgy, 202; and Ukrainians in Canada, 329, 330, 331, 334, 337-38; and Ukrainians in U.S., 349, 350, 351, 364, 367; and "uniatism," 193, 197. *See also* Rome; Vatican
Roman Empire, division of, 1
Roman, Stephen B., 455
Romanchuk, Iuliian, 274
Romania, 61, 156, 230; Metropolitan of, 241; people and language, 16, 190, 370n2
Romanian Orthodox parish in London, 236
Romanov, Cyril, 232
Rome: anti-ecumenical stand of, 233; and Eastern heritage, 10; as political and ecclesiastical capital, 2, 5; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xix, xxii, 17, 52, 53, 82, 84, 230, (and comment on idolatry) 236, (conference, 1923) 187, (leads pilgrimage, 1903) xx, (and report on U.S.) 357-58, (visit prevented) 21-22, 49. *See also* Vatican
Roncalli, Angelo, *see* John XXIII (pope)
Roosevelt, Theodore, 352, 353
Ropp, Archbishop Edward, 86, 326n38, 381
Rosenberg, Alfred, 126, 128, 130
Rosovych, Volodymyr, *see* Halan, Iaroslav
Rowecki, General Stefan Grot-, 92
Rozwadowski, General Tadeusz, 51
Rudnytsky, Ivan L., 26
Rudnyts'kyi, S., 301n9
Rudyk, Archimandrite Panteleimon, 114-15
Rule of Univ, The, 174
Rumiantsev Museum, 295
Runciman, Sir Steven, 3
Rusnak, Bishop Michael, 455-56
Russian Catholic Church, 186, 195, 197, 200n38, 214; of Eastern rite, 322; Neo-Union action and, 97n26
Russian Empire, 230; art from, 292; Austro-Hungarian monarchy vs., *see* Austro-Hungarian monarchy; Galicia claimed as part of, 38; Galicia/East Galicia occupied by (1914), xxi, 39, 42, 48, 80, 303n20, 316, 321, 327n45; Greek Catholic Church in, 22, 23, 314-15, 324-25, 378, 382, 394; and Poland,

205, 217; religious freedom in, 430; revolution in, *see* Russian Revolution (1917); Ruthenian Church liquidated by, 206, 211; Sheptyts'kyi and, 108, 313-25, (jurisdiction over) xx, 214, 315-16, 321, (missionary activity) 381, (promotes church union) 47, (travels to) xix, xxi, 17, 49, 171, 295, 309-10, 314, 415; Sheptyts'kyi imprisoned by (1914-1917), xxi, 21, 48, 53, 54, 80, 104, 133, 303n31, 318-21, 354, 355, 422, (effect of) 133, 301n9, (grounds for arrest) 281, 316-17, 415, (return from exile) xxi, 21, 49, 80, 277, 321, 382, 416; Ukrainian separation from, 19-20, 25, 48; war with, xxi, 20-21, 22, 80. *See also* Russian Provisional government; Soviet Union

Russian Holy Synod, 237, 351

Russian Metropolia (U.S.), 237. *See also* Orthodoxy

Russian National Party, 19, 32-33

Russian Orthodox Church, 213, 314, 316, 319; in Canada, 329, 334, 335, 337; Chełm as eparchy of, 23; church union and, 114-15, 116, 232, 379; in France, 233, 234; Greek Catholic Church "reunion" with, 38-39, 114-15, 116; Latinization of, 9; Moscow Patriarchate, 123n97, 237, 239; (revitalized, 1918, 1940) 114, 117, (over Ukrainian church) 23, 50, (and union) 232; Nikonian reforms in, 204; Russian Catholic Church and, 186, 214; vs. Ruthenian Catholic church, 205, 206, 351, 364; and social questions, 264n8; Soviet regime and, 409; in U.S., 349, 364. *See also* Orthodoxy

Russian Provisional government, 324; recognizes church union, 22, 323; releases Sheptyts'kyi from prison, 21, 48-49, 321, 382

Russian Revolution (1917), 242n29, 321, 327n45; February, xxi, 80; October, 1, 414

"Russian Sophiological School," 171

Russie et l'église universelle, La, 7, 9, 10

Russophile National Home (Narodnyi Dom), 273

Russophiles, 46n53, 283n10, 394n2, 422; anti-clericalism of, 212; Austrian government and, 20; in Greek Catholic Church, 30, 38-39; and interference with Russophile priests, 263n5; and Moscow Patriarchate, 23 (*see also* Russian Orthodox Church); in Orthodox Church, 324, 364; Polish feeling toward, 76, 211; Sheptyts'kyi as viewed by, 19, 32-33; Sheptyts'kyi's concessions to, 34, 38-41, 46n56, 432; in U.S., 349, 351, 364, 368; in World Wars I and II, 80, 114

Russo-Polish war (1919-1920), xxii, 52

Rusyns, *see* Carpatho-Rusyn/Carpatho-Ruthenian immigrants in U.S.

Ruthenian Catholic Church, 165; Russian Orthodox Church vs., 205, 206, 351, 364. *See also* Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Church; Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church; Ruthenian Catholic Church in America; Ukrainian Catholic Church; Uniate Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belorussian) Church

Ruthenian Catholic Church in America, 349-58; bishop for, 351, 366-70; cathedral dedicated (Philadelphia, 1910), 354; divided, 355, 369-70; established, 363; Roman Catholic Church vs., 364, 367; Russian Orthodox Church vs., 351, 364; "Ruthenian rite" priests and bishop, 330, 331, 345n5

Ruthenian National Association, *see* Ukrainian National Association (U.S.)

Ruthenians: in Canada, 329, 330-31; and Greek Catholic Church, 66; in Hungary, 27n2; name and language of, 15; portrait collection of bishops among, 292; relations of, with Poles, 76, 77, 85; Sheptyts'kyi family as, 81; and Sheptyts'kyi's appointment, 32, 33, 41. *See also* Old Ruthenians

Ryan, Archbishop Patrick J., 352

Rydz-Śmigły, Marshal Edward, 88-89, 90

Ryshkov, Reverend, 28n26

Rzewuski (Kreuze), Reverend Piotr, *see* Kreuza, Reverend Piotr

Sabler, Vladimir Karlovich, 264n8

Sabo, Reverend Simeon, 373n28

Sabourin, Reverend Joseph, 347n41

Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints, 425

Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of

the Faith, 215, 330, 335, 339
Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches, 121n53, 202, 215, 219, 224n26, 225n44, 350; Korolevsky as consultor for, 230-31; Sheptyts'kyi considered for, 83; Tisserant as secretary of, 104, 215, 218, 229
Sacred Heart, cult of, 207, 210, 327n39
St. Andreas College (Munich), 284n24
St. George's Cathedral (L'viv), 58, 64, 90, 284n22, 386, 389, 399n62, *illus. 9*; builder of, 294-95, 314; as cultural center, 294; as Jewish sanctuary, 147, 156, 414, 449; Polish attendance at, 77; Polish troops capture, 51; research project on (1932-1933), 304n37; Sheptyts'kyi buried at, xxiv, 117, 236; Sheptyts'kyi installed as archbishop at, xx; Sheptyts'kyi's Good Friday (1908) sermon at, 37, 79; synod held at, 110-11 (*see also* Synod[s])
St. George's Ukrainian Church (New York), 352
St. Josaphat Institute, 278
St. Nicholas Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association, 344
St. Patrick's Cathedral (New York), 356, 357
St. Patrick's Church (Philadelphia), 354
St. Petersburg synod, *see* Synod(s)
St. Raphael Society: for the Protection of Ruthenian Emigrants from Galicia and Bukovina (L'viv), 340; for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 341, 342
Samchuk, Ulas, 278
San River, as demarcation line, 21, 101, 105
Sapieha, Prince Adam, 378
Sapieha, Archbishop Adam Stefan, 84, 130, 397n46, 398n47, *illus. 30*
Sapieha family, 380
Sapieha, Władysław, 395n17
Sarto, Archbishop Guiseppe, 214. *See also* Pius X (pope)
Sas-Kuïlovs'kyi, Metropolitan, *see* Kuïlovs'kyi, Metropolitan Iuliian Sas-
Schindler, Oskar, 148
Schmemann, Alexander, 8
Schönburg-Hartenstein, Prince Johann, 19
Schrijvers, Reverend Joseph, 422
Schuver, Ursula Maria, 423
Schyrgens, Msgr. Joseph, *illus. 34*
Scott, Archbishop Edward, 456
Second Polish Republic, *see* Poland
Second Vatican Council, *see* Vatican II
Sedlets'kyi, Liudvik, 280
Sembratovych, Metropolitan Iosyf, 30, 211
Sembratovych, Reverend Lev, 350, 372n27
Sembratovych, Metropolitan Syl'vester, 30, 32, 36, 76-77, 430
Semiatskii, Reverend Trofim, 320, 326n38
Senytsia, Pavlo, 298
Seraphimites (in Canada), 334, 335, 338
Serbyn, Andrii, 286n35
Shcherbakivs'kyi, Vadym, 280, 294, 303n31
Shcho take uniia?, 410, 411, 412
Shchurat, Vasyl', 301nn7, 9
Shendry, Ivan, 279
Sheptyts'kyi, Metropolitan Atanasii, 294, 314
Sheptyts'kyi family, 30, 81, 437-38; bishops from, 31, 314. *See also* Szeptycki
Sheptyts'kyi, Hegumen Klymentii (Klemens/Kazimierz), 156, 279, 343, 449, 450, 453, *illus. 2, 6, 14, 24, 25, 36, 39, 45;* as Exarch, 108, 121n65; Soviet treatment of, 116; and Studite book of rules, xx, 174, 216, 446
Sheptyts'kyi Institute (Winnipeg), 344
Sheptyts'kyi, Metropolitan Lev, 294, 314
Sheptyts'kyi, Oleksander, 294
Sheptyts'kyi Ukrainian Hospital (L'viv), xxiii, 284n22, *illus. 40. See also* Narodna Lichnytsia
Sheptyts'kyi, Bishop Varlaam, 294, 314
Sheremetiev, S. V., 316
Shevchenko Scientific Society, 271; Museum of, 302n11
Shkrybliak family, 292
Shpytkovs'kyi, Ivan, 437
Shuba, Reverend Iurii, 373n28
Shukhevych, M., 285n33
Shukhevych, Volodymyr, 301n9
Shumlians'kyi, Bishop Iosyp, 304n36
Sianchuk, Reverend John, 429
Siberia: exarchate of and exarch for, xxiii, 108, 129; exile to, 303n31, 321
Sich gymnastic societies, 36
Sich Riflemen, *see* Austro-Hungarian

monarchy
Sichyns'kyi, Myroslav, 36-37, 40
Sichyns'kyi, Volodymyr, 304n37
Siemiradzki, Henryk, 295
Sikorski, General Władysław, 384
Sil's'kyi Hospodar, 118n11, 276, 286n33
Simeon, Saint, 167
Sincero, Cardinal, *illus. 35*
Sinkevych, Dionysii, 304n37
Sipiuguine, Msgr., *illus. 34*
Sisters of Charity, 53
Sisters of Mercy, 276, 279
Sisters of St. Basil the Great, 430. *See also* Basilian Order
Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, 174, 285n31, 333, 380, 430
Składkowski, Felicjan Sławoj-, 55
Skoropads'kyi, Pavlo, 50, 55, 70n43, 82-83
Skoutajan, Reverend Hans, *illus. 53*
Skovoroda, Hryhorii, 166
Skrzyński, Aleksander, 85
Skrzyński family, 380
Slavonic liturgy and texts, 219, 222n6; Church Slavonic, 219, 223n16, 228, 235, 239, 273; Old Church Slavonic, 322, 410. *See also* Byzantine-Slav liturgy and rites; *Liturgikon*(s)
Sławek, Walery, 55, 88
Slipyi, Cardinal Iosyf, 60, 117, 229, 236; and church/liturgical reform, 4-5, 67, 221, 224-25n38; consecrated as archbishop, 104-5; and Division Galizien, 64, 137; as Exarch for Greater Ukraine, 108; heads Theological Academy, 104, 275; on "Orthodox" as term, 239-40n1; and relations with Germany, 127, 129, 133; and Sheptyts'kyi's beatification, 425; Soviet treatment of, 116, 231; and writings about Sheptyts'kyi, 422, 423
Slovakia, Slovak people, 370n2, 371n13
Słowo Polskie, 378, 379, 381, 385, 390
Sluzhebnik, 243n41
Slyvka, Iurii Iu., 413
Śmigus, 379, *illus. 50*
Smol's'kyi, H., 300n2
Smythe, Colonel, 51
Sobornost, 236, 243n33
Socialism, 35, 125, 212, 331; church vs., 34, 248, 249, 258; and socialist agitation against Sheptyts'kyi (in Canada), 366
Socialist party, 57, 393
Society for the Welfare of Ukrainian Immigrants, 340. *See also* St. Raphael Society
Society of Jesus, *see* Jesuits
Sokołowski, Marian, 379
Solov'ëv, Reverend Sergei, 321, 326n33
Solov'ëv, Vladimir Sergeievich, 7-10, 233, 234, 321; influence of, on Sheptyts'kyi, 171, 190, 199n26, 213, 298, 314
Solov'ëv (deacon), 28n26
Sosenko, Modest, 289, 294, 300n1, 301n9, 306n69
Soullier, Reverend Louis, 330
South America: Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxii, 53, 84, 286n38, 343, 344, 357
Soviet Red Cross, 117, 410
Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 407
Soviet Union: Eastern-rite missionaries in, 284n24; in East Galicia/Galicia, *see* in Ukrainian lands, *below*; famine in (1933), 57, 151; German alliance with, 60, 91, 101; German invasion of, xxiii, 60, 61, 112, 115, 125-26, 151, 152-53, 409, (battle of Stalingrad) 62, 63, 136, (German retreat) 65, 93, 116-17, 136; and Greek/Ukrainian Catholic Church, 65, (as "anti-popular and reactionary") 413, (exarchates established) xxiii, 72n79, 108, (interwar years) 104, 408-9, (Kiev parish founded, closed, 1940s) 130, (secret recourse to) 109, (Sheptyts'kyi quoted on) 110, (World War II occupation and) 101-17; Jews in, 151-52; NKVD activities, 115-16, 122n86, 140n11; and Orthodoxy, 410; OUN vs., xxii; and Poland, *see* Poland; Roman Catholic Church in, 83-84, 119n19; Sheptyts'kyi and: (attitude toward) 110, 151, (in ideology of) 407-18, (jurisdiction over) 82, (on return of regime) 64, 65; Sheptyts'kyi as viewed by, 65, 102, 410-11, 417; and Ukrainian independence, 93, 151; in Ukrainian lands (East Galicia/Galicia) 64, (and deportations) 115, 389, (Galician fears of) 8, 92, (occupation, 1939-1941) xxiii, 101-17, 125, 129, 152, 260, 389, 409, 532,

(reoccupation, 1944) xxiv, 65, 116-17, 202, 410; Ukrainian National Museum as viewed by, 299; united front against (1930s), 400n83. *See also* Communist party and Communism; Russian Empire; Ukrainian S.S.R.
Spanish civil war, 57
Sprawy Narodowościowe, 388
SS Division Galizien, 65; formed (1943), xxiv, 64; Sheptyts'kyi's support of, 63-64, 73n102, 95, 137, 138, 147, 412, 452-3
Stadnicki, Stanisław, 395n17
Stalin, Iosef, 125, 131, 137, 146, 418n9; and Greek Catholic Church, 116, 130, 412; -Hitler pact, 126; and Moscow Patriarchate, 117; Sheptyts'kyi letter to, 65, 410. *See also* Soviet Union
Stalingrad, battle of, 62, 63, 136
Stanyslaviv, Eparchy of, 27n5, 70n41, 87, 101, 114, 285n33; NKVD activity in, 115-16; pastoral letters to, 426; Sheptyts'kyi as bishop of, xx, 17, 32-33, 43n16, 76, 331, 350, (and art) 292, (and church union) 188, (nomination of) 378, 421, (and philanthropy) 250, 269, 271, (successor to) 36; Soviet seizure of property of, 102; Theological Seminary at, 102, 271
Stauropegial Brotherhood, 216, 242n29; museum of, 302n11
Stavyts'kyi Vasyl', 304n36
Stek, Reverend Marko, 156
Stepinac, Archbishop Alojzije, 61
Stepovyi, D., 417
Stepovyi, Iakiv, 298
Stetsenko, Kyrylo, 298
Stets'ko, Iaroslav, 61, 127, 128, 161n52
Stotzingen, Abbot Fidelis von, 233
Strossmayer, Bishop Josip Juraj, 9
Strukhmanchuk, Iakiv, 289
Studite Order, 106, 108, 112, 216, 232, 276; book of rules for, *see Typikon/Typicon, The*; in Canada, 341, 342-43; library of (Studion), 283n11; Monastery of, 293; Sheptyts'kyi organizes, xx, 39, 214, 235, 272, 285n31, 430, 446, 456; during World War II, 112, 115, 156, 449, 451
Studyns'kyi, Kyrylo, 286n35
Stürgkh, Karl, 21
Styka, Jan, 290
Subcarpathian Rus' (Ruthenia), xxii, 70n27, 370n2; creation of autonomous, 59. *See also* Carpatho-Ukraine
Sulpician Order, 229
Susalev, Reverend Evstakhii, 326n38
Svastyka na sutanakh, 413
Svientsits'kyi, Ilarion, 290, 303n31, 309n
Svoboda: (Galician radical newspaper) 35, 36, (Ukrainian-American newspaper) 44n37, 352, 355, 361n40, 365
Sweden: Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxi, 49
Switzerland: Galician workers in, 339; Sheptyts'kyi visits, xxi, 22, 49
Symbolism, 39, 40, 60, 65, 202-4, 223n22; Sheptyts'kyi as symbol in Soviet ideology, 407-18
Symbolist movement, 298
Synod(s), 431; of L'viv: (*1891*) 212, 218, 224n38, 248, 263n4, (*1905*) 174, 207, 223n23, (*1940-1944*) xxiii, xxiv, 108-9, 110-12, 117, 130, 139, 174, 178, 223n22; of St. Petersburg (1917), 20, 48, 322-23; of Zamość (1720), 205, 206, 207, 212, 217, 218, 224nn26, 38. *See also* Russian Holy Synod
Szél, Kálmán, 372n22
Szelążek, Bishop Adolf, 86
Szembek family, 380, 438
Szembek, Jadwiga, *see* Szeptycka, Jadwiga Szembek
Szembek, Metropolitan Jerzy, 380, *illus. 3*
Szembek, Sister Krysta, 95, 97n30, 98n31, 438
Szeptycka, Jadwiga Szembek, 438, *illus. 14*
Szeptycka, Countess Zofia Fredro, xix, 75, 81, 213, 228, 304n39, 325n6, *illus. 2, 6, 11, 14;* death of, 380; memoirs of, 241n14, 295, 377, 421, 433n1
Szeptycki, Aleksander, *illus. 1, 2, 14, 25*
Szeptycki, Count Jan Kanty, xix, 213, 228, 437, 438, *illus. 2, 6, 14*
Szeptycki, Jan Kazimierz, 96n2, 160n26, 391, 436n46, 438, *illus. 14*
Szeptycki, Jerzy, *illus. 1*
Szeptycki, Leon, *illus. 2, 25*
Szeptycki, General Stanisław, xxii, 80, 385, *illus. 2, 14, 25*
Szydelski, Reverend Szczepan, 386

Taft, William Howard, 353
Takach, Bishop Basil, 370, 374n47

Taille, Reverend de la, *illus. 34*
Tarnavs'kyi, Reverend Fylymon, 209, 210
Tarnowski, Jan, 438
Tarnowski, Stanisław, 379
TASS, 410
Teodorowicz, Archbishop Józef, 84, 380, 398nn47, 53, *illus. 30*
Terlets'kyi, Ipolyt, 223n18
Theatine Order, 223n16
Theodore the Studite, 272. *See also* Studite Order
Theological Academy, L'viv, *see* Greek Catholic (L'viv)
Theological Academy Museum, Kiev, 304n343
Theological Scholarly/Scientific Society, xxii, 279
Thomas Aquinas, Saint, 166, 167
Thomism, 9; and Neo-Thomism, 4
Tijd, De, 199n10
Tisserant, Eugène Cardinal, 109, 121n63, 133, 224n29, 230; 240n8; with Congregation for Oriental Churches, 104, 215, 218, 229; and liturgical reform, 221; and Ruthenian Catholic Church, 219; Sheptyts'kyi letters to, 130, 136, 139n6, 152; and Sheptyts'kyi's beatification, 425
Tkachuck, Dionysii, 220
Tomashivs'kyi Stepan, 287n44
Tomkowicz, Stanisław, 304n34
Torzecki, Ryszard, 98n41, 161n52, 403n116, 119
Toth, Reverend Alexis, 364, 365, 371n12
Transcarpathian District, 370n2
Transnistria region, 61
Trebnyk, 216
Trent, Council of (1545-1563), 173
Trinitarianism, 2, 166, 172-73, 175, 176-80, 192; Nicene Creed and, 5, 6, 9
Trush, Ivan, 300, 301n7, 306n69
Trybuna Ludu, 147, 391
Tryl'ovs'kyi, Kyrylo, 31, 32, 34, 37
Tryptyk o zamordowanym Kościele, 391
Tsehel's'kyi, Lonhyn, 41, 266n18, 422
Tsehel's'kyi, Reverend Mykhailo, 119n21, 324
Tserkovna nauka, 372n26
Tumulty, Joseph P., 360n31
Twardowski, Bishop Bolesław, 287n54
Tygodnik Ilustrowany, 378
Tygodnik Powszechny, 158n8, 391
Tymkevych, Reverend Pavlo, 345n4
Typikon of Sknyliv, The, 174
Typikon/Typicon, The, xx, 174, 215, 241n14, 426, 430, 431
Tyszkiewicz family, 380
Tyszkiewicz, Reverend Stanisław, *illus. 34*

Uhryn, John, 368
Ukraine, eastern, *see* Dnieper (eastern) Ukraine
Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 419n41
Ukrainian Catholic Academy, 422
Ukrainian Catholic Church, 229, 358n1, 430; in Canada, 333, 334-35, 337-38; death of Sheptyts'kyi and, 404; English Exarchate of, 234; history of, 266n24; laity participation in, 204; liturgy of, 201, 220, 221, 231; name changed from Greek Catholic to, 53, 67; and reunificaiton, 4, 115; Soviet activity against, 103, 113; at time of Soviet invasion (1939), 101; in U.S., 355, 358n1, 365; vernacular used in, 53, 67, 105. *See also* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church
Ukrainian Catholic Union, 55, 97n30, 201, 278
Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome, 279
Ukrainian Central Committee, Cracow, 62, 63, 65, 73n102, 126, 449
Ukrainian Ecclesiastical Historic Mission, Rome, 278
Ukrainian Galician Army, 51, 56
Ukrainian immigrants in U.S., Sheptyts'kyi and, 349-58. *See also* Carpatho-Rusyn/Carpatho-Ruthenian immigrants in U.S.
Ukrainian independence, 93; proclaimed (1918), *see* Western Ukrainian People's Republic; sought, *see* Ukrainian state
Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), 64, 95, 117, 137, 411
Ukrainian language, 16, 85, 138; instruction in, 17, 275, 284n26; Roman liturgical books translated into, 225n38 Russophile version of, 40; vernacular, in religious services, 53, 67, 105
Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), 86, 416

Ukrainian National Assembly, 127

Ukrainian National Association, 353, 357; formerly Ruthenian National Association, 364, 365, 368n15, 372n15

Ukrainian National Council, 49, 51, 52; formerly Council of Seniors, xxiii, 61; and German occupation, 61, 62, 128, 129, 132, 133, 409; in Kiev, 65. *See also* All-Ukrainian National Council

Ukrainian National-Democratic party, 35, 36, 40, 41, 76, 93

Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), 55, 57, 76, 88; attacks Sheptyts'kyi, 19; and Poland, 91-92, 151

Ukrainian national movement, *see* Nationalism, Ukrainian

Ukrainian National Museum, Chicago, 360n31

Ukrainian National Museum, L'viv, *see* L'viv Museum of Ukrainian Art

Ukrainian National Republic, 50, 52; and Chełm region, xxi, 22, 23, 80; fall of, 81. *See also* Ukrainian People's Republic

Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 25; All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, Kiev, 23, 50, 52; autocephaly of, 20, 23, 48, 50, 69n18; churches destroyed, xxiii, 58; liturgical singing in, 304n37; and reunification, 4, 22, 50, 186; Sheptyts'kyi letters to bishops of, 62; and transfer from or to Roman Catholic, 24, 58-59, 90

Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, 85, 90

Ukrainian People's Republic, 49, 50, 72n88. *See also* Ukrainian National Republic

Ukrainian-Polish conflict, *see* Polish-Ukrainian relations; Polish-Ukrainian war (1918-1919)

Ukrainian Red Cross, 52

Ukrainian Relief Committee, 153

Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, 68n3, 281, 413

Ukrainian S.S.R., xix, xxiii, 103

Ukrainian state: Austrian desire for, 19-20, 25, 48; borders of, 21; Germany and, 126, 127-28, 131, 136, 146, 153; proclaimed (1941) by OUN, xxiii, 409; Sheptyts'kyi supports, xxiv, 20, 21, 48, 49, 62, 65, 76, 81, 127, 382, 384; Vienna Award and, 59. *See also* Nationalism, Ukrainian; Western Ukrainian People's Republic

Ukrainian Theological Society, 422

Ukrainian university sought, *see* Education

"Ukrainian Youth for Christ" festival, xxiii, 56

Ukrainians: in Austria and Hungary, 15-17, 27n4; education of, 17, 18 (*see also* Education); national name of, 15; in political life, 16-17 (*see also* Politics); Sheptyts'kyi's affection for, 77

Ukrainophiles, *see* Nationalism, Ukrainian

UNDO, *see* Ukrainian National Democratic Union

Uniate Church, *see* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church

Uniate Church: Forcible Establishment, Natural Failure, 413, 414

Uniate Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belorussian) Church, 165, 205-12; created, 204; and Ruthenian (vs. Latin) rite, 216, 218-20. *See also* Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church

"Uniatism," 193, 197

Uniatisme, L', 215, 231

Uniia, see Brest-Litovsk, Union of

Uniïa v Amerytsï, 359n5, 372n16

Union for Armed Struggle (Związek Walki Zbrojnej—ZWZ), 92, 93, 98n39

Union (*Uniia*) of Brest-Litovsk, *see* Brest-Litovsk, Union of

Union of Florence, *see* Florence, Council and Union of

Union of Gentry, 90

Union of Polish Youth (Związek Młodziezy Polskiej—ZET), 80, 96n11

Union of the Greek-Catholic Ruthenian Brotherhoods, *see* Greek Catholic Union

Union Week (Brussels, 1925), xxii, 186. *See also* Ecumenism

United All-Ukrainian National Council, *see* All-Ukrainian National Council

United States: aids Galicia (post-World War I), 355; Greek Catholic Church in, 82, 265n16, 333, 351, 354; immigrants to (Sheptyts'kyi and), 349-58, 363-70; immigrations policies of, 340; Orthodoxy in, 237, 349, 351, 364-68

passim; Sheptyts'kyi criticized in, 384; Sheptyts'kyi visits (1910, 1921-1922), xxi, xxii, 53, 84, 336, 352-57, 368; Ukrainian anti-Vatican movement in, 350
United Ukrainian Choirs, 133
"Universal" Catholic Church, 67, 166, 193-94; Orthodoxy accepted as faith of, 322
University of Cracow: Sheptyts'kyi at, xix
University of Innsbruck, 284n24
University of L'viv, 114, 284nn19, 21; Polonized, 16, 273, 275; Ukrainian students seek alternative to, 18, 343, 273-75 (*see also* Education)
University of Toronto, 441, *illus. 52, 53*
University of Tübingen, 173
University of Vienna, 18, 283n17
University of Wrocław: Sheptyts'kyi at, xix
UPA, *see* Ukrainian Insurgent Army
Urban, Jan, 401n91
Urban VIII (pope), 350
Urbas, Consul Emanuel, 19, 20, 48, 68n3
Ushakova, Nataliia, 214, 321
UVO, *see* Ukrainian Military Organization

Vakatsiini Oseli, 277
Valyi, Bishop Ivan, 373n28
van Caloen, Msgr. Gerard, *illus. 34*
van der Mensbrugghe, Archbishop Alexis, 228, 235-38, 239, 243nn37, 38, 40, *illus. 38*
van de Steene, Reverend K., 339
Vannutelli, Vincent Cardinal, 360n23
Vasovychyk, Reverend Theodosius, 368
Vatican, 61, 86; anti-Vatican movement in U.S., 350; Austrian Concordat with, 268n37; and Basilian Order in Galicia, 30; and Chełm region 23-24; Congregation of Rites of, 424, 425; and Germany, 138; Latinization policies of, 114, 211-12, 218 (*see also* Latinization); and liturgical reform, 214 (*see also* Liturgical reform); and Neo-Union action, 86; and Orthodox Church, 205; and Poland, 55, 121n53, 388, (Concordat with) xxii, 54, 58, 86, 120n21, 275, 386; and Polish-Ukrainian conflict, 83-84, 217; and Russia, 83-84; and Sheptyts'kyi, 20, 48, 129, (appointed assistant to papal throne) xxiii, (approved on entering novitiate) 378, (beatification process) 424-27, (breakdown of contacts) 104, 108, (cardinalship) 19, 21, (discrediting attempted) 381, (and letter to Hitler) 133, (powers annulled, 1940) 108-9, (Russian rights reaffirmed, 1909-1914) 316, (visit prevented) 21-22, 49, and visit to Canada, 331; Sheptyts'kyi letters to: (on Germany vs. Bolsheviks) 73n89, 130, 153, 154-55, (on imprisonment, 1916) 319-20, (on Jewish issue) 73nn89, 95, 154, 157, (on Nazi crimes) 94, 133-35, 136, (on Soviet rule) 112, 125-26, 129, 152, (on special powers) 104, 108; social teaching from, 261; Soviet stereotype of, 410, 417; and Ukrainian/Ruthenian Catholic Church in North America, 333, 351, 366-67, 369. *See also* Radio Vatican; Roman Catholicism; Rome
Vatican Library, 230
Vatican II (Second Vatican Council), 4, 10, 196, 205, 227
Velehrad Ecumenical Congresses, xxi, xxii, 188, 396n34, 397n44, 423, *illus. 17*
Veleten' zo Sviatoiursk'koï hory, 423
Velychkivs'kyi, Mykola, 61, 65
Venice, xix, 2
Verbynets', Mykhailo, 286n35
Vereshchagin, V. V., 295
Verkhovskii, Reverend Gleb, 326n38
Versailles Treaty, 81
Vesolovs'kyi, Iaroslav, 35
Vienna: Sheptyts'kyi in, xx, xxi, 17, 22, 49, 52
Vienna Award (1938), 59
Vienna, Congress of, 206
Világ, 21
Vil'na Ukraïna, 412
Visti z Ukraïny, 146
Viter, Mother Iosyfa (Olena), 115, 156
Vityk, Semen, 45n48
Voennia izvestiia, 317
Voinarovs'kyi, Reverend Tyt, 52, 280, 281, 282n5, 282-83n10, 285n33, 286n35
Volansky, Reverend Ivan, 363, 371n6
Volhynia, 70n27, 80, 136, 217, 318; deportation of Poles from, 389; exarchate of, xxiii, 108; immigrants

from, 340, 343; Orthodox, 53, 58, 119n21; Polish attacks on, 90. *See also* Galician-Volhynian kingdom
Volians'kyi, Reverend Onufrii, 43n27
Volkonskaia, Princess Elizaveta, *illus. 45*
Volkonskii, Prince, *illus. 45*
Volodymyr the Great, 203
Volyn', 278
von Gallen, Reverend Augustin, *illus. 34*
Voronyi, Mykola, 280
Vynnychenko, Volodymyr, 69n18
Vyshyvanyi, Vasyl', *see* Wilhelm von Habsburg, Archduke

Wächter, Otto Gustav Freiherr von, 63, 126, 132, 133, 137, 142n42
Waffen SS, *see* SS Division Galizien
Wallenberg, Raul, 148
Wallenrodism, 33-34, 37, 41, 42
Warsaw, Treaty of (1920), 52
Werhun, Mgr. Petro, 139n5
West, Rebecca, 12n23
Western Ukraine, *see* East Galicia; Galicia
Western Ukrainian People's Republic, 52, 53, 81, 82, 83, 343; proclaimed (1918), xxi, 51, 80
What's the Union? see Shcho take uniia?
Wiek Nowy, 71n55
Wiener Zeitung, 32
Wilhelm II, Kaiser, 410
Wilhelm von Habsburg, Archduke, 22, 23, 49, 50, 68n4, 70n43, *illus. 29*; Sheptyts'kyi accused of cooperating with, 384
Willaet, Reverend, *illus. 34*
Wilson, Woodrow, 50, 51, 360n31
W Imię Boże, 390
With the Cross or with the Knife?, see Z khrestom chy z nozhem?
Witos, Wincenty, 384
Władyka świętojurski, 392
Wodzicki family, 380
Wojciechowski, Bronisław, 58, 90, 98n35, 388
Wojciechowski, Stanisław, 53, 86, 358
World War I, xxi, 15, 49-50, 79-80, 274, 316; effect of, 45n42, 47-48, 272, 301n9, 354. *See also* Central Powers
World War II, xxiii-xxiv, 85; Orthodox among troops during, 236; Poland and, 60, 92 (*see also* Poland); Polish-Ukrainian relations during, *see* Polish-Ukrainian relations; Sheptyts'kyi during, 60-67, 88, 95, 260, 413, 423. *See also* Germany; Hitler, Adolf; Jews; Soviet Union
Woroniecki, Reverend Jacek, 380
Wyszyński, Stefan Cardinal, 393, 425

Yad Vashem conference, 148
Yalta Conference: borders following, 1
Young Pioneers, 113, 409
Yugoslavia, xxii, 216, 283n12; Ukrainian immigrants from, 340, 341, 342; Ukrainians in, 423

Zakhidnia Ukraïna, 408
Zaklyns'kyi, Reverend Ivan, 345n4
Zaleski, Władysław (patriarch of Antioch), 398n47, *illus. 3*
Zaleski, August, 55
Zalizniak, Mykola, 35
Zamość, Synod of, *see* Synod(s)
Zaręba-Cielecki, Artur, 395n17
Ziet, Die, 33
Zemel'nyi Bank Hipotechnyi, 118n11
Zerchaninov, Reverend Aleksei, 314-15, 326n38
ZET (Union of Polish Youth), 80, 96n11
Zhatkovych, Paul J., 368
Zholdak, Reverend Vasyl', 290, 332-33, 334-35, 338, 345n4
Zhovten', 419n41
Ziliński, Reverend, *illus. 44*
Zionism, 146, 147, 414. *See also* Jews
Z khrestom chy z nozhem?, 410, 411, 412
Znak, 403n115
Zubryts'kyi, Nikodym, 304n37
ZWZ, *see* Union for Armed Struggle
Żychlinski, Teodor, 438

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but treated with reservation by the Vatican; a humanist who spoke out against the barbarity of Nazi German rule and who saved Jews; a traitor in the eyes of the Soviets because he supposedly "collaborated" with the fascists; a saint among Ukrainian Catholics.

This volume brings together 21 specialists who address for the first time in a comprehensive manner the multifaceted career of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi as church hierarch, theologian, ecumenist, national leader, and philanthropist. Also included are a chronology of his life, over fifty photographs, three genealogical charts, and two maps.

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